

**CALCUTTA IN THE 19TH CENTURY
(COMPANY'S DAYS)**

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Edited by
P. THANKAPPAN NAIR



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PREFACE

Thirty-five accounts relating to Calcutta before the Mutiny presented in this *Calcutta in the 19th Century (Company's Days)* will, we hope, enrich our knowledge about our city and serve as original source-materials for historians.

One-third of the present collection has come to us from seven ladies (Emily Eden, Fanny Parks, Maria Graham, Fenton, Emma Roberts, Honoria Lawrence and Hoffman), whose hawkish eyes have left out practically nothing worth relating to old Calcutta. There are ten soldiers (Archer, Bacon, Bengalee, Davidson, Huggins, Leigh, Mundy, An Officer; Orlich; and Wallace) who took up pen considering it mightier than the sword. Journalistic accounts coming from the pen of Miss Emma Roberts and William Howard Russell are not particularly investigative as they were not assigned to Calcutta. The missionary accounts (Bishop Heber, Rev. Howard Malcom, a London Missionary and John Hobart Counter of the "Oriental Annual") of Calcutta are not solely concerned with conversions. Historians (Hamilton, Martin and Thornton) have not failed in their duty. We have only three foreign visitors (Victor Jacquemont of France, Leopold von Orlich and Georgian Rafail Danibegashvili), but their accounts give us an insight into many a little known aspect of the history of Calcutta.

We have seldom left out interesting facts relating to Calcutta while making out these extracts from the ponderous volumes of our authors. No liberty has been taken with their original texts. We have given notes wherever it has been deemed necessary.

Acknowledgments are due to the authorities of the National Library of India for their permission to copy the extracts from some of the rare books containing these accounts. Mr. Rathindra Nath Mukherji has again laid us under a deep obligation by not only lending some of the rare books from his collection, but also by publishing this volume. Mr. Sripati Ghosh of Firma took, as usual, upon himself the responsibility of seeing the manuscript through the press.

CALCUTTA IN 1803*

By Lord Valentia

[59] January 25 (1803) --The wind continuing completely contrary, we have been obliged to tide up the Hoogly, making only twenty miles a day. The navigation from Sorgur¹ to Calcutta is excessively difficult from the intricacy of the passages between the sand banks, and the very sudden turns which the river makes. Vessels that draw more than seventeen feet water, cannot be taken higher than Diamond Harbour, except at spring tides; and even then it is dangerous, if they draw more than eighteen; yet upon this river are the settlements of the French, Dutch, and Danes, as well as the English. We are at anchor off Fultah, a mud village, similar to others which we have seen. The river itself is grand from its great body of water, but the quantity of mud which it rolls down considerably lessens its beauty. The banks are high, the country beyond is perfectly flat, and covered thickly with timber and brushwood, the haunt of innumerable tigers. To these Sunderbunds the Hindoos resort at this season in immense numbers, to perform their ablutions in the Ganges, and many, to sacrifice themselves to the alligators, which they effect by walking into the river, and waiting till the ferocious animals approach and draw them under; others

* From the *VOYAGES AND TRAVELS TO INDIA, CEYLON, THE RED SEA, ABYSSINIA, AND EGYPT, IN THE YEARS 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806* by Viscount George Valentia (George Annesley Mountnorris, 2nd Earl of Valentia, 1769-1844) in three volumes (volume I, 496 pages, vol. II, 515 pages and vol. III, 506 pages), London, 1809 (printed for William Miller, Albemarle Street). The work is dedicated to Marquis Wellesley. The account of Calcutta is taken from volume I, chapters II and V, beginning with page 59. Lord Valentia reached Calcutta in January 1803, and left India for Ceylon on December 6. (Sir Asutosh Mookerjee bought a set of Valentia's travels on 6-4-1900 for Rs. 42. This is copied from his collection, gifted to the National Library of India).

perish by the tigers every season ; yet the powerful influence of superstition draws them to this spot.²

This evening a letter arrived from Mr. Graham, inviting me to his [60] house, although he had not then received the letter which I had forwarded from Mr. Johnson. I also received, by express, a very handsome answer from the Marquis Wellesley,³ inviting me to a fete in celebration of the general peace, which was to be given at the new Government-house, on the 26th. A few hours afterwards, one of his state barges arrived to convey me to Calcutta. As it was late in the evening, I determined to stay till the next morning.

January 26.—At seven in the morning, attended by Mr. Salt,⁴ I took leave of the *Minerva*, after nearly eight months residence in her. I must render a parting tribute to the merit of Captain Wellden, by declaring that I believe it is impossible for any one in his situation to surpass him in abilities, information, manners, or good nature. The state barge in which we embarked, reminded me of the fairy tales. It was very long in proportion to its width, richly ornamented with green and gold ; its head, a spread eagle gilt ; its stern, a tiger's head and body. The centre would contain twenty people with ease, and was covered with an awning and side curtains : forward were seated twenty natives dressed in scarlet habits, with rose-coloured turbans, who paddled away with great velocity. After breakfasting at a tavern on shore, we proceeded on our voyage. As we advanced, the river became clearer, and the scenery was much improved by the country seats of the English, which covered each bank : they were in themselves picturesque, being white, with extensive porticos to the south, and the windows closed by venetian blinds painted green. Every house was surrounded by a plantation of mangos, jacks, and other oriental forest trees. We landed at Mr. Farquharson's garden, about five miles from Calcutta, where Mr. Graham's carriage was in waiting to convey us [61] to his house, at which we arrived about two o'clock, and met with a most hospitable reception.

FETE AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE

Mr. Graham resides in Chouringee, in a very excellent house, where I found apartments prepared for me, and for Mr. Salt. After a dinner at home with several friends of Mr. Graham, we

all proceeded to the Government-house. The state rooms were for the first time lighted up. At the upper end of the largest was placed a very rich Persian carpet, and in the centre of that, a musnud of crimson and gold, formerly composing part of the ornaments of Tippoo Sultan's throne. On this was a rich chair and stool of state, for Lord Wellesley : on each side, three chairs for the members of council and judges. Down to the door on both sides of the room, were seats for the ladies, in which they were placed according to the strict rules of precedence, which is here regulated by the seniority of the husband in the Company's service. About ten, Lord Wellesley arrived, attended by a large body of aid-de-camps, &c. and after receiving, in the northern verandah, the compliments of some of the native princes, and the vakeels of the others, took his seat. The dancing then commenced, and continued till supper. The room was not sufficiently lighted up, yet still the effect was beautiful. The row of chunam* pillars, which supported each side, together with the rest of the room, were of a shining white, that gave a contrast to the different dresses of the company. Lord Wellesley wore the orders of St. Patrick and the Crescent in diamond. Many of the European ladies were also richly ornamented with jewels. The black dress of the male Armenians was pleasing from the variety ; and the costly, though unbecoming, habits of their females, together with the [62] appearance of officers, nabobs, Persians, and natives, resembled a masquerade. It excelled it in one respect : the characters were well supported, and the costume violated by no one. About 800 people were present, who found sufficient room at supper, in the marble hall below, thence they were summoned about one o'clock to the different verandahs to see the fire-works and illuminations. The side of the citadel facing the palace was covered with a blaze of light, and all the approaches were lined with lamps suspended from bamboos. The populace stole much of the oil ; and as it was impossible to light so great a range at one time, the effect was inferior to what it ought to have been. The fire-works were indifferent, except the rockets, which were superior to any I ever beheld. They were discharged from mortars on the ramparts

* Chunam is a beautiful kind of stucco, nearly equal to scaglione

of the citadel. The colours, also, of several of the pieces were excellent ; and the merit of singularity, at least, might be attributed to a battle between two elephants of fire, which by rollers were driven against each other.⁵ The night was very damp, and gave very severe colds to many. We returned to our home, much pleased with our evening's entertainment. I could not but feel gratified by the very polite reception which I had received from his Excellency, who seemed in every thing even to anticipate my wishes.

January 27.—I had this morning a private audience of Lord Wellesley, in which I consulted him respecting my future plans. He advised me, as the season was so far advanced, either to proceed immediately by dawk* for the upper provinces, or to take the remainder of the monsoon to visit Penang, and Madras, and afterwards return to Calcutta, in time to proceed up the river with the [63] rainy season. The former he seemed inclined to prefer, in which I concurred, as my intentions were to visit Ceylon and the Mysore, which I could not do this season ; and without that, the Madras plan would be only so much time thrown away. He repeatedly begged me to point out in what manner I wished for his assistance, and assured me, that I should have it in the fullest manner, both as to passports, and even escorts when necessary. He gave me a general invitation to his table, both in town and country : and observed that, although strictly speaking no rank was known in India, except from official situation, yet should certainly give me the precedence of every body, except the immediate members of the executive government.

February 4.—For several days past I have felt myself considerably indisposed with a violent cold, so much so indeed, as to confine me to the house. I have, however, received the visits of a number of friends of Mr. Graham, and of the gentlemen attached to his Excellency's person, and have paid my respects to the Members of Council and Judges, on whom, as composing the executive Government, I waited on my arrival. This day I dined with his Excellency, and was received with the same

* Post, having bearers stationed at short distances to relieve each other.

politeness and attention as on my first visit. Having consulted my friend Mr. Graham, I had definitely resolved to proceed for Lucknow, as soon as the necessary preparations could be made : this I notified to his Excellency, and he assured me, that every order should be given, that could render my reception satisfactory, at the different stations through which I had to pass on my journey.

February 12.—For the several days past my time has been most completely occupied in receiving and paying visits, and in a [64] round of dinners. My reception has been such as I had every reason to expect from the character of my countrymen in the East. Amongst other morning excursions, Mr. Graham and I visited the Botanic Garden, which is under the care of Dr. Roxburgh. It affords a wonderful display of the vegetable world, infinitely surpassing any thing I have ever before beheld. It is laid out in a very good style, and its vast extent renders the confinement of beds totally unnecessary ; yet, I think, it is a pity that a small compartment is not allotted to a scientific arrangement. The finest object in the garden is a noble specimen of the *Ficus Bengalensis*, on whose branches are nourished a variety of specimens of the parasitical plants, *Epidendrons*, *Linodorus*, and *Filices*. The water, also, is beautiful, being covered with red, blue, and white *Nymphaeas*. Utility seems to have been more attended to than science. Thousands of plants of the Teak tree, the Loquat, the grafted Mango, and other valuable fruit and timber trees, have from this place been disseminated over our Oriental territories ; and at present it is a complete centre, where the productions of every clime are assembled, to be distributed to every spot where they have any chance of being beneficial. The nutmeg was in considerable perfection ; but the Mangusteen, though often brought, has never survived its transplantation one year. The chief novelties are from Napaul and Chitagong. Most of the West India plants are making their way here, and will probably thrive well. It is by far too hot for European vegetables, and of course many even of our pot herbs are in the list of their desiderata.

BARRACKPORE

February 14.—In consequence of a general invitation, I yesterday proceeded to Barrackpore, Lord Wellesley's country resi-

dence : Mr. Graham and Mr. Salt accompanied me. We arrived before [65] breakfast, and I found his Excellency just returned from his ride. The situation of the house is much more pleasing than any thing I have yet seen. It is considerably elevated above the Hoogly River, on a very extended reach of which it stands : directly opposite is the Danish settlement of Serampore : on the sides are pagodas, villages, and groves of lofty trees. The water itself is much clearer than at Calcutta, and covered with the state barges and cutters of the Governor-General. These, painted green, and ornamented with gold, contrasted with the scarlet dresses of the rowers, were a great addition to the scene. The park is laid out in the English style, and the house, at present unfinished, is well adapted to the climate, having a beautiful verandah on every side, and the rooms being on a very ample scale. This place originally belonged to the Commander in Chief* ; but Lord Wellesley took possession of it on being appointed Captain-General, and has improved it with his usual taste. Several of the 'bungalows**' belonging to the lines have been taken into the park, and are fitted up for the reception of the Secretaries, Aides-de-Camp, and visitors. His Excellency had ordered one to be prepared for me, of which I immediately took possession. After breakfast at the house, we returned to our own habitations till dinner ; his Lordship being busily employed with his different Secretaries in preparing dispatches for England. At dinner, however, I had the pleasure of several hours conversation with him respecting India, and the several important additions which he had made to that part of our empire. It was with great regret that I felt myself obliged this night to return to Calcutta ; but the hot weather was most rapidly approaching, and, as a new comer, I was fearful [66] of exposing myself too much to it during a journey of eight hundred miles. At his Excel-

* A corrigenda issued in volume I says : "In Vol. I, page 65, I observe that Barrackpore originally belonged to the Commander in Chief, which is not the fact. It was the country-house of the Governor-General, Sir John Macpherson, and continued so under Lord Cornwallis ; but Sir John Shore gave it up to the Commander in Chief, receiving instead of it £ 500. a year to hire a residence for himself. Marquis Wellesley took back Barrackpore, and gave the £ 500 a year to the Commander in Chief.

** Bungalows, Hindostanee houses.

lency's request, I left Mr. Salt behind me to take views of the place ; and after dinner embarked, accompanied by Mr. Graham, in a state barge. It is about fourteen miles by land or water from Barrackpore to Calcutta : we stopped, however, about three miles from the town, where we were met by Mr. Graham's carriage. It is by no means safe to go down to the shipping at night, as the great velocity of the tide frequently causes boats to be lost by running against the cables of the vessels.

February 20.—On the 18th Mr. Salt returned, much gratified by his visit, as he had not only been treated with an attention highly flattering to a young man, from a person of Lord Wellesley's elevated rank, and acknowledged talents, but had also received the warmest applause from his Excellency and others, on the rapidity and fidelity with which he sketched the scenes from the river, whither he had accompanied them the day after my departure. As since his return he had nearly finished a drawing in water-colours of the house and grounds, I carried it with me, together with some views of the Cape, on going this evening to Barrackpore to take my final leave of his Excellency. After dinner I had a long private audience, and quitted his Excellency, most deeply impressed with a sense of his past kindness and his future good intentions towards me. No mean suspicions of my motives for visiting this country were harboured, but a manly, open, and generous assistance was afforded me in the acquisition of every political information, with facility and pleasure. We returned at night, and finally arranged every thing for my departure on the following morning. I have, through my friend Mr. Graham, purchased three palanquins [67] in which Mr. Salt, I, and my English servant, proceeded by dawk ; my luggage goes chiefly by the Ganges in a small boat, escorted by two seapoys, and under the care of two of my native servants. We take with us indeed, in six bangys*, sufficient changes of linen till the others arrive, which, from the lowness of the water, will probably not be for three months, as the Cossimbazar river is closed, and they are obliged to proceed by the Sunderbunds.

February 21.—My indefatigable and intelligent friend Mr.

* Baskets of wicker-work covered with painted cloth, carried by a man, and suspended by a cane across his shoulders.

Graham determined to accompany me as far as Hoogly, whither, in consequence of the great heat, we meant to proceed by water. At ten in the morning Mr. Salt, he. and I, set off in his carriage for Chitpore gaut, where his Excellency had promised one of his barges should be in attendance. My servant, with our palanquins, proceeded to a gaut still higher up, where small boats were prepared for them. On our arrival we were not a little disconcerted at finding that no boat was in sight. The tide was nearly turned, and as the distance to Hoogly was 26 miles, we required the whole of the flow to convey us thither: waiting was therefore out of the question. We were much mortified at the change from a splendid, and, what was still more important, a cool and expeditious barge, to a small boat covered only with reeds; yet with this we were obliged to content ourselves; and accordingly, about eleven o'clock, embarked with the turn of the tide, which carried us upwards of four miles an hour, with the assistance of only two naked dandys* paddling at the head of the vessel. The breeze was fresh, and right against us; but the delay [68] that it occasioned was fully compensated by the coolness. The sides of the river were so flat, that we could see nothing beyond the groves of cocoanut-trees and mangoes, which bordered it on each side. The breaks from villas were but few: occasionally, huts and pagodas added a variety to the scene, which was certainly fine from the great breadth of the river, here expanding into long reaches, instead of the frequent windings we had observed below Calcutta. My servant with the palanquins and bearers soon joined us in a similar boat. We passed Barrackpore without calling, as Lord Wellesley had returned to Calcutta early in the morning.

Serampore, the Danish settlement on the opposite bank, has a pleasing effect, as the houses are tolerable, and chunamed, like those of Calcutta. It extends for about two miles along the bank, and is perfectly surrounded by our territories. It has no fortifications, and only a small battery, for saluting. On the dispute with the Northern Powers, we sent a party of seapoys to take possession, which was of course done without the least resistance. The officer employed, requesting some of the Danish

* Watermen.

governor's people might accompany his men, when they proceeded to some small place in the interior, lest there should be any resistance, was in reply assured, that even sending his men was unnecessary, as a hircarra^{*} would answer every purpose. Its breadth is very trifling ; yet small as is the territory, it is a settlement of considerable value to the mother country. When the East India Company took to themselves the opium and salt-petre trade, to prevent any competition in the market, they agreed to allow a certain quantity annually to the French, Danes, and Dutch, at a specific price, on condition that [69] they should not purchase any from the natives. The Danes this year resold their opium for a profit of upwards of £ 20,000 without ever removing it from Calcutta, which alone would more than defray their expenses. They have also from this place the facility of exporting, for their own consumption, every produce of India, duty free. Ships cannot, indeed, come up close to the town, from the increase of a shoal about three miles lower down ; but labour is so cheap, that the additional expense of conveying the goods to a boat is of very little consequence. The French settlement of Chandernagore, and the Dutch one of Chinsura, are more extensive than the Danish ; but from the larger establishments kept up, were never equally advantageous, and have ever cost more than they produced. The treaties by which they could claim a share of the opium and salt-petre were not renewed on the late peace ; consequently that advantage is done away. We are, by conquest, masters of the whole country, and have a right to prohibit our subjects from trading with them. The surrender, therefore, of these settlements to France and Holland, seems a very useless gift ; and in that light it appears to be considered by them, for hitherto they have not taken possession of either, nor has a single French or Dutchman arrived at the place, although several months have elapsed since the right was restored to them by the treaty.

At a short distance from Chinsura we left our boats, as the tide had made against us ; and with only two dandys,⁷ moving against it was impracticable. Here we expected to have met the carriage of Mr. Brook ; but this was doomed to be a day of

* A foot messenger.

disappointments; no conveyance was there, we were four miles from Hoogly, and the sun was still very hot. It was at length determined that I should [70] proceed with all expedition in my palanquin, and send a conveyance for them, Messrs. Graham and Salt alternately occupying the one intended for the latter. In little more than a hour I arrived at Mr. Brook's, who had not sent his carriage, for the best of all possible reasons, because it was broken. He was much concerned for the situation of my fellow-travellers, and a gig was with all expedition sent to meet them. He now kindly prepared a dinner for us, as we could not wait for his, and by the time it was ready, Messrs. Graham and Salt reached us. Of Hoogly I saw nothing, as it was nearly dark when I arrived, and quite so when I departed. The situation of Mr. Brook's house is very pleasantly situated on a bend of the river, whence it commanded a very beautiful prospect. I had here to take my leave of an excellent friend, Mr. Graham, from whom, during my stay, I had received every mark of hospitality and friendship, and who had arranged every thing for my comfort during the long journey which I was now about to undertake. There were two roads by which I might have proceeded for Benares. One new, carried over the mountainous and wild part of Bahar, but two hundred miles nearer than the old, through the populous cities of Bengal. If I had taken the former, I must have proceeded day and night, halting only three times; on the latter road, I had nearly every twenty-four hours a place, where I could rest during the heat of the day, and I should be able to see many of the most celebrated cities of the East. The old road was therefore preferred, as health was infinitely more important, than either time or expense, and it was hitherto impossible for me to judge, how I should bear the Eastern mode of travelling. Bearers for our palanquins had been ordered at the different towns, to be placed at stages about ten miles from [71] each other, so that we had every reason to hope we should proceed without difficulty from one residence to another, intending to travel always during the night and halt in the day, as the scenery in Bengal is uninteresting from the uniform flatness of the country. For each palanquin were required eight bearers, which formed a complete change; we had also three mussal^s or link boys, and three men to carry our luggage. A palanquin is too well known to need particular description. Ours were fitted up with vene-

tian blinds, and pillows for sleeping, and were long enough to allow of our lying in them at full length. Not one of the party could speak a word of the language : I think, therefore, we were bold at least in venturing to set forward on a journey of 800 miles without an interpreter. At half after seven in the evening, having taken leave of our friends, we partly undressed ourselves, and well wrapped up in bedgowns went to bed in our palanquins, and proceeded on our journey. The motion, though incessant, was by no means violent. I soon composed myself to rest, but was awakened by my bearers at the first changing place asking for buxys, or presents : I gave them, as is now pretty customary, a rupee for each palanquin, and finding myself cold, though every window was shut, added a shawl to my covering. I was soon so perfectly reconciled to my lodging, that nothing but the application for buxys awakened me.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE TOWN OF CALCUTTA*

[235] The town of Calcutta is at present well worthy of being the seat of our Eastern Government, both from its size, and from the magnificent buildings which decorate the part of it inhabited by Europeans. The Citadel of Fort William, commenced by Lord Clive, immediately after the battle of Plassey, is a very fine work, but greatly too large for defence. The esplanade leaves a grand opening, on the edge of which is placed the new Government House erected by Lord Wellesley, a noble structure, although not without faults in the architecture ; and, upon the whole, not unworthy of its destination. The sums expended upon it have been considered as extravagant by those who carry European ideas and European economy into Asia ; but they ought to remember, that India is a country of splendour, of extravagance, and of outward appearances : that the Head of a mighty empire ought to conform himself to the prejudices of the

* Lord Valentia, returned to Calcutta on October 7, 1803 after visiting Benares, Lucknow and other parts of Upper India. Under date October 7 he wrote : "By ten we got to Chaupaul gaut, where we disembarked to go up the country. Mr. Graham's carriage was waiting, and conveyed us to his house at Chouringee". Chapter V of volume I begins at page 235.

country he rules over ; and that the British, in particular, ought to emulate the splendid works of the Princes of the House of Timour, lest it should be supposed that we merit the reproach which our great rivals, the French, have ever cast upon us, of being alone influenced by a sordid, mercantile spirit. In short, I wish India to be ruled from a palace, not from a counting-house ; [236] with the ideas of a Prince, not with those of a retail dealer in muslins and indigo.

On a line with this edifice is a range of excellent houses, chunamed, and ornamented with verandahs. Chouringhee, an entire village of palaces, runs for a considerable length at right angles with it, and, altogether, forms the finest view I ever beheld in any city. The Black Town is as complete a contrast to this as can well be conceived. Its streets are narrow and dirty : the houses, of two stories, occasionally brick, but generally mud, and thatched, perfectly resembling the cabins of the poorest class in Ireland.

Twenty years ago, during a famine, the population of Calcutta was estimated at 500,000. I have little doubt that it now amounts to 700,000. The most remarkable sight of the kind I ever beheld was the throng that fills these streets in an evening. I drove for three miles through them without finding a single opening, except what was made by the servants preceding the carriage. The Strand in London exhibits nothing equal to it, for the middle is here as much crowded as the sides. In the year 1742, the Mahratta ditch was commenced, to protect the inhabitants from the incursions of that Power, then ravaging the whole of Bengal, and besieging Aliverdi Khan in his capital of Moorshadabad. It was intended to surround the whole of our territories, a circumference at that time of not more than seven miles ; yet now it scarcely forms the boundary of this capital of our Eastern possessions. The first fort was erected here in 1696. Our factories were then at Hoogly, but were moved two years afterwards. This little fort, which fell through the cowardice of its governor, and the want of military knowledge in the remaining officers, into the hands of Seraja-ud-Dowlah, in [237] 1757, is now used as a custom-house ; and that spot, which could then hold our trade, our military stores, and a great part of the inhabitants, is now too small for the convenience of our revenue officers. The Black Hole is now part of a godown, or warehouse :

it was filled with goods, and I could not see it. A monument is erected facing the gate, to the memory of the unfortunate persons who there perished. It also records the infamy of those, who, by removing their ships from the vicinity of the fort, left so many brave men at the mercy of a madman.

The air of Calcutta is much affected by the closeness of the jungle around it. The natives have formed a complete belt, which commences near the town, and extends in every direction full four miles deep. This is planted with fruit-trees, and is completely impervious to the air. The country is a perfect flat, everywhere intersected by nullahs, and here and there a small lake, rendering the plantations more insalubrious. Lord Wellesley has made one or two wide roads through the middle, which, I am informed, has sensibly improved the atmosphere. More ought to be made, and, if possible, the marshes should be drained : this would improve the roads, which, in general, are very bad, impeding the conveyance of provisions to market. The place is certainly less unhealthy than formerly, which advantage is attributed to the filling up of the tanks in the streets, and the clearing more and more of the jungle ; but in my opinion it is much more owing to an improved knowledge of the diseases of the country, and of the precautions to be taken against them, and likewise to greater temperance in the use of spirituous liquors,⁹ and a superior construction of the houses. Consumptions are very frequent among the ladies, which I attribute [238] in great measure to their incessant dancing, even during the hottest weather. After such violent exercise they go into the verandahs, and expose themselves to a cool breeze and damp atmosphere.

A quay has lately been formed in front of the Custom-house, and promises to be a great improvement. Many objections have been made to its erection, probably by interested persons. It is asserted that vessels cannot lie close to it with safety, as a north-wester, or gale from any quarter, may drive them against it : but it is obvious that the same force would drive them on shore, were the quay out of the way. The expense of unshipping the the ladings was enormous, and will be completely obviated if the plan of embankment is carried the whole length of the town. This is now in agitation, and I hope will be resolved upon. It has been said that sand will accumulate against it ; which seems

to me an extraordinary idea, since I conceive the current will not fail to keep it clear, and that the only danger is of its being undermined. An extension of the Custom-house itself, and of its establishment, will soon be necessary; at present the delay is considerable from the vast increase of traffic.

Since I left Calcutta in March, the iron rails round the Government House have been finished. The space now to be cleared will certainly have a noble effect; and the Writers' buildings being newly repaired, form a good object from the end of the street that leads from the northern front. These buildings would have been bought by Government for the purpose their name imports, but too much money was asked for them.

The society of Calcutta is numerous and gay; the fetes given by the Governor General are frequent, splendid, and well arranged. The Chief Justice, the Members of Council, and Sir Henry Russel, [239] each open their houses once a week for the reception of those who have had the pleasure of being presented to them. Independently of these, hardly a day passes, particularly during the cool season, without several large dinner parties being formed, consisting generally of thirty or forty: the convivial hospitality which prevails on these occasions would render them extremely pleasant, were they more limited; but a small and quiet party seems unknown in Calcutta. A Subscription Assembly also exists, but seems unfashionable; it is however the only place of public amusement, and I see no hopes of any other being established; for the fashionable world of Calcutta is unfortunately so divided into parties, that it is improbable any plan of public amusement could be brought forward which would not meet with opposition.

It is usual in Calcutta to rise early, in order to enjoy the cool air of the morning, which is particularly pleasant, before sunrise. At twelve they take a hot meal, which they call tiffin, and then generally go to bed for two or three hours. The dinner hour is commonly between seven and eight, which is certainly too late in this hot climate, as it prevents an evening ride at the proper time, and keeps them up till midnight, or later. The viands are excellent, and served in great profusion, to the no small satisfaction of the birds, and beasts of prey, to whose share a considerable proportion of the remains fall; for the lower order of the Portuguese, to whom alone they would be serviceable,

cannot consume the whole ; and the religious prejudices of the native servants prevent them from touching any thing that is not drest by their own cast. To this circumstance is to be attributed the amazing flocks of crows and kites, which, undisturbed by man, live together in amicable society, [240] and almost cover the houses and gardens. In their profession of scavengers, the kites and crows are assisted during the day by the adjutant-bird,¹⁰ and at night by foxes, jackals, and hyenas, from the neighbouring jungles. The wines chiefly drank are Madeira and claret ; the former, which is excellent, during the meal ; the latter, afterwards. The claret being medicated for the voyage, is too strong, and has little flavour.

The usual mode of travelling is by palanquins, but most gentlemen have carriages adapted to the climate, and horses, of which the breed is much improved of late years. It is universally the custom to drive out between sun-set and dinner. The mussalchees, when it grows dark, go out to meet their masters on their return, and run before them, at the rate of full eight miles an our, and the numerous lights moving along the esplanade produces a singular and pleasing effect. It was formerly the fashion for gentlemen to dress in white jackets on all occasions, which were well suited to the country ; but being thought too much an undress for public occasions, they are now laid aside for English cloth. The architecture of all the houses is Grecian, which I think by no means the best adapted to the country, as the pillars, which are generally used in the verandahs, require too great an elevation to keep out the sun, during the greater part of the morning and evening, although the heat is excessive at both those periods. In the rainy season it is still worse, as the wet beats in, and renders them totally useless. The more confined Hindoo or Gothic architecture, would surely be preferable.

On lord Wellesley's first arrival in this country, he set his face decidedly against horse-racing, and every other species of gambling ; [241] yet at the end of November, 1803, there were three day's races at a small distance from Calcutta. Very large sums were betted, and of course were lost by the inexperienced. There are a few steady and practised gamblers, who encourage every species of play among the young servants of the Company, and

make a considerable profit by their imprudence. As those are marked characters, I wonder they are not sent away.

EURASIANS

The most rapidly accumulating evil of Bengal is the increase of half-cast children. They are forming the first step to colonization, by creating a link of union between the English and the natives. In every country where this intermediate cast has been permitted to rise, it has ultimately tended to the ruin of that country. Spanish America and St. Domingo are examples of this fact. Their increase in India is beyond calculation ; and though possibly there may be nothing to fear from the sloth of the Hindoos, and the rapidly declining consequence of the Musulmauns, yet it may be justly apprehended that this tribe may hereafter become too powerful for control. Although they are not permitted to hold offices under the Company, yet they act as clerks in almost every mercantile house, and many of them are annually sent to England to receive the benefit of an European education. With numbers in their favour, with a close relationship to the natives, and without an equal proportion of that pusillanimity and indolence which is natural to them, what may not in time be dreaded from them ? I have no hesitation in saying that the evil ought to be stopt ; and I know no other way of effecting this object, than by obliging every father of half cast children, to send them to Europe, prohibiting their return in any capacity whatsoever. The expense that would [242] thus attend upon children, would certainly operate as a check to the extension of zenanas, which are now but too common among the Europeans ; and this would be a benefit to the country, no less in a moral, than in a political view.

After making these observations, I turn with much satisfaction to the brighter parts of the character of my Eastern countrymen. I can truly affirm, that they are hospitable in the highest degree, and that their generosity is unbounded. When an officer of respectability dies, in either the civil or military service, leaving a widow or children, a subscription is immediately set on foot, which in every instance has proved liberal, and not unfrequently has conferred on the parties a degree of affluence, that the life of the husband or parent could not for years have insured them.

The hearts of the British in this country seem expanded by opulence : they do every thing upon a princely scale ; and consequently do not save half the money that might be done with a narrower economy. The beginning, however, of a fortune being once made, it collects as rapidly as a snow ball. In seven years, or less, a capital is doubled ; so that ten thousand rupees given to a child at birth, is a handsome independence by the time it arrives at the age of twenty-one.

The Supreme Court is held in deserved repute, and the business is conducted with due decorum. The chief Interpreter has been permitted to act as a police magistrate, in consequence of which his deputy sometimes appears in causes, the importance of which calls loudly for his master. The Court, when I was there, was once delayed two hours by a confusion of the terms *repaid*, and *advanced*, made by this man, in a cause in which General Martin's¹¹ executors [243] were defendants. I had the satisfaction of hearing the Court order them to pay two lacs and a half to the plaintiff, a shroff of Lucknow. The affair was one of the General's frauds, who had borrowed the money of him, and several other natives, to lend it to Asoph-ud-Dowlah ; and on his being repaid he refused to return them their share ; and they dared not complain, as the Nawaub would instantly have seized it. They, however, kept his bond, and recovered on it with interest.

THOUGHTS ON CONVERSION

It will hardly be believed that in this splendid city, the head of a mighty Christian empire, there is only one church of the establishment of the mother country, and that by no means conspicuous, either for size or ornament. It is also remarkable, that all British India does not afford one Episcopal See, while that advantage has been granted to the province of Canada ; yet it is certain that from the remoteness of the country, and the peculiar temptations to which the freedom of manners exposes the clergy, immediate Episcopal superintendence can no where be more requisite. From the want of this it is painful to observe, that the characters of too many of that order, are by no means creditable to the doctrines they profess, which together with the unedifying contests that prevail among them

even in the pulpit, tend to lower the religion, and its followers, in the eyes of the natives of every description. If there be any plan for conciliating the minds of the natives to Christianity, it is so manifestly essential it should appear to them in a respectable form at the seat of Government, that I presume all parties will allow, that the first step should be to place it there upon a proper footing.

Since my return to England, I find that an Episcopal establishment-[244]ment for India, upon a very large scale, has been publicly recommended by the Rev. Dr. Buchanan. Were its expediency in other respects agreed upon, I fear the present state of the revenue in that country, would render such a serious addition to the expenditure, unjustifiable; but the maintenance of one Bishop could not reasonably be objected to: for, with a revenue of eleven millions, it becomes a duty to appropriate a part to religious purposes, and not a mere consideration of eligibility; I therefore concur with the Doctor, in an earnest wish that such an appointment should take place without delay. In the contemplation of such a measure, I shall state my ideas relative to the situation, authority, and duties of a Bishop for India.

I conceive it to be essentially requisite that the person appointed to this sacred office should devote himself to it for life, renouncing every expectation of returning to England in advanced years, and enjoying himself in indolence upon a pension. He should consider the tie connecting him with his diocese as indissoluble, and place all his felicity in performing his duties with fidelity and honour. He should be free from the rage of proselyting, that he may be able to observe with impartiality the conduct of those whose zeal leads them to attempt the conversion of the Hindoos, and that he may prevent a recurrence of that violation of their prejudices, which has so recently been practised by some of the Missionaries; as conduct highly reprehensible, which, if persevered in, will certainly induce them to decline all instruction, if it does not provoke them to expel the British from India. He should be invested with the full power of suspending and ordering home any of his delinquent clergy, without which it would be impossible for him to maintain [245] effectual discipline; and if a right of appeal against his sentence were thought advisable to be granted, it should be either to an

Archbishop, or to the King in council ; since a power of reversal lodged in the India Company might be found as detrimental in ecclesiastical, as it is in civil affairs. Even delicacy should induce them to decline it, since it is scarcely possible that all could be unprejudiced judges in the case of a person appointed by themselves.

I should be much inclined to urge the propriety of extending to the whole clergy of India the principle of perpetual residence ; but in order to induce men of real merit to accept of an office requiring them to abandon the hopes of returning to their native country, a stipend should be annexed to it, sufficient to enable them to support a mode of living correspondent to their dignity, and make an adequate provision for their families. If a pension were allowed for the widows, it would be an additional motive to the truly respectable, and would render a large salary less necessary.

In every view, political as well as religious, it is highly desirable that men of liberal education and exemplary piety should be employed ; who, by their manners, would improve the tone of society in which they lived, and by the sacredness of their character operate as a check on the tendency to licentiousness that too frequently prevails.

The splendour of Episcopal worship should be maintained in the highest degree our church allows. On the natives of India, accustomed to ceremonial pomp, and greatly swayed by external appearances, it would impress that respect for our religion, of which, I am sorry to say, they are chiefly by our neglect of it at [246] present destitute. The natural effect of which has been to excite a doubt in the minds of the Hindoo, of our own belief in that faith, we are so anxious to press upon him.

The native inhabitants of Calcutta may, indeed, from the sight of one solitary church, believe that we have a national religion, but I know of nothing that can give this information to the rest of our Eastern subjects. Whilst the Mussulmaun conquerors of India have established mosques in every town of their dominions, the traveller, after quitting Calcutta, must seek in vain for any such mark of the religion of their successors.

Another great obstacle to the reception of Christianity by the Hindoos, is the admission of the Parias into our church, among whom the chief conversions have been made, since nothing can

be more shocking to their ideas than the equality thus produced between the higher and lower casts. As long as this distinction continues to exist, it will be impossible to obliterate such notions; and any innovation attempted by Government in this respect, would be resisted by the utmost force of prejudice.

Although the Hindoos have adopted from us, various improvements in their manufactures of salt-petre, opium, and indigo, and have made rapid advances in the knowledge of ship-building, practical mathematics, and navigation; yet none of these acquirements have interfered with their religious prejudices. The instant these are touched, they fly off from all approximation to their masters, and an end is put to farther advancement. Nothing is therefore more to be avoided than alarming their jealousy on this head, and exciting the suspicion that Government means, in any manner, to interfere in the business of proselyting. The Brahmins [247] are a very powerful body; they are both an hereditary nobility, and a reigning hierarchy, looked up to with the highest veneration by the inferior casts, and possessed of the most distinguishing privileges: they will consequently oppose with their whole influence any attempt to subvert that system, upon which all their superiority depends. They have already taken alarm at the proceedings of the Missionaries in Bengal, and other parts: and, if driven to extremities, will doubtless excite a formidable disaffection to our Government among the natives. On the contrary, the former wise policy of treating them with respect, and giving a full toleration to their superstitions, was often attended with the happy effect of making them the instrument of enforcing useful regulations in the country; for they have never scrupled, when required, giving a sanction to the orders of Government to suppress hurtful practices, as in the case of sacrifice of children at Sorgur, and in many other instances. We should also be aware that, although the comparison between the Mussulmaun intolerance, and our contrary spirit, was so much in our favour, as to have had a powerful efficacy in attaching them to the British Government, knowing that they had only a choice of masters; yet were this difference of policy taken away, their habits and manners, which are more congenial to those of the Mussulmauns, would probably induce them to prefer their government to ours.

That the success of the Missionaries in China, Japan, and other

places, should have been brought forward by people unacquainted with India, as an argument of the probable conversion of the Hindoos, is not surprising ; but that it should have been urged by "a late resident in Bengal," does indeed astonish me ; for what [248] analogy is there between these countries and India ? There was no loss of cast, no civil disqualifications, no dread of future punishment, to prevent the Chinese, the Japanese, or the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands from becoming Christians ; yet all these impediments are in the way of the Hindoo ; and I confess I believe them unconquerable.

The conversions made by the Mahommedan sovereigns of India have also been quoted ; but as these are admitted to have been merely the effect of the utmost violence and oppression, they can hardly be used as an argument of the practicability of conversion by any other means ; and I trust they are not brought forward as an indirect recommendation of the coercive system of the Rev. Dr. Buchanan.

The conversion of the Christians of St. Thome has also been mentioned ; but the remote date of the period when it occurred, leaves us obscurely informed of the circumstances by which it was attended : we learn, however, that the Missionaries appeared in an humble condition, not likely to excite alarm or jealousy in the ruling powers of the country, who were then Hindoos. With respect to the later conversions by the Jesuits and other Catholic missionaries, besides their employing artifices which, it is presumed, would not be adopted by Protestants, the accounts of their extraordinary success cannot be credited, without admitting, on the same authority, the miracles of St. Francis Xavier and others, by which it is said to have been promoted.

The advocates for conversion seem to dread the force of the argument that may be brought against them from the former failure of the Mussulmauns to convert their Hindoo subjects, and the more [249] recent failure of the Catholic and other missionaries ; they therefore wish to argue, that, "something inefficient or unsuitable has entered into all their measures ;" but is it not more reasonable to suppose that there are insurmountable obstacles in the habits, laws, and religious prejudices of the inhabitants, that have prevented the pure doctrines of Christianity from having the same force over the minds of the

Indians that they acquired over the Japanese, Chinese, and other nations? Has not the Mussulmaun religion met with the same resistance from its first appearance, through the plenitude of its power, to its present decay? The Sultauns found they could destroy their subjects, they could raze their temples, but they could not convert them; not from any antipathy to the religion of their masters, but from an attachment to their own. Yet we should remember, that the Sultauns had advantages that we have not; they had a real, a physical power in the country, which rendered them superior to any risk of rebellion.

Very little encouragement is afforded therefore by past experience to expect that the future exertions of Missionaries should prove successful in converting the Hindoos from a religion to which they are so bigotedly attached, and which is interwoven with their whole civil polity; while the danger of such attempts, if apparently favoured by the British Government, is manifest and urgent.

I cannot forbear expressing my dissent from an opinion supported by Dr. Buchanan and other advocates for conversion, that if the Hindoos were to become Christians, they would be better subjects to the British dominion. I have no doubt that should this point be attained, they would presently cease to be subjects altogether. At present the Hindoe is irrevocably bound by the law of casts, to [250] continue in that situation in life to which he is born, and no exertion of talent can raise him one step beyond it: he therefore looks with perfect apathy on the political intrigues of the higher orders, and dreads a revolution as productive of great personal distress, and as putting to hazard his life and little property. But were the path of ambition laid open to him by that equalization which would be the consequence of the destruction of casts, and the general reception of Christianity: talents would have their free career, and every man of spirit would consider himself as the establisher of his own fortune. Is it credible then, that in such an event, so many millions of natives would submit to be governed by a few thousand Europeans, to whom they could feel no natural attachment, or obligation of allegiance?

Upon the whole, I am fully persuaded that the first step to be taken is that of rendering our own religion respectable in the eyes of our Indian subjects, by an establishment of greater

splendour and dignity, and especially by a better choice and more vigilant inspection of the regular clergy ; and that Government should studiously avoid interesting itself in the conversion of the natives, since it is impossible that they should not connect in their minds the zeal of proselyting, exerted by those in power, with a plan of coercion and intolerance. If placing in the hands of the Hindoos translations of the Scriptures into the languages of the country, will not induce them to make unfavourable comparisons between our lives and our doctrines, and consequently expose us to contempt, no objection can be made to such a dissemination of the principles of true religion. To its silent operation the cause of Christianity should be left, and who will not rejoice in its success ?

FORT WILLIAM COLLEGE

[251] The splendid Institution established at Fort William by the Marquis Wellesley, for the education of the junior European servants of the Company, is now no more ; and it is ever to be regretted that so magnificent and useful a plan should have been abandoned from interested motives, that would better have become the little spirit of a retail dealer, than the liberal policy which ought to actuate the government of a powerful empire. Indeed, when we consider the magnitude of our Indian possessions, their immense importance to Great Britain, and the difficulties which must arise in administering justice throughout so extensive an empire, it is obvious that the Company is bound, by a sacred duty, to provide for the welfare of its subjects by an unremitting attention to the education of those servants, who will be appointed to employments that can be entrusted with safety only to men of abilities, extensive information, and unsullied integrity. Nor will these qualifications alone enable them to discharge the duties which their situation imposes ; they must also possess a thorough knowledge of the different languages of the natives, an intimate acquaintance with their tempers and characters, and a clear insight into their various manners, habits, and customs.

To form characters at once, combining so many virtues and acquirements, is a task of considerable difficulty, even under the most favourable circumstances, and can only be accomplished by

a scrupulous attention to the early education of those ultimately destined to take so large a share in the government of India. Obvious as this reflection must appear to every thinking mind, it is somewhat singular, and greatly to be regretted, that the India Company should, for so long a period, have delayed the formation [252] of any establishment tending to regulate the morals, and instruct the understandings of its junior servants, and to prevent the recurrence of those irregularities and excesses, which have formerly disgraced the annals of our Indian history. Considering all the advantages under which the young writers laboured, and the many powerful temptations to which they must necessarily have been exposed, it is not so much matter for astonishment that numbers should have fallen, as that any individuals should have been found able to encounter them. That many such characters have been formed in India is incontrovertible ; but it is also not less strictly true, that, generally speaking, the licentiousness and incapacity of the Company's civil servants had long continued an evil of serious magnitude, loudly calling for reform. It cannot however be denied, that, in spite of the many abuses which existed from the want of education and capacity in those invested with the magistracy of the country the situation of those provinces, where the administration of the Government had been chiefly confided to Europeans, was, under every disadvantage, happier and more flourishing than the situation of those principally ruled by native authorities. The judicious policy of Marquis Cornwallis, which prompted him to extend this system throughout the provinces of Bengal, is therefore deserving of praise, though it is to be lamented that the same policy did not also induce him to institute some regular mode of education, calculated to qualify the European civil servants for those important posts which they were destined to occupy. It is true, indeed, that under his Lordship's Government, the comparatively small extent of our Indian possessions might not perhaps require so comprehensive an establish-[253]ment, as the one which the Marquis Wellesley so ably conceived, and carried into execution a few years afterwards, when the very great enlargement of our Indian dominions, and their encreased importance to the British empire, rendered it absolutely necessary that some system should be adopted likely to insure the inhabitants of so large a portion of Asia an equitable dispensation of the laws.

To effect so desirable a purpose, became a principal object with the Marquis Wellesley during his government of India. His penetrating and expanded genius readily perceived the immense political importance of such a measure, and its tendency to promote the advantage and ultimate happiness of the individuals themselves, for the regulation of whose education and conduct he was solicitous to provide. He saw that our Indian possessions had gradually arisen, from an insignificant trading settlement, to a mighty empire, extending over vast tracts of country, abounding with inhabitants, and producing yearly a revenue of sixteen millions ; which clearly pointed out the justice of appropriating a portion of this enormous sum for the benefit of the dominions whence it was derived.

Without entering into the narrow spirit of mercantile calculation, he did not so much consider what the Company might feel disposed to afford, as what it ought to afford ; and though he studiously endeavoured to avoid incurring all unnecessary expense in the accomplishment of his design, he was nevertheless desirous of placing it on a footing suitable to the dignity of the empire, and calculated to meet the exigencies of the occasion.

In establishing the College at Fort William, the Marquis Wellesley [254] appears to have had two grand objects in view : to watch over, and improve, the characters of the junior civil servants, and to afford them that peculiar species of education, which could alone qualify them for discharging the complicated duties of their station. To effect either of these purposes, it became absolutely necessary that some kind of control should be acquired over the young men, which could not be more unexceptionably and effectually obtained than by subjecting them to the confinement of a public institution, and placing them under the guidance and authority of a provost, and such other officers as it might be judged expedient to appoint. Without some powerful restrictions of this nature, it would have proved totally impracticable to keep a number of inconsiderate young men within the due bounds of a restraint.

The inadequacy of a more limited scheme has been unfortunately experienced, from the small portion of Lord Wellesley's plan still suffered to exist, which, though certainly useful in facilitating the acquirement of the native languages, is lamentably defective in all those essential purposes it was originally intended

to answer ; especially with regard to its most important object, of preserving the young men from the many temptations and dangers by which they must necessarily be assailed on their arrival in such a country as India, with no greater degree of experience than usually falls to the lot of school-boys, and in full possession of a splendid income, in the expenditure of which they are absolutely uncontrolled.

At the present time, there are few of these young men who do not keep their horses, commonly their carriages, and in many instances [255] their race-horses, which, together with the extravagant parties and entertainments frequent among them, generally involves them in difficulties and embarrassments at a very early period of their lives. The enormous expenses attendant upon these and similar irregularities, are much too considerable to be defrayed even by the princely allowance which the writers enjoy from the moment of their arrival in India. To support this profuse manner of living, they are compelled to borrow large sums, at an exorbitant interest, of the Dewan, who is frequently a native of rank, and acts as a species of upper servant. These men, deeply versed in all the mazes of Oriental subtlety, gradually insinuate themselves into the favour of their masters, and by encouraging their follies, and artfully supplying the means of dissipation, insensibly plunge them in almost inextricable difficulties, and eventually succeed in getting into their own hands the sole management of the writer's affairs.

While the young man remains in an inferior situation, the debt to the Dewan continues to encrease, from additional advances, and the rapid accumulation of interest ; and when the higher appointments at length become open, it takes years to clear off the embarrassments incurred by early extravagance.

It is fortunate, if, in the eagerness to free himself from his incumbrances, he be not induced to connive at the misconduct of the Dewan, and even to participate in the illegal profits, with which the latter is ever ready to allure him ; and though a large majority of those who arrive at the higher stations, pass through them with unsullied integrity, perfectly satisfied with the liberal allowances attached to their situation, and requiring no other [256] inducement than their own sense of right, to keep them from every thing approaching to dishonour, yet it is nevertheless certain, that some are still found unable to resist the temptation.

Whenever this deviation from the paths of rectitude has unfortunately occurred, it has uniformly originated in the misconduct of the young writer on his arrival in the country, and his consequent dependence upon his Dewan.

The most effectual mode of remedying this evil, is to place the young man in a situation where his conduct, and expenses, would be subject to the inspection and control of respectable persons, selected with judgment for the important office. Under such circumstances, the employment of a Dewan ought to be prohibited, and disobedience rendered liable to immediate detection and punishment. Had Lord Wellesley's plan of a College been acceded to, this desirable end would have been attained, and the young men subject to the restrictions and discipline of such an Institution would no longer have met with those facilities in raising money with which their present situation so often presents them. They must, in consequence, have been obliged to confine their expenditure to the liberal allowance of the East India Company, till called to the higher appointments, when, unincumbered in their affairs, and uncorrupted in their minds, they might rapidly and honestly have acquired, at an early period of their lives, that opulence which would ensure them affluence and comfort in their native country. This important object would also have been promoted by the early age at which the writers, when subject to collegiate restrictions, might have been sent to India; they might have gone at the tender age of fifteen, or even fourteen; and this would have enabled them to [257] return to the prime of life, with constitutions unimpaired, and habits uncontaminated by the luxuries of Asia.

In a political point of view, the advantages resulting from the proposed regulations would have been equally important, and must considerably have assisted the grand object of the judicious policy of England, to prevent colonization in all her Eastern settlements; since nothing could have a stronger tendency to hinder the Europeans from establishing themselves in India, than the prospect thus held out to them of a speedy return to their native climate, while the scenes of youthful days were fresh in their remembrance, and the ties of friendship, and of kindred, neither broken nor forgotten.

The great facility with which a knowledge of Oriental literature, and the customs, and laws of the natives might be acquired in

India, compared with the acquisition of similar attainments in England, is too obvious to need discussion ; and considering it was the intention of Lord Wellesley, that all the Presidencies of our Eastern empire should be equally benefited by his establishment, the consequent charges ought not to have created an objection. These had been in a great measure already defrayed, and the funds, which he proposed to appropriate for that express purpose, were fully competent to answer every future demand ; yet it appears by the official documents of the Court of Directors, that the dread of incurring expense formed the chief and almost the sole reason for abolishing an Institution, "which", it was admitted, "would under other circumstances have been thought deserving of the most serious consideration."

Since the above was written, a College has been established at Hertford, on a plan somewhat similar to that at Calcutta, which must be considered as an acknowledgment, that the principle of [258] Marquis Wellesley was correct ; and it is a little singular that, although the exhausted state of the Company's finances was declared to be the immediate occasion of the rejection of his Lordship's plan, much heavier expenses have been incurred by the present scheme than would have been attended the completion of the former, without having in any respect answered the important objects, which originally suggested the expediency of its adoption. This failure is by no means to be attributed to the gentlemen appointed to superintend the College, many of whom are men of great talents and knowledge ; and it is only to be regretted, that their exertions are not employed at the place where alone they can be of essential service—at Calcutta.

In England their efforts are completely thrown away, as the students, during a few months residence in India, would gain a greater insight into the necessary branches of Eastern literature, than the study of many years in this country would afford ; and with respect to the customary acquirements of classical education, the pupils had equal opportunities of previously attaining them at any of our public schools.

The School attached to the College is almost too insignificant to deserve mention. Where can masters be procured qualified to teach the different languages of the East ? Will the menial servants of gentlemen returned from India be appointed ? Can

such men be supposed competent to so important an undertaking? If not, where then are masters to be procured? The whole appears to have been a mere pretext for the extension of patronage, unless indeed it was intended as a seminary for missionaries, a purpose it has been publicly recommended to answer in a Prize Distribution [259] by the Rev. Hugh Pearson, which, I am sorry to say, has been ushered into the world under the sanction of the University of Oxford.

Upon the whole, when we compare the respective systems of Marquis Wellesley, and the Court of Directors; when we consider how much in all probability would have been effected by the adoption of the one, and how very little the establishment of the other is likely to produce, even though attended with greater burthens, it is impossible for an unprejudiced mind to avoid a suspicion, that no small proportion of jealousy of his Lordship's administration was combined with the dread of incurring expense on the part of the Directors.

DOWN THE HOOGLY

[263] December 6.—After various disappointments and changes of plan, I took my passage in the Olive, Captain Matthews, going with rice to Columbo. On the sixth of December, I went on board the Charles transport, for conveyance down the river, accompanied by Mr. Salt, and attended by my English servant, and a Portuguese, who was a native of Madras. Mr. Graham was so obliging as to join us in a vessel of his own. We weighed anchor at day-light, and proceeded on our way. We passed the remains of Fort Mornington, built at the junction of the Roopnaram with the Hoogly, for the purpose of commanding the navigation, but which has been abandoned in consequence of the unhealthiness of the situation. The former river here forms a very large sheet of water, but has many shoals; and as it directly faces the approach from the sea, whilst the Hoogly turns to the right, frequently occasions the loss of vessels, which are carried up it by the force of the tide. The eddy, caused by the bend in the Hoogly, has here formed the most dangerous sand in the passage to Calcutta, called the James and Mary, around which the channel is never the same for a week together. There is not probably a worse navigation

in the world than that from Sorgur to Calcutta. It is so changeable, that every dry season a regular survey is obliged to be made, and even that is not sufficient to prevent accidents, though the pilots are skilful and well paid ; for [264] two vessels that had been lost were lying on the shores as we passed down. I was informed they were both old and deeply laden ; that the moment they struck there were no hopes of them : but that all the stores, &c. would be saved. The underwriters can well afford to pay for the *ad valorem* loss ; they have been making fortunes since intelligence of war arrived, as the premium rose to ten per cent. and, the enemy having had no official intelligence of war, not a ship has been taken.

December 7.—At one P.M. we got to Kedgerec, where the Olive was at anchor waiting for us. Captain Matthews immediately came on board. After a cold and sorrowful meal, I took leave of my excellent and hospitable friend Mr. Graham, and removed to the Olive. We immediately set sail, and at night anchored at Sorgur.

NOTES

1. For this and similar obsolete spellings we here subjoin a list, giving the modern usage, followed by Valentia's orthography : Baksheesh (buxys), Bohar (Bahar), burden (burthen), caste (cast), Chandpal Ghat (Chaupaul Champaul gaut), Chowrighee (Chouringee), Ghat (gaut), increase (encrease), Mangoes (Mangos), Mangosteen (mangusteen), Musalman (Mussulmaun), Nawab (Nawaub), Nepal (Napaul), Pariahs (Parias), Rupnarayan (Roopnaram), Saugor (Sorgur), St Thomas (St. Thome), Sepoy (seapoy), Sultan (Sultaun), Sunderbans (Sunderbunds) and tiffin (tiffing).
2. Saugor Mela was over by the time Lord Valentia reached that island as it must have taken place on January 14, the day of Makar Sankranti.
3. Lord Valentia was a great admirer of Marquis Wellesley and his *Travels* is dedicated to him—"Richard, Marquis Wellesley, K. ST. P. and K.C. Late Governor-General of the British Possessions, and Captain-General of the British Forces serving in the East Indies".
4. Henry Salt, the artist, accompanied Lord Valentia as his "Secretary and Draftsman". Salt's sketches of the Government House at Barrackpore are well-known and a miniature one is reproduced by Lord Valentia at the head of Chapter I of his Vol. I, Salt's 24 *Views* are famous.

5. See *Calcutta Gazette* of 27th January 1803 or Seton-Karr's *Selections* from ditto for 1803, pp. 83-88 for details of the 'fete in honor of peace'.
6. On page 1 : 81 Lord Valentia wrote : "Bungalows for the accommodation of travellers have been erected at proper distances, but as they are constructed only of mud and thatch, the neglect of two or three years would totally ruin them".
7. James Forbes in his *Oriental Memoirs* (second edition, London, 1834, vol. II, p. 452) wrote of dandys : "During the last few days, sailing with a light wind has given some respite to the labours of the *dandies*, or boatmen, who pass their lives in great exertion on these rivers ; in coming down the Ganges they are obliged to row, and in going up against the stream, are constantly tracking with the rope. As few conditions are without their relative comforts, so the dandies have theirs. During the evening meal and nightly halt, the toil of the day is forgotten ; they generally contrive to bring their boats to some convenient station, where numerous fires blaze on the banks, a good supper is dressed, and mirth and festivity unite with the adventures of the day, to beguile the time till their meal is finished, and all lie down to repose. No fires are permitted in the budjerows ; those who wish for hot meals have them dressed in separate boats".
8. "The occupation of massaulchee, or torch-bearer, although generally allotted to the village barber, in the purgaunnas under my charge, may vary in other districts. The massaul, or torch, in India, is composed of coarse rags, rolled up to the size of an English flambeau, eighteen or twenty inches long, fixed in a brass handle : this is carried in the left hand ; in the right the massaulchee holds a brass vessel containing the oil, with which he feeds the flame as occasion requires. By these means a bright extensive light is kept up." (Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, 1834, vol. II, p. 43).
9. Lord Valentia (vol. II, pp. 185-186) wrote : "One of the greatest evils in India is the cheapness of spirituous liquors, which leads to a dreadful mortality among the European soldiers, particularly on their first arrival. The quantity allowed by Government is too great, if not totally useless. In the field, it is, a gallon for every twenty men, or two drams each : at other times only half the quantity."
10. "The adjutant-bird, or argali, a large bird of the crane species, is sometimes near six feet high, and from twelve to fifteen from the extremity of each wing. The adjutant, one of the ugliest in the Indian ornithology, is as useful as the stork in Holland, or the ibis in Egypt, and equally venerated by the Hindoos : it not only destroys serpents and noxious reptiles, but eats up the carrion and offal in towns and villages, which in that climate are extremely offensive. I know not why this bird is called the adjutant ; the name of sentinel would perhaps be more appropriate ; for, when

not in quest of food, they stand motionless, in a pensive attitude, like so many statues. Their pendent red crow, and coarse breast, bare of feathers, but protruding some long dark hairs, have a forbidding appearance". (Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, 1834, vol. I, pp. 403-404).

11. Lord Valentia's account of his visit to Constantia and his remarks about Claud Martin are reproduced here from volume I of his *Travels*, pp. 162-167.

CLAUD MARTIN

[162] June 3 (1803).—I went out to dine at Constantia, once the residence of General Martin. It is a strange fantastical building of every species of architecture, and adorned with minute stucco fret-work, enormous red lions with lamps instead of eyes, Chinese mandarins and [163] ladies with shaking heads, and all the gods and goddesses of the heathen mythology.* It has a handsome effect at a distance, from a lofty tower in the centre with four turrets; but on a nearer approach, the wretched taste of the ornaments only excites contempt. A more extraordinary combination of Gothic towers, and Grecian pilasters, I believe, was never before devised. Within, the hall is very fine, but the other apartments are small and gloomy, loaded with stucco work painted yellow, to imitate gilding. It is not yet finished, but by his will he has directed that it shall be completed according to his own plan. He bequeathed it to the public as a serai, every stranger being permitted to take up his residence there for two months. As yet this has been no advantage to any one; his executors having been more employed in defending his property against the numerous claimants that have started up, than in carrying this part of his will into effect.

A more infamous or despicable character than the late General Martin never existed. He had not a single virtue, though he laboured to assume the appearance of several. He took the female orphan children of two of his friends, declaring that he would educate and provide for them both; but when they reached the age of twelve, they unwillingly became his concubines. His death was supposed to be the consequence of the

* Many of these have been demolished, and most of them injured, by the earthquake of the 1st of September. (Note on p. 163).

perpetration of this last crime. Another child he promised to educate, and actually sent to England, and during his life he had the credit of having done a generous action; but on his death, every item that he had expended was found in his accounts debited to the father, with an especial order to his executors to recover the whole. His [164] fortune was raised by fraud and usury to upwards of two hundred thousand pounds, independent of houses; yet with affluence to which he had never been brought up, and which, of course, he knew not how to enjoy, he never did a generous act, and never had a friend. His dependents, who had faithfully served him through life, he left to poverty at this death. To his brother, who came out hither he liberally gave fifty rupees per month, saying, with a curse, "Let him work for his bread, as I have done!" In an account of his life which I have seen, it is said that he made a great deal of money by securing the property of the natives in troublesome times, on their paying him twelve per cent. The fact is, that he opened a regular pawnbroker's shop, where he advanced twelve per cent. on any goods or jewels, the people having a right to redeem them within the year by paying twenty four per cent; but if that was not done, he kept them for ever; and this very frequently happened; sometimes even by his own management in keeping out of the way towards the end of the period; so that his debtors, if capable and willing, had no means of redeeming their pledges. The late Nawaub's idiotical propensities were another fruitful source of profit to him; he purchased different articles in Europe, and sold them at 100 £, 200 £, or 500 £, per cent. lending him at the same time money to pay himself at 3 £ per cent. per month. In this branch of his profit I am sorry to say that many English, resident at Lucknow, deeply participated. General Martin certainly loved his money dearly, but he loved fame still more, and at an immense expense he laboured to acquire it. From this idea he built the vast habitations in this neighbourhood, and finished them in the most expensive manner; and from the same idea, the mass of his property is [165] bequeathed to charitable purposes. Fame he may probably obtain; but it is a species of fame that no good man would desire; and, if he is handed down to posterity, as a man who raised himself to riches and power from the condition of a private soldier, it will also be added,

that his riches were contaminated by the methods employed in obtaining them, and that his character was stained by almost every vice that can disgrace human nature. The present visit was to a Mr. Quiros, a Portuguese native, who having acted as clerk to the late General, was by him left one of the executors to his will, by which he was thriven well, and is now becoming a man of considerable property.

After dinner several of us visited the General's tomb, which is down stairs in the centre of the house. It is a plain marble slab, relating that he came out to India a private soldier, and died a Major-General; and though he nominally died a Protestant, yet by his special directions, the spectators are in the last line requested to pray for his soul. The tomb is placed in an arched vault, the approach to which is by a circular room of larger dimensions. There are two other similar vaults, one on each side. His apartment faces the entrance, and the four doors answer to each other. On a niche over the tablet is placed his bust, which is said to be like, though he himself never was pleased with it. Mr. Quiros, to show his taste, has placed there, in niches, four paper grenadiers, with reversed arms, leaning over the tomb. Constantia cost seven lacs (= lakhs) of rupees; the furniture was mostly sold: the girandoles and mirrors were bought for the new Government-house in Calcutta. To the house is annexed a very noble garden, and extensive mango tope. The country around is a barren sand, and dead flat. Indeed the General [166] could not have pitched on an uglier spot in the vicinity of Lucknow. His house nearer town is in many respects pleasanter than Constantia. The room that overhangs the river, and the other built by its side, are admirably adapted for the hot winds. It is impossible to suffer from heat, while you continue squatted like a toad, in one of those little cellars. The caprice of iron doors, massive stone walls, and narrow winding staircases, with draw-bridges and battlements, give this house much the appearance of the castle in Blue Beard. The expense of it was three or four lacs (= lakhs). Mr. Quiros bought it at the sale for about 40,000 rupees; he bid against the Nawaub, who has since made him sincerely repent it, by taking from him different leases, and persecuting him on every occasion. He now wishes to dispose of it to him as a peace-offering, and a treaty for the sale is

actually going on. It has a very commodious zenana annexed, and is therefore a desirable country residence for his Excellency. At all his numerous garden-houses he has no separate habitation for his women. He is consequently obliged, when at any of them, either to give up their society, or to seclude himself totally with them. (One para omitted here).

July 1. His Excellency some days ago concluded his purchase of the house of the late General Martin. He was so much pleased on [167] the occasion, that he determined to give two dinners, which comprehended the whole European party at Lucknow; accordingly we this day dined with him, as did every body except the bachelor officers of the guard, who attended the next day.

CALCUTTA IN 1805

By I. H. T. Roberdeau.

[This Chapter dealing with life in Calcutta and Mymensingh was published in the *Bengal Past and Present*, volume XXIX, Serial Nos. 57-8, pp. 110-147 under the original title, "A Young Civilian in Bengal in 1805". The Introductory Note as well as footnotes are by the Editor of that Journal. The pagination within square brackets is of that Journal.

* * * *

Among the exhibits shown by Rao Bahadur D.B. Parasnis of Satara at the Poona session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, was a small slim volume containing manuscript notes on life in Calcutta and at Mymensingh. The book proved upon examination to be full of interest and by the courtesy of the Rao Bahadur, we are enabled to present a transcription

The manuscript ends with the initials "H.R."; and contains the following note, which is the only external indication of its source : "I leave this manuscript little volume to my cousin LeMesurier, B.C.R. September, 1855." The narrative itself, however, affords certain clues which make it possible to identify it definitely as the work of Isaac Henry Townley Roberdeau, who was appointed to be a writer on the Bengal establishment on the 29th August, 1799. These clues have been skilfully followed up by Baboo Suresh Chandra Roy, of the Bengal Secretariat Record Room, and the following memorandum is from his pen.

Roberdeau's career in Bengal was brief. He was posted as Assistant Collector to Mymensingh on the 23rd June, 1801¹ and remained in this district for the rest of his service. He became "Register to the Zillah Judge" on the 11th August, 1803² and he was filling that office, as he himself relates, at the time when he wrote his account of life in Mymensingh. He was appointed to officiate as Magistrate and Judge of the district vice Mr. J. Rattray from 6th April, 1805³ and again from 15th March, 1806.⁴ On the 11th March, 1807, he was appointed Assistant to the Judge and Magistrate of the district⁵, but in the following April had to apply for one month's leave, "after a very severe fit of illness", "for the purpose of proceeding on the river for the change of air".⁶ He died at Mymensingh on the 28th April, 1808.⁷

Reference is made in the manuscript to the separation of the Judicial jurisdiction of the Dacca and Mymensingh districts twelve or fourteen

years previously to the writer's own appointment as Registrar (Register). The separation was effected in the year 1793⁸, and this passage must therefore refer [III] to some time about the year 1805. Moreover, one of the pen and ink sketches bound up with the manuscript, depicting the river front at Mymensingh, shows a bungalow described as "LeGros's," and Francis LeGros was Collector of Mymensingh from 28th December, 1975 to 13th July 1806.⁹ Dodwell and Miles's Civil List does not assign any officer with the initials "H.R." to Mymensingh in this period. It mentions, however, Isaac Henry Townley Roberdeau as Register at Mymensingh in 1803¹⁰, and correspondence has been traced in the Bengal Record Room, including two letters bearing his signature, which show that he signed regularly as Henry Roberdeau. There is a certain amount of variation in the autograph in different years¹¹, but the resemblance between the peculiarly characteristic "H.R." in the initials appended to the manuscript and the signature in these letters is unmistakable.

The account of life in Mymensingh can be assigned therefore to the period between the years 1803 and 1805, and the youthful spontaneity of the writer suggests that he had not been in India for many years when it was written. If further confirmation were required for ascribing it to this date, it would be found in points of resemblance with other accounts of life in Bengal at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. For instance, the writer's mention of the decline of the theatre in Calcutta recalls a passage in Carey's "Good Old Days of John Company".¹² "Where sweet Desdemona died," writes Henry Roberdeau, "the gentle Messieurs Roworth & Co., now dispose of Europe, China and Country Goods", and advertisements by this firm will be found in Seton Karr's *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette* for the year 1805.¹³ The narrative of life in Calcutta may be compared too with that in the novel "Hartly House", which predates Roberdeau's reminiscences by a few years.

Roberdeau's introductory quotation (omitted by us) is taken from the "Forms of Herkern, Persian Letter Writer," by Dr. Francis Balfour, an intimate friend of Warren Hastings, who entered the Company's Medical Service on the Bengal Establishment in 1769 and retired in 1807.)

[112] "Whenever there shall occur an omission or error, cover it with the Mantle of Generosity, and hold the Pen of Correction running over it."

Doctor Balfour's Herkern.

In describing the manners, customs, and amusements, of the Anglo-East-Indians I shall not be able to observe much method of detail, the subjects being very miscellaneous and incongruous.

As many of our domestic and slighter customs receive their origin from the season, it may be proper to say a word on that point. The Bengal year may, I think, be divided into three distinct parts; the first, commencing in March, and ending towards the middle or latter end of June, is what we denominate the Hot weather. The second, commencing at the last mentioned period and ending about the middle of October, is called the Rains. This period of the year is also very sultry but more variable than the "Hotweather." The last share or division is from the middle of October to the latter end of February, and this is the Cold season, of all others the most delightful. Being nearer the Equator, our Days and Nights are more equal than in Remoter Regions. The longest day (I reckon between sunrise and sun-set) may be computed at about thirteen hours and half, and the shortest at about ten hours and half. Our twilight is also less considerable than in England particularly in the Evening. Thus much by way of introduction.

You will recollect that I mean merely to describe the Bengal presidency, and therefore do not mention any thing of Madrass or other places. It is generally supposed that when a ship from England touches at Madrass the young Passengers have an opportunity of forming some judgment of the manners of Englishmen in India. Such I do not think is the case; situation always makes some difference of manners, & from what I had an opportunity of observing, I am not much inclined to bestow praise, at least on the hospitality of my Countrymen in that part of India. I should suspect some lurking pique or prejudice in this remark, if it were not supported by the opinion of others capable of pronouncing on the merits of the case. Let us go on to Diamond Harbour.

From the Pilot who comes on Board is learned all the news of Calcutta, at least all general public matters, and, what is of more importance to the Captains and others, the state of the market. His report will add half a foot to the length [113] of a face, or wrinkle it up into an universal grin. The Purser of the Ship has an invariable and established right to the first Boat that comes alongside after anchoring, in which he proceeds to Town with the dispatches. The Passengers must shift for themselves, and easily procure accommodation to Calcutta, which, if they are fortunate, they will reach in less than 2 days. There is a

half-way House on the Banks of the River which offers accommodation if necessary, and furnishes a Billiard Table for amusement. Nothing worthy of observation occurs save that part of the River called Garden reach where Gentlemen's Country Houses are situated. They have a fine effect. The extraordinary deep verdure of the Trees I recollect attracted my attention very particularly, but I doubt whether this might not be occasioned by having been so long a stranger to anything of the kind. As the Boat comes to, you may observe the Banks (at Calcutta) thronged with Sircars, Bearers, Khitmutghars, and a long list of plunderers ready to offer their services to the "Griffin" or new comer. He alights upon Bengal Terra firma "all gaze all wonder", hot and uncomfortable. Some one of the obliging multitude puts a Chhattah (umbrella) over his head, and offers to lead the way to a *Punch-House*, the name which Natives universally apply to a Tavern. Should he arrive in the middle of the day he will be much surprized at the silence and loneliness of the streets thro' which he passess. That is the hour at which the Natives generally take a Repast, which is a kind of luncheon called by us in this Country "Tiffin". The first Countryman he sees will in all probability be the Tavern keeper who welcomes him to India and presents his Bill of fare.

Novelty is the charm which attracts him, and he immediately orders pineapples or something of that kind to allay his thirst. In the meantime some of the officious Gentlemen whom he met at landing have ranged themselves behind his Chair, and as he is equally ignorant of all he can have no choice, therefore suffers them to remain, not a little elevated at the dignity of two or three Servants. Curiosity burns in every vein ; all he sees is new, strange, and incomprehensible. He perhaps has it in contemplation to sally forth and view the City, not knowing that an Elephant on London bridge would not create more astonishment than a Gentleman *walking* about Calcutta in the middle of the day. His Landlord explains this to him, and he is content to let his curiosity remain unsatisfied till the morrow. Not that he wants subjects for speculation within Doors for there every thing is equally new. He looks up, and sees a large frame hanging which being pulled backwards and forwards creates an artificial wind. He is told it is called a Punkah. In this kind of wonder and enquiry he passes his time until the Sun sets.

Calcutta then begins to move. He stands gazing at the window and sees Chariots, Sociables, Buggies, Landaus &c. &c. pass & repass in rapid succession. Presently a tandem comes smoking down the Street, a groom or two behind and the whole equipage evincing style, taste, and magnificence. Pray who may the owner be? The owner, gentle Griffin, is a writer who

"Wisely heeds what Epicureans say

"And tastes the pleasures of the present day".

[114] Good God! How can he be so imprudent! Why, the equipage would do honor to a Lord, Take care Novice! Temptation surrounds you and a twelvemonth hence I shall perhaps have occasion to say "Good God, how can you be so imprudent!" If you have *mind*, do as you please; if not do as their example directs.

In this tumult of hurrying thoughts he continues to gaze untill the prospect becomes

"One swimming scene uncertain to behold."

He cannot however yet retire for Calcutta now presents a new scene. During the Hot weather in this Country the Doors and windows even to the Venetians are all thrown open after Sunset. When it becomes dark the Houses all appear, and indeed literally are, illuminated. We are in general very liberal of our wax candles which thro' the open windows throw a glare across the Road that gives a very cheerful and uncommon effect. In the mean time the groups of figures which, by a wanderer, may be seen in the different Houses, some lolling out of window, others walking up and down the Vestibule, add greatly to the spirit of the scene. I should observe that this is all above stairs, for the ground floor is seldom appropriated to the purposes of a drawing Room, tho' the dining apartment is always below. But *that* being the large Hall in the center of the building the lights which it may contain cannot be seen from the outside.

CURRY & RICE

Leaving these fairy scenes for a while, let us return to the Solitary Griffin at the Punch-House. His Dinner hour has arrived & he orders it to be served up expecting a good plain Dish or two. Servant after Servant comes in and not one of them empty handed; one bears a Curry & Rice, another brings in a Pelloe

& Kubabs, while a third sets down another Dish of which he is equally ignorant. Nor are English Dishes wanting, he finds Good plain boiled & Roast in many forms, mutton, Veal, Beef, Poultry, &c &c. Then follow the tribe of Vegetables, among which he may perhaps recognise (according to the Season) potatoes, peas, greens, cauliflowers &c &c, the remainder he is content to *look at* only, for nothing, in my opinion, wants temptation so much as Bengal native Roots & herbs. He eats an English Dinner, and (which he has learned on Ship Board) calls for the usual *draught* beverage of the East, *Water*. Immediately arises "a hubbub wild" like the noise of pebbles in a tin Cannister; or perhaps it is a better simile to say like a Man sharpening a saw: or perhaps it is unlike any sound he ever heard. Curiosity sticks pins in his Chair and he can sit no longer, but sallies out to learn whence "*flow* such sounds divine". They *flow* indeed, for lo! it is the *Aubdar* squatted on his Rump cooling the drinking water. Before him is a round Vessel, flat, with a very large mouth called a *Tass*, in this is the salt-petre and water. In his right hand he holds a *Sooroy*¹⁴ which he rubs to and fro in the *Tass* and by this means the water contained in the *Sooroy* becomes as cold, I had almost said, as Ice, and [115] indeed very nearly so. I should tell you that they are made of a Composition which very much resembles pewter. Should he call for Wine during the Repast the Bottle will make its appearance in disguise, and reeking wet from the *Tass*. Red wines wear a Red, and white a white, Petticoat. Confectionary (which is the same as in England) follows the Cookery as also fruit in which article he will be dreadfully disappointed for, as I have before expressed, I would not give a green Codlin for all the fruits in India. They consist in general of the pine-apple, Gwavor, Plaintain, orange (which must be excepted from my condemnation) Lechui, Wampee, Loquot, (the three last are originally from China) Pumplenow¹⁵, custard-apples, mangoe and several species of Pumkin, besides water melons which grow to a great size and are refreshing. In the western provinces I am told they get tolerably good grapes. The great fault of India fruit is the want of flavour, the best are I think the mangoe & the orange, the pine-apple is also eatable.

And now approaches "the great the important" hour or Bed-time, great only by its consequences. And Griffin! if you are

an Achilles wrap up your heel and sleep securely, if not, mark the event. He soon sinks to profound sleep, for not knowing what it portends, he is inattentive to the buzzing murmur of the Musquitoes. Not to be prolix, let us imagine that Aurora has unbarred the gates of the East, and *turned* out the gentle hours. The Griffin gets up hot and feverish which he naturally attributes to the Climate, he sees his hands and arms bloody which he knows not what to attribute to, at last he approaches the Mirror, and "oh Jephtha Judge of Israel" what a visage!! To compare it to any thing but to a plum pudding stuck full of red berries would be ridiculous, because it resembles nothing else in this our world. The irritation occasioned by the Musquitoe bites has swelled his face to deformity, and the puncture of the Proboscis is marked by red blotches. In this deplorable condition he must be content to remain within Doors for a few days, and if he has resolution sufficient to forbear scratching he will soon be well, & he should endeavour to do so by every means in his power, for by scratching he will create so much inflammation as to be productive of very unpleasant, not to say dangerous, consequences. Many things are recommended to allay the irritation, but in my opinion it is better to let the venom exhaust itself, which it certainly will do in time. This negligence in not providing proper Musquito Curtains renders the Tavern Keepers extremely culpable, and shews how little solicitous they are about the accommodation of their Guests. From this day the Griffin will know that the buzzing of the Insects "gives dreadful Note of preparation." It is observed that young arrivers are always more bitten than those longer in the Country, supposing them to be equally exposed. The Musquitoe is about the size and shape of a Gnat. During the day they remain concealed & sally out just at Evening.

He will find employment during this short confinement in enquiring about the persons to whom he may have Letters of recommendation as well as in sending [116] for Taylors (either European or Native) to make up his India dresses. You are aware that the dress of this Country is invariably white, some warmer Clothing being resorted to in the Cold Season. The suit consists of Pantaloons and half Boots (according to fancy) a waistcoat and a Jacket which is a mere waistcoat with sleeves. Various description of Cloths are made use of, the most delightful,

but the most expensive is fine Irish Linen. White nankeens, Madrass long Cloths &c. are also very pleasant & generally adopted. Under the Shirt many Gentlemen wear a garment called a Banian made of thin muslin which absorbs the perspiration and consequently keeps the other parts of the drapery dry. The Griffin will perhaps not learn this Custom until he has been some time in India. Etiquette in Calcutta (and in Calcutta only are they so formal) requires that we should go to Dinner in a Coat, which however is generally soon got rid of by the Host or Hostess requesting you to "call for a Jacket".

Our Griffin will perhaps think the Breakfast Table "polluted," as Johnson expresses it, for in addition to the usual articles of Bread & Butter Toast &c he will find Eggs, fish, Rice, Cold fowls, Hams, tongues &c &c. The Tea and Coffee are often tho' not always made at the Sideboard by one of the Servants. Behind him will stand one of his khidmutghars brushing away the flies (which are often very numerous) with a machine called a "Chowry". The best are made of the Tail of a particular species of Cow which however I have not been fortunate enough to see. The hair is as soft as silk. Others are made of Peacock feathers &c &c. I should have mentioned that he will be at some loss the first time he goes to wash his hands and face in a thing called a *Chillumchee* which is made either of brass or copper. I know not what to compare it to unless it be to a large flat pan with a flat cover full of little holes to enable the water to run thro'. Over this machine he holds his hands while a Servant with a black Earthen pitcher pours the water. By this means nothing but pure clean water comes in contact with his hands, and in this point I think we are more cleanly and delicate than our Countryman in Europe. The Griffin's difficulty arises from his ignorance of the mode of going to work. The first time it was brought to me I took it for a kind of Cabbage drainer and was sending it away when my mistake was explained

TIFFIN

About two o'clock he will be summoned to a second Repast called Tiffin. This is a slight meal corresponding with the English Luncheon. It consists of cold meats, curries, salads &c &c. A very general Dish at this meal is called *Mullee ke*

tanee and which is a kind of soup made of fowls boiled with spices &c and seasoned and colored with a good proportion of *Turmeric*; it is eaten with Rice, and is a most pleasant & refreshing thing. After this Repast he will probably go to sleep which is a pretty general Custom in this Country among those who have leisure. This Nap lasts until five or six o'clock, when the setting of the Sun invites the Gentry forth to the Course. Night again comes and our Griffin goes to Bed better secured against the stings of his Nocturnal invaders.

[117] But it is now time to take our Griffin out of the Punch-House and introduce him to the persons to whom he may have Letters of recommendation. To do this he must get a Palanquin and many Ticket (sic) ones apply for hire about the Taverns. They are generally of a shabby description, but will do until he can suit himself permanently. The hire per diem is one Rupee (and here let me say once for all that when I mention a Rupee I mean a Sicca Rupee worth two shillings and six pence). Palanquins are of two kinds, the long one called a Mahanna, in which we lay full length with a support for the head and shoulders, and the upright or Chair one. The latter are rarely used by Men, and the others seldom or never by Ladies. In addition to these conveyances we have things called "Tonjons"¹⁶ of which also there are two kinds the single poled and double poled. These are never used but in the Country, & then only in the Cold weather or when the Sun is not above the hemisphere. I prefer them to Palanquins altho' keeping one of them does not exempt you from also keeping a Palanquin, because during the Rains Tonjons are of course quite useless. Some of them have a Canopy and some not. As in all articles of accommodation so Palanquins may be made very elegant & expensive. They are to be had from eighty Rupees up to four or five hundred. A very good one may be had from 150 to 200 Rupees. They are sometimes fitted up for travelling with shelves &c. and places for Bottles &c.

Our Griffin gets into a long one and directs his Hircarrah (running footman) where to take him. The first Letter he gives will in all probability procure him an invitation to reside until he can settle himself, this he of course thankfully accepts, sends for his Trunks &c &c from the "Punch-house" and takes possession of the apartments allotted to him. From this date

the Griffin is to be considered as introduced to the beaumonde of Calcutta, tho' the appellation of Griffin will adhere to him until he has been a twelvemonth & a day in India. How this Custom and name originated I have not been able to learn¹⁷. It is of course only used in a ludicrous sense. Having thus briefly conducted our young traveller from the Ship to his friends, we shall now drop him, and in describing what else remains to be told shall speak generally dividing the matter however into heads as follow.

AMUSEMENTS IN CALCUTTA

Under this head I have not much to say, Calcutta being very destitute of amusements properly so-called. I arrived in India just time enough to witness the decline and fall of a Theatre and Panorama. The former was a Tree which, bid fair to flourish and produce sweet fruit, but it was blasted by a cold frown from Government, withered and died: and I think the chances are that this soil will not give birth to another. Why the Theatre was discouraged [118] I am at a loss to say, for surely a more rational source of amusement cannot be devised. But its merit would not have been merely of the negative kind, for it would, in my opinion, have been actively beneficial. It would have allured many from their Bottle, & promoted temperance; it would have drawn many from the Card Table, & checked dissipation and it would have saved others from grosser pursuits. To these obvious advantages I know not what Government had to oppose, but certain it is that on the same Boards where once King Richard fought, where Macbeth was hailed with such "prophetic Greeting" and where sweet Desdemona died, the gentle Messieurs Roworth & Co. now dispose of *Europe China & Country goods*. In short "the welltrod stage" is now an Auction Room¹⁸. The Panorama as it was a mere gratification of vision is not so much to be regretted. It failed for want of Patronage, for when it had been once seen, it had been seen for ever.

The grand morning lounge in Calcutta, and which, of its kind, exceeds anything in England, is the Europe Shops. Here at the view are seen the most elegant productions of the four quarters of the Globe displayed in splendid profusion. I do not believe there is a single article either of use or ornament which their

shops will not afford, from a Bottle of oatmeal up to a service of plate. The principle one (at least the most elegant) is that of Messrs. Lawtie and Goulds¹⁹. The Rooms are of the largest dimensions and the goods are arranged in the most tasty manner. Here you may for hours lounge up and down and feast your Eyes with the Contemplation of the best prints and paintings or turn to another part of the Room and examine whole folios of Caricatures. You may take a Chair and dip into the most recent publications. You may taste a Cheese, or read the history of the Country where it was made; you may contemplate painted Beauties on Canvass, or fall in love with painted Beauties who are gazing at them; you may buy a mouse trap, or dip into the Newgate Calender; you may soar with a poet, and partake of his Heaven: or dive into the Cellars with a Sircar, and taste the Beer: you may buy a sword or the preliminaries of peace. You may read the life of a pick pocket, or the administration of Mr. Pitt. You may buy ten thousand Rupees worth of articles or walk out without any thing and give equal apparent satisfaction. In short it is the most agreeable lounge in the world, but at the same time the most tempting one; in everything there is the fatal serpent offering you the forbidden fruit. Every thing is conducted in silence and with regularity, the prices are all marked on the respective articles and you merely say "send this to my House." A stranger can do the same. You know that we never have [119] the value of a farthing of money in our pockets in this Country, the Bills are therefore sent to our Houses at the end of the month for payment, tho' three months credit is allowed after which they charge Interest at the Rate of 12 per cent. per annum. This system is productive of much evil to very young Men, for were they under the necessity of paying *ready* money the Genius of economy might tie their purses in such Gordian Knots as would, in the undoing, give them time to reflect on their extravagance. It is so very easy to say "send this to my House" and the mere verbal sound of a hundred Rupees does not to them appear so tremendous as the hundred real Shiners. In short you may from their Repositories furnish a House from Top to bottom with the most tasty magnificence, and by the same said supply your Table with Luxuries "more than Eastern princes know." But this is not all, you may here also deck the "human form

divine" of either gender [with] Hats, Boots, Shoes, Gowns, Caps, &c., &c. To have an adequate idea of these places they must be seen, my description is a mere outline of a grand picture. There are five or six of these principle Shops, besides others of inferior Note, and those kept by Chinamen and Natives but as these are as Rushlights to the Sun I need not describe them. It is the Captains and officers of Indiamen who supply the shops, tho' sometimes these Traders commission their Investments from England. It sometimes happens that the Indiamen arrive while the market is still glutted with Europe goods, in which case the shop keepers will not buy but at very reduced prices which the Captains and others not being inclined to take they are obliged [to] retail and thus literally open shops.

For the Ladies there is another attraction in the Milliners Shops, which are kept by European Women and merely exhibit female trifles, &c. They are, I am told, very expensive, and woe betide the poor Husband if *he* is fond, and *she* foolish. These shops are kept and business regulated as in the first rate places of the kind in England. I have I believe, now mentioned the only two morning lounges which Calcutta offers to the Ladies. The remainder of their leisure hours they must trifle away at home or pass in visiting, on the Etiquette of which I shall speak anon. The Gentlemen are better off, (tho' not *much* so) for besides the public auctions (which by the by are not in *this* Country the genteelest or pleasantest of all Resorts) they have the Livery stables where they may see the finest Horses that Asia can produce. There is also a weekly sale of these animals at the Riding School kept by Mr. De L'etang, where you may purchase Cattle of all description from a Rozinante worth fifty Rupees, up to a Bucephalus at five thousand. There are also in Calcutta many Billiard Tables both public and private, and it is a favourite and universal game in India, for which Country it seems well adapted being a fine exercise without any exposure to the Sun, &c. Besides these means of beguiling the *Enemy* there is also a Tennis Court which in the Cold weather affords a most delightful recreation, at the same time there are likewise matches at Cricket, hunting and Racing.

This last is disapproved of by Government, and it is in consequence dwindling to nothing. The public Reason assigned was this. There is about [120] sixteen miles from Calcutta a place

called Serampore which is a Danish factory and consequently out of the limits of our power. To this place fly all those whose circumstances are involved in Ruin, as they are there completely safe from their Creditors. Among this class of Men were many sporting Characters who used on Sundays (when the law is dead) to repair to Calcutta and its vicinity and enter into the mania of Horse-racing. This was certainly improper, and was justly checked, but still I do not think it was a sufficient Reason for frowning at the amusement altogether.

But the grand amusement in the Cold Season for both sexes is Dancing; this may be considered as the staple article in the market of pleasure. Balls, dances and hops both public and private are very frequent, & if a Man be generally acquainted he may, I think, partake of this exercise almost every night in the week. The Ladies are fond of it to excess and I believe would willingly continue it all the year round if the Gentlemen were as agreeable²⁰. As it is I have seen them dancing on "feverish Nights" when the pearly drops have trickled down their *all-a-plaster* (very bad) Necks in showery profusion, notwithstanding the aid of Punkahs &c &c. This is amusement!!! I am almost of opinion (tho' should I express it *here* I should have all the Belles about my Ears) that even the Cold weather is not sufficiently cold for such jumping.

The next thing to be mentioned, if indeed it properly comes under this head, is Dinner parties. These are extremely frequent and very pleasant. They are conducted of course much in the same style as in England, but with more uniform luxury. The general hour is in the Cold weather from half past six to half past seven and at all other times from half past seven to eight. A Lady generally has two Beaux to take her to Table which she contrives to make two strings to her Bow (a vile pun). Our food at this meal is chiefly English (or the same as in England), interspersed with the Country dishes I have before mentioned. The Drink is universally water, and the wine as universally Claret notwithstanding its high cost but there is nothing else calculated for this Climate; a pint of port would throw a Man into a fever, and Madeira is too strong to be drank freely. Claret is imbibed with great liberality, being drank out of very large sized Glasses of which I suppose a Bottle does not contain more than six or seven. This article forms the chief expense in house keeping.

The price of a Chest containing twelve dozen is from 550 to 700 Rupees or from 40 to 50 per dozen, and sometimes should the Investments arrive late, much more. Not a very large party will drink two, three, or four dozen of wine and I think it a fair calculation that Claret costs a person in Calcutta, if he is hospitable, 400 Rupees per mensem, which is exactly £ 600 per annum. Such is the expense of one article and if to this you add madeira (the usual white wine) Beer & sometimes Hock and Champagne the charges for Wines will appear very great.

[121] There is something in my opinion to be found fault with at all Anglo-Indian Tables, which is the vast profusion of Meats they always exhibit. This arises from provisions being so very cheap; & indeed, at Country stations, is dictated by necessity, for to have mutton you must kill a Sheep, & then prudence tells you to dress it while it remains good. In the Hot weather with every care Meat will not keep above 24 hours. At Christmas time I have eat it three & four days old. What goes from Table is (sad to say) thrown to Dogs & fowls of Heaven, for thus our profusion ends. Our Servants deem every thing defiled which has been on our Table, and consequently will not partake thereof. This is a prejudice of the Religion both of Mahomed and Brama. I have witnessed on one Table joints of Venison, Beef, Veal, mutton and pork besides the usual concomitants of poultry &c &c.

Soon after the second course has been placed on the Table the Gentlemen's *Hookahs* are brought in by the respective Hookahburdars. A handsome Carpet is first spread behind the Chair to prevent the "Snake" being soiled, the Hookahburdar then puts the Snake under the arm of the Chair (for in this Country all our Chairs have arms) into the Gentleman's hand and he begins puffing away²¹. The Hookah bottom contains the water, thro' which the Smoke is drawn by the Snake. The Surpoosh²² contains the fire which is placed on a little Earthen tile and under that tile (at the bottom of it) the Tobacco is *stuck* (for it is a *paste*). The Hookah bottom is generally of cut-glass, silver, or a metal called "Vitey"^{22a}. This is a handsome black composition. and when inlaid with silver looks very well. Great dashers have sometimes sported Gold ones. The Surpooshes are either gold or silver as is also the mouth piece. The Snake (by the bye this name is our own, the real word

being Nycha or Nul) is a flexible Tube made in the following manner. A Rope is put thro' about sixteen feet of spiral Bell-wire and this Wire is covered with the Bark of a Tree somewhat resembling the Birch Bark, and as thin as paper. When the Snake by this covering is become about three quarters of an inch in diameter the Bark itself is covered by several rolls of white Cloth and lastly is ornamented as fancy directs, with Gold and silver thread, silk or any thing else. A snake costs about 8 or 10 Rupees (tho' they may be made as dear as 30, 40 & 50) and will last three months, it then becomes foul by the continual smoke passing thro' it having corroded the Wire. The Tobacco undergoes great preparation. It is first soaked and beat to pieces till it becomes of the consistence of a paste. It is then mixt up with Rose-water, Musk, Raisins the fruit of the plaintain, persian apples, or whatever pleases your palate best. Afterwards it is put into a large Earthen pot well covered up and buried [122] some feet under Ground where it must remain a month or two and will then be fit for use. It is the pleasantest thing in the World & the tobacco thus prepared diffuses a very fragrant smell throughout the Room. The noise which the water makes in the bottom when the Smoke is drawn thro' it, is like the noise made by Boys when blowing soap bladders in a Tobacco pipe and if there are many smokers in the Room is very audible²³. It is certainly the most elegant way of using Tobacco. I have seen two or three Ladies who constantly smoke and do not wish to see it again, it is too masculine. The Natives universally and invariably smoke, from Childhood to old age, from the Beggar to the prince ; tobacco, opium, and other intoxicating Drugs. This is a long and uninteresting digression, let us return to the Dinner Table, where however, little more remains to be described. The Ladies soon retire and the Gentlemen

“—frequent & full, a dry divan

“Close in firm circle, and sit ardent in

“For serious drinking.”

The Bottle goes round rapidly and they join the Ladies in about an hour. If the Season does not admit dancing there are Cards, music and singing, walking, talking, and making love should it be after a fresh importation. Suppers are by no means general. Tea and Coffee are handed about, & the Gentlemen

have their Hookahs brought up into the Drawing Room. The Company usually drop off one by one without saying a word, the Candles quiver in their sockets, and this brilliant pageant "leaves not a rack behind."

A House in India lighted up makes a dazzling appearance, for I am to tell you that all the walls are plain white wash or Madrass Stucco which takes a beautiful polish, the reflection from innumerable wax Candles is therefore great. Oil expressed from the Cocoanut is sometimes used and gives a very fine steady light, emitting no disagreeable odour being as pure as water. Every thing in this Country is so impregnated with Nitre that paper, &c., could not adhere to the walls. In the present state they are certainly not very elegant but custom renders them less obvious. There is also another Eye-sore in our Rooms which is having no *ceilings* properly so-called; you look up and see nothing but beams and rafters made as neat as beams and Rafters can be, which, however, is not saying much. The walls are decorated with prints and wall-shades (glass vase lamps) for the Candles. I should have observed that the Punkah takes off from the unpleasantness of our Roofs. There is seldom more than one (and often none) Room in a House with a *boarded* floor, the rest are all brick and mortar, and all covered with a most beautiful kind of straw-colored Mat, made of a very fine Reed almost about as thick as a Crow's quill.

[123] The next amusement to be mentioned is the Evening drive round the Course (I should here observe that tho' it is called driving on the *Course*, the Company really never go on the Course, preferring a hard, red-hot, dusty Road to a smooth green turf, such is caprice!) About a quarter of an hour after Sunset the Carriages gradually come out till at last all the City may be said to be assembled; high and low, rich and poor, great and small, all mix promiscuously in this varied scene. There are Vehicles of all kinds, Coaches, Chariots, Landaus, Sociables, Phaetons, Curricles, Buggies, &c. Some of the Equipages are truly splendid. Here you may see some fond but awkward equestrian risking his Neck to keep up with the Landau of his beloved; there some lone Priscilla (past her teens) rolling in vain her sparkling orb, to allure some wealthy Nabob, Here Youth and Beauty is doomed to drag the Chain of three score

not lighter to her by being gilt. Antiquated three score sits by his blooming Bride like an Egyptian Mummy linked to the Venus of Appelles. Poor Girl! have all your happy dreams ended in this? but could you avoid it? you were told he was Rich, and then suffered yourself to be persuaded that wealth and happiness are allied. Here comes another pair. Lothario saw Maria last week at a Ball, he was instantly smitten, asked her to dance, squeezed her hand, called on her the next day, and asked the following. They were married, and now think their happiness eternal, simple fools! Look at Flirtilla with her usual attendant poor Constant, what a pity it is so much worth, generosity, talents, and virtue, should dance attendance on a jilt who will only have him provided she fails in catching a richer prize. But she is pretty, and he romantic. Who comes here in such a dusty fusty musty, rusty, disgraceful Carriage? Oh that is Mammon, poor Man, he has not yet quite amassed two crores of Rupees and you know with two millions sterling a Man can do but little! This young Gentleman knows how to make use of the gifts of fortune, I see he has four Horses in his Equipage and everything in equal style. Yet, that is the youthful Clodio, a writer, and at present receives three hundred Rupees a month!!—What a Crowd has gathered yonder, I wonder what has happened, be easy, it is only Affectalia in a swoon, she has read that “pity is akin to love” and wishes to reduce it to practice. The *Veil* is too transparent, indeed it is little more than a *Net*. Here comes a haughty Beauty; she has “heaven in her Eye and in every Gesture dignity and love,” but unfortunately she knows it, and knowing it is as inaccessible as a Priestess of Diana. She has refused Shikust because he was too old, Narcissus because he was too young Leo because he was too Rich, Romeo because he was too poor, Phaon because he asked too late, and Tarquin because he asked too soon. She has now frightened the Settlement, and notwithstanding her Roseate charms may hereafter lead Apis in the Regions under the dominion of the old Gentleman in black.

And such are some of the characters who frequent this drive. to describe them all were an endless task, and if they could be described were useless. Coaches, &c., are driven by Native coachmen in Livery and the syces [124] (that is the Men who clean and take care of the Horses, for each Horse has one besides a

Grass-cutter) run by the side of the Carriage. I have known a syce run with a Buggy and fast trotting Horse eight, ten and twelve miles without stopping. Once I recollect being engaged to Breakfast a few Miles from Calcutta when being rather late I was under the necessity of going in a brisk canter the whole way. My Syce took hold of one of my Stirrup leathers and accompanied me all the journey. They have great speed and perseverance. The course continues in a bustle until it becomes dark when the Company gradually return to Town.

I believe I have now described all the principal amusements of Calcutta. I should however have told you in speaking of the Evening drive that the Course is sometimes partially deserted for the Fort (which is close by) where people resort to hear the Bands of Music should there happen to be a Regiment having one. You now see that altho' Calcutta is a gay place it has no variety of gaiety and the Votary of pleasure may sigh and say "to day is yesterday returned."

By the bye I had nearly omitted another lounge. This is the public Evenings, which are a kind of Levees held once a week by three or four of the head Ladies in the settlement. They are merely Conversation parties, but are pleasant in as much as you are able at one view to see and converse with all the Beauty and fashion of the settlement. The Company begin to assemble about half past ten, or eleven o'clock, lounge, talk, walk, and gossip for about two hours when they sit down to a cold supper, which however, is merely a polite method of telling the Gentry it is time to retire. I should observe that you only stay supper by invitation which is given by a request to "send away your Hat"²⁴. Coats are indispensable at these parties.

In Calcutta as in all luxurious Cities Morpheus is a potent Deity in the Morning when you seldom see any of the Ladies out. This is the time when the *Gentlemen* ride on Horseback. Children also go out at this Hour with their black Nurses in neat spring-hang Carriages drawn by Oxen. Every Gentleman's Child in this Country has two or three Servants, Men or Women. Babies have their wet-Nurses, for Ladies in India never perform this maternal duty, the Climate is their excuse. I have generally described our goings on in this City, what little remains I shall collect under.

GENERAL REMARKS ON CALCUTTA

Calcutta stands on the River Hoogly a very little way above Fort William; it occupies a great extent of Ground because every house, with the exception of Writers Buildings, stands separate and detached. This is highly necessary, and beneficial in such a hot Climate. Tho' the Town is on the Banks of a River very few persons have the benefit of it, the shores being occupied by warehouses, wharfs, &c., &c., &c. The streets are wide, large, and airy; [125] made of Bricks pounded into small pieces, and since Lord Wellesley's arrival all regularly and continually watered. Black Calcutta (by which I mean that part where the Natives reside) does not at all interfere with the European part, a great comfort, for the Natives are very dirty and their habitations are mere straw Huts. Our Houses are on the outside and inside all plastered and white-washed, which is a great annoyance to the Eyes on a Sunny day.

For the conveyance of heavy goods and merchandize, a Carriage called a Hackery is used, which is a mere Bamboo frame fixed on a pair of Wheels and drawn by Oxen. They are "dreadful harmony" for the wheels having neither iron, nor grease, make a most horrid creaking. During the day palanquins are the general conveyances, unless the extent of the journey should render a Carriage necessary. About ten o'clock is the general office hour, and continues till, four, five, or six, during which time few are idle. For it must be remembered that every Englishman in India has something to do; it is not like London where many have only to *spend* fortunes, *here* we are all busy in making them. Most of the Ladies however are accessible should inclination induce you to visit. The Etiquette of visiting in Calcutta requires that the *stranger* shall make the first call, and this neglected he may remain for years without a single invitation. This custom in Calcutta (and there only) is adhered to with rigid scrupulosity. If the stranger is a married man his visit entitles his Lady to be visited by the other Ladies immediately.

Calcutta does not boast of many public buildings; they are chiefly Lord Wellesley's Palace (which indeed is a name too little for it), the Court House for the Supreme Court of Judicature, the Jail, the orphan school, &c., &c., &c. The mention

of the last bids me speak on a subject which it is necessary to allude to in describing the customs of this Country. It is a very general practise for Englishmen in India to entertain a *Cura amica* of the Country. This forms a complete and separate establishment, she dwells in a distinct but adjacent mansion and has her own establishment of female Servants, &c. Like all other Women of India she seldom or never goes beyond the precincts of her own dwelling. It is connections of this Nature which tend to fill the schools above mentioned. It has however lately received a blow by the foundation of a *Civil fund* (supported by monthly subscriptions) for the support of orphans and widows of Civil servants as well as for the Civil servants themselves should ill-health compel them to return to England without possessing adequate means. In the Rules for the establishment of this fund is a clause which expressly declares that illegitimate Children shall not partake of its advantages. This point occasioned a long and obstinate controversy, but as the opposers to the admission of these children had truth and morality on their side they were victorious, tho' at the same time the other party had some strong grounds to go upon.

Besides the School I have mentioned there are several other private ones for the education of this description of Children in case their Fathers should not choose (from any motive) to send them to England. They are an unfortunate Race, and it is almost too true that the sins of the Parents descend [126] to them, for they are sadly neglected, and frowned on under the appellation of *Half-cast*. Some females, favored by Beauty and a good education in England, have been well married but these instances are not common. Their Color betrays them wherever they go, and I know now that many of my schoolfellows at Tait's were of this description. By saying it is these connections which tend to fill the orphan school I do not of course mean that all of this cast are to become orphans or that all orphans will be obliged to depend on that for a subsistence. The school is exclusively for the orphans of European soldiers, or officers who may die not leaving sufficient to support their offspring. It is kept up by a contribution from all officers and surgeons (who are considered military) at I believe one per cent. per mensem on their respective salaries and they have no option of withholding it.

Calcutta has two churches, one a modern erection where Morning service is performed, the other an older and smaller Building where prayers are read in the Evening, and these two are the only Churches (protestant ones) in this part of India²⁵. In the *outward* forms of Religion, Englishmen in this Country are rather lax, indeed except in Calcutta all devotion must be private, and which is surely as acceptable. At some of the large military Cantonments there are Chaplains who read prayers to the European troops.

Calcutta and its environs is very deficient in drives there being only three or four Roads. On Horseback you may go where you please as the Country has neither hedges, fences nor enclosures of any kind. One of the pleasantest drives is down to Garden Reach which I have before mentioned. The Houses are not many, but are completely rural being each a little Estate. They serve as a Sunday retirement from the City, and are from three to four miles out of Town. When invited you generally spend the whole day there, with clothes, &c., &c. In dressing at another Gentlemans House we send every thing, even to a Boot Jack, Soap, Towels, &c., &c. When there you do as you like, Read, write, play at Billiards, (as almost all these Houses have a Table) or in short as fancy may direct. In the Evening there is driving or walking about the pleasure grounds which are all very neatly laid out. After Dinner you return to Town or take a Bed as circumstances may be.

I have before told you how we are improving in manufactures and mercantile arts, but English *eatables* and *drinkables* must always form a staple article in private investments, for these we cannot make. I have seen Hams, &c., tried but never with any success. I know not the Reason.

You must take as universal and invariable that a Gentleman never *walks* in Calcutta, and even the wives [sic] of common European soldiers sometimes ride in hired Palanquins. They are the delight of sailors when they get on shore, and you may see a dozen of them roaring drunk running about in these conveyances.

At all Houses in Calcutta there is a Man called a "Derwan" (corresponding with an English Porter) who is constantly at the Gate and who when [127] a Visitor arrives cries out as loud as he can bawl in the Language of the Country, "There is a stranger

arrived, go and give information," on which an *Hircarrah* runs to the Gate, learns the name of the Party and informs his master.

Six Bearers (*Kahars*) run with the Palanquin, four supporting it and one carrying a *Chattah* (umbrella), the other is to relieve them in turn.

In speaking of the *Hookah* I should have observed that it is smoked after every meal, and by some Gentlemen all day long.

A Gun is fired from the Fort every day in the year at day break and at eight o'clock in the Evening during the cold season, and at nine at other times.

I have now I believe collected every thing worth remarking in Calcutta, if anything else occurs to my recollection I will write it. At present I quit this scene of dust and dissipation, folly and frolick, and retire to the still and peaceful shades of the Country.

AMUSEMENTS IN THE COUNTRY

Under this head I have of course much less to say than under the article Calcutta. Before I proceed to tell what little there is to be told, I think it necessary to say that the subordinate Cities, such as Dacca, Patna, &c., &c., are neither Town nor Country, but partake of both without being either. They have neither the gay frolicks, turbulent delights, frequent Balls, and large Companies of Calcutta; nor the mild amusements, quiet pleasures and snug parties of the Country. All retired stations in this Country are alike in general, the only difference being a member or two or more to the society, or the near vicinity to a City where society may be had.

This premised I shall only describe Mymensing to you, and think you will thence be able to form a tolerably correct idea of Country living in India. I should however say that Mymensing is, if any thing, more retired than other stations, for the Burrampooter River not leading to any station above us we have not the advantage of seeing occasional travellers, a variety which some of the Zillahs possess. Our chief amusement here arises from the sports of the field, but as this can only be an amusement during the Cold weather, we are for two thirds of the year in a kind of vacuum. I will briefly describe my mode of living since I have been Register. I get up between five and six and

mount my Horse for a Ride, return about seven, bathe and dress for Breakfast to which I sit down about nine o'clock. This meal is soon dispatched, and then comes my Hookah, I smoke and read or write until eleven when the "Nazir" of the Court informs me that business is ready. I then get into my Palanquin, or Tonjon, and proceed to Court where I remain till four, five or six, according to the season of the year. On leaving Court I take a Ride, or drive or walk or lounge, until the light begins to fade, when I dress for Dinner. I get into my Tonjon and go whenever Dinner may be and get to Bed again by eleven o'clock. This is literally my life, with exception [128] to change made by little sporting excursions, or an occasional visit to Dacca. In England it is thought we have scarcely anything to do, but from what I have now told you, you will perceive that we are occupied almost the whole day and this is always the case with the exception of Sundays and holidays. By the word *we* I mean all those in the Judicial Department for the other branches are comparatively very easy.

The whole of the Society of Mymensing, if all situations were occupied, would be six, vizt. Judge and Magistrate, Register, Assistant to do, Collector, Assistant to Do, and Surgeon, at present we only muster four, there being no Doctor nor Assistant to the Register²⁶. In addition to these four we at present have a Lady, sister in Law to our Judge. Our party you see is small but except twice a year when the Circuit Judges arrive it is never larger. There are no other Europeans in the district, and Dacca, distant above a hundred miles, is the nearest station. I suppose our Zillah is as big as a large Country in England, and is pretty well populated. About twelve or fourteen years ago it was under the Judge of Dacca but the jurisdiction being found too extensive it was formed into a separate District. It is one of the lowest parts of Bengal, but being situated on such a noble River is uncommonly dry and healthy. You will wonder how we can find conversation considering the smallness and sameness of our Party, but our Evenings are I assure you very cheerful. The Post, which comes in every day about five in the afternoon, generally brings letters for some of us, and, besides this, we have Newspapers three or four times in the week. It is seldom that young servants at retired places like this keep House unless they are married. The Judge and Collector

are the two who entertain, either alternately or otherwise, as it may be settled.

In the Country you must have every thing within yourself ; by which I mean that there are not any markets to supply Meat, Poultry, Bread, &c., &c. A complete farm yard is therefore necessary, in which you fatten your own oxen, sheep, Calves, kids, Deer, fowls, Ducks, Geese, Turkeys, Rabbits, &c., &c. All, or most, of these articles can be procured in the villages, but not fat. Fowls for instance are in superabundance every where, and are of three kinds ; Chickens or half grown of which 30 or 40 can be had for a Rupee, middling sized Roasting towels 20 for a Rupee, and the very largest 12 or 16 for the same money. A sheep costs a Rupee and an old ox from 4 to 8. Before you exclaim on the cheapness of these articles you must recollect that their cost has much increased ere they become fit for the Table. Bread and butter are of course always made at home and are in every respect as good as the the finest Endland can produce ; our bread is made of wheat, and the place of [129] yeast is supplied by a juice distilled from the Toddy Tree, a juice which the Natives (some of the vilest) make use of to promote intoxication. Butter is made by pouring the cream into very large open-mouthed Bottles, which are closely stopped, and then gently thumped up and down on the ground until the liquid becomes consistent. I think this article is as good here as the finest I ever eat in England. Bread and butter are of course made every day. Vegetables of all kinds are produced in our own Gardens, and, to be brief, your own House and farm yard must supply you with every thing in the *eating line* or you must be content to go without it.

Our amusements in the sporting way are various as we have almost every kind of game, and this is the case all over India. This great plenty is easily accounted for when we consider that few of the Natives are at all attached to the sports of the field, and that the Hindoos form a large portion of the inhabitants of the East, and among whom it is incorrect to destroy what has partaken of Life. The most universal sport is wild Boar hunting, which is thought very fine, in as much as the animal is fleet, wild, savage, and resolute to the last extremity²⁷. I have seen Boars come down to the charge with many spears sticking them ; and they will in general fight till the loss of blood renders

them faint. They reside chiefly in high grass plains where there are bushes and pieces of stagnant water. There is something grand in first rousing a Boar, for the grass being as high as your Horse's Belly, and very often much higher, you cannot see the game until you are close upon it. When he perceives his danger, he gives a loud grunt and sets off as hard as he can go. Tally ho ! you ride after him at a strong gallop, and by keeping this pace you soon blow him for they are in general very fat. It is not until he gets tired that he begins to play ; when this is the case, and the Hunter has approached very near, the Boar turns and charges, and this is the mement to deliver the Spear. An experienced Hunter seldom misses, and when he has planted his weapon he wheels off to let the next come up and try his luck, and so it goes on until the Boar falls, tho' they are sometimes killed by one spear. Their flesh is rank, and not good to eat, tho' that of the wild *Pig* is very savory. These animals are all black with the exception of the little young ones who have a kind of black and red stripe over their Bodies. It must not be concealed that there is some danger in this sport ; first on account of the ground in which there are often Buffaloe pits and holes, which are completely hid by the high grass, and secondly because your Horse if not bold may suddenly stand still or be impelled by fear to run away. We generally preserve the Tushes as Trophies. The common height of a Boar is 30 to 40 inches. I [130] have known sixteen and twenty killed in one Morning all *speared* for it is accounted *unsportsmanlike* to kill a *boar* by any other means. If in the chase they happen to be driven through a Village they will wreck their anger on the first they meet, Man, Woman, and Child. and sometimes cut them in a most dreadful manner. Instances are not uncommon of Natives being killed by them. It is on the whole a manly sport.

We also sometimes spear Deer but most often course them with Grey hounds or shoot them. We have all the varieties [sic] nearly of this animal. With the exception of Snipe, and quail. all our shooting is from the back of an Elephant. A good party will perhaps have with them a Dozen Elephants and these all move along the plains in a strait line about 50 or 60 yards asunder, the intervals being filled up my rows of men. By this means all the game is roused and must be fortunate if it escape after running the gauntlet past all the Elephants. Of Birds we

have great variety, vizt Partridges of three kinds, Cocks and hens in their wild state (than which nothing can be finer eating) *Floriken* I believe peculiar to this Country, tho' supposed by some to be a species of the Bustard; they resemble each other only by having the same kind of foot. This Bird affords the most delightful shooting, and as good eating when it is killed. Its wings are milk white, its neck and Breast jet black and its Body a Beautiful mottled Red game color. It is as big or bigger than a *large* fowl.

Buffaloes are found very often in great Herds, when they seldom afford much sport, as they run away the moment they perceive the Elephants. It sometimes, however, happens that a single *Male* one is found on a large grass plain, and occasionally these will attack the Elephants in the most determined manner. They come down on the charge in a full gallop, with their Noses to the Ground which brings their horns into a projecting Horizontal position. In this manner they will annoy an Elephant very much, and I know an instance of their having killed one. Their Horns are immensely large each forming nearly a semi-circle. Many useful things are manufactured from them. Buffaloes are a most destructive animal, as a herd sallying out on the cultivation during the Night will destroy whole crops of Rice and other Grain. In some parts of this District where they are very numerous, the Natives are under the necessity of keeping fires round their fields during the Nights. This is an effectual guard, these animals being much afraid of fire.

Rhinoceros's are sometimes met with but are not very common. Tygers and Leopards are met with very frequently, and sometimes afford uncommon sport. I have been told of a Tyger who was roused by a party of Gentlemen out shooting that he actually attacked and wounded *seven* of their Elephants. In general however they are not inclined to make any attack unless in their own defence or to satisfy the ravenous calls of hunger when they carry off Men, Women, Children and Cattle or anything that may come in their way. Deer are generally found in their vicinity and I imagine form a large article of their food. These animals will I dare say become scarce in the course of a few years as Government pay a reward of ten Rupees for every head, which [131] induces many people to earn their livelihood entirely by setting snares and catching Tygers. They find out

their *Haunts* and there set a kind of bow and arrow which goes off at the slightest touch, and is so contrived that it must hit the *toucher* unless it finds security in its minuteness. The arrow is tipped with such a deadly poison, that the animal survives the wound a very short time and is generally found in the vicinity of the snare. I once saw 75 heads brought in at once, which were worth to the destroyer 750 Rupees. Numbers of these animals are killed by Gentlemen, who of course let their *Ma-houts* (or Elephant Drivers) reap the profit on the Heads as they shared the Danger, an exception to this, however, gave occasion to the following lines which I insert as I think them neat. They were made on a Gentleman in the Civil Service whose income amounted to a lac of Rupees a year.

If S. . . . kills puss, and takes his fees
 The State must pay him ten Rupees ;
 If puss kills S . . . the case is clear,
 The State will save a Lac a year ;
 Since saving then is all our plan
 Live Royal Brute ! Die brutal Man !

Wild Elephants are also in great numbers, and more particularly in the lower parts of Bengal. They inhabit the most deep recesses of thick Forests in consequence of which they are seldom seen. I have never seen but one roving about in a complete state of Nature. As I have in one of my Letters particularly described the manner of catching these animals I need not Repeat it here. I have never read a faithful description of them, nor seen an exact picture in any Natural History which has come under my observation. I have been given to understand by Natives competent to speak on the subject that Elephants even in their wild state preserve a kind of order among themselves, obeying a Leader and congregating together. They carry their young two years which arrive at maturity very slowly. They have seldom been known to breed in a domestic state. The young one sucks with its *mouth* like all other animals not as has been erroneously stated by first drawing the milk into its trunk and then conveying it to the mouth. These creatures are very easily tamed, and when tamed are unparalleled in docility and obedience. They seem to possess some faculty beyond Instinct tho' it does not amount to absolute Reason.

They readily comprehend the orders of their *Muhoots* (or Drivers) and obey them with unexampled promptitude. The Driver sits astride on the Neck and guides them with a Crooked iron which he holds in his hand. Their pace is a long walk, and when put out they will keep a Horse in a smart canter. At the command of their Drivers they will break down very large trees, which they do by pressing their Heads on it, assisted by one of their feet. If it is necessary merely to clear away the boughs they lift up their Trunks and tear them down and will then carry them away. Their great height makes it necessary for them to lay down when we wish to mount, which we then do by means of a Ladder placed against them. This, you see, refutes another silly notion that an [132] Elephant when once down cannot rise again without assistance. In going down very steep places they extend out their Legs and so gradually slide down, they are I believe never known to fall or stumble. If, teized by Flies or Insects they will take the branch of a Tree and brush them off; when at home they are fond of covering their backs with dust and dirt which they throw up with their Trunks. The Males only have the long tushes but there are some Males called *Muckna's* who are without them as well as the females. Their chief food in a tame state is grass, Plantain Trees and Rice of which they are generally allowed ten seers or 20 lb per diem. Their Drink is of course water; which they suck up in their Trunks and then convey to the mouth. Their general height is from 6.10 to 9 feet.

Bears are also found in many parts of the Country²⁸. Foxes are in great plenty but much smaller than those in England Hares are of two kinds, one, the common sort and another which we call the "Mountain Hare" from the circumstance of its generally being found in the vicinity of Hills. This is a curious little animal of a dark brown color, long rough Hair, having little pink Ears like a Rat, and indeed about the Head very much resembles that animal. Jackalls are found in abundance everywhere. They generally remain quiet and concealed during the Day, but at Night sally out, and prowl about Villages, or any place where there is a chance of procuring food. Their howl is one of the most gloomy dismal, melancholy Notes that imagination can conceive. It generally begins from one Jackall in a shrill plaintive sound rising gradually to a certain pitch, when

it again sinks, and is then taken up by the whole Troop as a kind of chorus. In the first instance it something resembles the moaning cry of a Child. They attack the peaceful inhabitants of the farm-yard carrying off Docks, geese, fowls &c &c sometimes puppy Dogs, and even young Children. In appearance they are between the Fox and Dog.

I believe I have now said every thing relative to sport which it is necessary to say; I have been rather prolix on the subject as it forms so great a part of our amusement all over India.

Articles which the Country does not afford, such as Wine, Cheese, Hams, &c &c are procured from Calcutta in small Boats. You must understand there is at all times of the year water carriage to almost every part of India which is a great convenience in many points of view. We generally travel (if it is not an Iricism) by *water*, for journeying in a Palanquin, besides the uncomfot of your servants, cloathes, Hookah &c &c not being able to keep well up, is extremely unpleasant on account of the Heat. Carriages, or Horses are out of the question for besides the want of Roads, the Sun would be an unsurmountable obstacle, not to say a fatal one. In endeavouring to form an Idea of our manners you cannot too often recollect our bodily [133] indolence, not so much produced by positive laziness, as by custom, necessity, and the Climate. We never walk. I cannot fill a sheet of paper in telling you how we amuse ourselves during the Hot & Rainy months for we have literally scarcely any amusements for those seasons. A Billiard Table affords occasional relaxation, and beyond that I have nothing further to mention save Books and the Pen. This dearth of recreation is not however much felt, because all Civil Servants in the Country (and *generally* everywhere) have business to perform, and that business must be done. I have before said that the Judicial line is the most laborious and it can, and does, keep a Man employed nearly the whole day. The Revenue and Commercial lines²⁹ are much easier, and in consequence afford more leisure hours, I may perhaps sav weary ones.

After this description of the Country you will give me credit for some share of Philosophy when I assure you that I seldom or never find the time heavy. However, to speak generally, a Country life in India is dull, gloomy, spiritless & solitary, & a Man doomed to it is much to be pitied if he has not lasting

amusements & resources within himself. The Man whose happiness depends upon foreign and external circumstances, will experience many weary hours which he knows not how to employ, and from which he cannot fly. The smallest change in the sameness of a Country life forms an Era, we therefore look forward to the arrival of the Judge (of Circuit) as an event of no small importance. This takes place twice in each year, vizt July and January. The Judge sometimes brings his family (should he have one) and sometimes not, & resides where he is most intimately acquainted. His stay never exceeds a month but is generally much less. When news of his approach is received his friends dispatch a small Boat with fresh bread, butter, vegetables, &c &c. This is a general custom to all Travellers (Gentlemen Europeans) and at some stations, where they are continually passing these supplies are not a very light tax. It is only in the Cities that there are public Bakers who sell bread, as the Natives do not eat it made in our way. Many Gentlemen, however, travel with their complete establishment of Bakers, buttermen, Cows, Goats, &c &c. Our hours in the Country are much the same as elsewhere, Breakfast from 8 to 10 and Dinner from half past 6 to 8. The intervening meal called Tiffin is not so Common in the Country on account of the great interruption it occasions to business.

Mymensing is something more than a Village, having a weekly market, and is increasing rapidly in size and population; but except our dwellings & the Jail there are no brick buildings of any description. The general style is Bamboo and Matts, or mud; the floors or terrace are all mud. The former buildings being dry are very combustible and frequent fires happen in consequence. We have very few Roads, our very longest is thirty miles and has been made during my residence at this place. This work is performed by the convicts. The Roads are made merely by throwing up the Earth [134] from each side so as to raise it above the general level of the Country, & the soil being light and sandy requires continual repair. In places where necessary there are small arches (I cannot dignify them with the name of bridges) but anything beyond is not to be found in this district. Indeed large Roads are not very necessary, for excepting what may belong to Gentlemen at the Station there is not a wheel carriage of any sort, size, kind or descrip-

tion throughout Mymensing. The Natives who do not walk, ride in Palanquins. The District on this side the Burrampooter is almost all one continual flat without a hedge or fence to divide the different cultivations, and is like the common fields in England. To the north we have Hills and mountains which stretch away into Thibet. Our district is best seen in Map No. 6 of Major Rennels Bengal Atlas & you will find the place where we live called *Sowara* (which is the real name of the village) about five miles to the south of *Bygonbarry*.

In the absence of wheel carriages, you perhaps wonder how things are transported from one place to another; chiefly, as I before said, by water carriage; but should that not be practicable (which very seldom is the case) on Men's heads or by *Banghy-burdars*, people who carry two Baskets, one fixed to each end of a Bamboo on their shoulder; if the weight is equal at each end, and not very heavy they trot along pretty well. Gentlemen seldom have occasion to travel into the interior of their Districts, unless on sporting parties, and a Native makes very little fuss about it. He merely takes his Mat whereon he sleeps, his Hookah, and a vessel to drink out of, he stops when he finds it convenient and generally meets with hospitality for they are civil to one another. I should not omit to tell you as it is laughable, that a Native generally travels with his shoes in his hand!! this is I assure you a fact which I have often witnessed.

Our habitations in the Country as I have before told you, are not always brick Houses properly so called, but are sometimes Bungalows, a word which I know how to render unless by a Cottage. These are always thatched with straw on the Roof and the walls are sometimes of Bricks, and often of matts. The dimensions and plans of these dwellings of course vary according to the taste or purposes of the Builders, & fancy directs the fitting up, sometimes to the extreme of elegance. Many have glass windows besides the Venetians but this is not very common. When the Bungalows are walled with mats they are generally a little gloomy, the mats being of a dark colour. To obviate this they are sometimes painted, & sometimes covered with plaster & white wash. To hide the sloping Roofs we put up a kind of artificial ceiling made of white Cloth, with a full narrow bimming or vallance all round, these look very, neat and pretty. Where there are not Doors to the inside Rooms (as is frequently

the case) we substitute things called *Purdahs* made of Chintz or broad Cloth. They are a kind of curtain which let down when it is necessary to exclude the wind &c. I need not tell you that these habitations only consist of one floor. I have two Bungalows, near to each other, in one of which I sleep [135] & dress, and in the other sit and eat. The terraces are of brick and mortar raised two or three feet from the level of the ground.

None of our Servants with an exception perhaps to the Sirdar Bearer sleep under the same Roof with us. They have all huts of their own, where they reside with their families. Indeed as every branch of household duty is in particular hands, the Servant whose business it may be goes away when that duty is performed. For instance, where your *Khitmutghar* has waited upon you at Breakfast, and that Repast is over, he goes home until it is time to come back and prepare for the next meal : besides this many of our servants never come into the House at all ; among this number are grooms, grasscutters, farm-yard Men, Gardeners &c. &c. These have also their respective huts and houses. The natives of every cast are in their manners, & customs, so totally different from us, that beyond what duty & business compells we can have no association. I believe they privately look on us with a great deal of contempt, and generally believe us to be wanting in Religion, merely I suppose because we have not the idle and superstitious outward forms of worship which they so much pride themselves in. In the *arts* tho' they look on us as Gods, or at least something far above the common Race of Mortals.

Our Horses in this Country are fed on *Gram* & Grass ; the former is a kind of Pea, of which a horse consumes about 10 lb. per diem, from 60 to 80 lb. is purchased for a Rupee. We have no oats. The grass is cut fresh every day, for which purpose a distinct servant is kept, and from his employment is called a *grass cutter*. Our stables are made very open and airy, either of brick or mats, but are not fitted up quite in the same manner as those in England, as they have no Racks : the grass or Hay is put into the manger or on the ground. Dry Hay is coming fast into use, and I only wonder that it has not been so long ago. Our stables are generally a good distance from the House, as indeed are all our offices, for even the Kitchen, dairy &c. &c. are all separate and detached from the Dwelling in which noth-

ing is kept but the mere furniture ; no stores of any kind &c. Gardens are likewise away from the house, for being mere Vegetable Beds, there is nothing very inviting in them ; the *Mallee* or Gardener generally has his Hut in the Garden. We only value our Gardens in proportion to what they can produce ; no lawns or gravel walks &c. and the climate does not allow us to amuse ourselves in them.

Indeed independent of the climate, we could not well descend to any manual labor, for almost all of us being in high official situations it is necessary to support a kind of Dignity in the Eyes of the Natives, which would be entirely lost were we to make such an exertion. Indeed the Natives have such strange and ridiculous opinions on this subject that they wonder how we can bear to walk about shooting with a Gun in our hand, when we might get the Birds without any trouble on our own part ; not considering that it is successful skill which gives all the Zest to field sports. Lc Gross who [136] has been here upwards of ten years,³⁰ and is a great walker early in the morning was once stopped by an old Man who said to him "What Sir can induce you to act so strangely as to walk ? you have a Phaeton and pair but still you walk ; you have saddle Horses but you walk, you have Bearers, Palanquins and Tonjons but you walk ; you have Elephants and Howdahs but you walk ; you have a sailing Boat but you walk ; what is the Reason of such inconsistency ?"

There are Military (commanded by Native officers) under the controul and orders of the Magistrate at all civil stations, not merely for the protection of the places, which, in Bengal at least, are, I fancy, pretty safe ; but to guard the convicts, and other prisoners both when in Jail or when at work on the Roads &c. &c. Sentinels are also posted on the Record offices &c. &c. They are not regular Seapoys, but troops raised for this particular purpose, nor are they under martial law³¹. We have 250 at this place besides 30 attached to the Collectors office for the purpose of escorting Treasure &c. They are in general a worthless, undisciplined set of Scoundrels very different from the Regular troops which are brave honourable, and obedient. A system is about to be introduced which will I believe abolish these non-descript crops and introduce some on a better footing. At

Dacca and I believe at all the *Cities* there is a Battalion of Regulars.

Bengal is very populous, and in answer to some queries from Government to a former Magistrate of this *zillah* respecting the number of inhabitants &c. &c. I think he estimated the number of souls in this District to be 1,900,000 which certainly seems immense, but from the mode he took to ascertain the fact I have reason to think he must be nearly correct. After what I have told you of the size of this District, and what I now tell you of its populousness, you will be surprized when I add that it does not pay much above seven lacs of Rupees annual Revenue to Government, not £90.000 sterling. The settlement was made without sufficient consideration, but as it was made for *ever* it cannot now be altered. Many of the largest land holders are much under assessed, at which of course they do not grumble.

The chief productions of this district are *Rice*, sugar cane, a small Quantity of Cotton, and some of the coarser kind of Cloths; in some of the neighbouring *zillahs* considerable quantities of Indigo are manufactured, and I believe some Merchants mean to try it here, where I am sure it will answer extremely well. Government you know give up this article of commerce entirely to individuals; it is rather an uncertain speculation, being either a mine of Gold or absolute Ruin; many princely fortunes have been made by it and as many lost. We, that is all civil servants except those in the Commercial line, are prohibited by our Oaths from trading in any way directly, or indirectly.

[137] Persons not in the service of the King or Company are forbidden to reside more than ten miles from Calcutta without the sanction of Government, and entering into a Penal Bond to be always forthcoming &c. &c. People of this description are in common with the Natives, amenable to our *Zillah* Courts. In some places there are numbers of them settled as Merchants, and in general are respectable people, there were formerly two or three here but they are removed and gone.

My principal subjects being nearly exhausted, I am become rather miscellaneous, and perhaps tiresome, however, I shall go on to speak as points may occur.

In the more Western Districts at certain times of the year the most dreadful Hot winds prevail, a positive unseen fire, which peels the skin off your face in five minutes if exposed to it. We

have them much less in these lower parts, and some years none at all, however, they are generally provided against by preparing what are called *Tatties*. A frame is made to fit the Doors & windows of the side of the House where the winds blow, and this is filled with a fragrant species of grass or rather fibrous Roots called *Khus-Khus*, this is kept constantly wet by the *Bheesty* (the servant who has the charge of providing water) and the wind blowing thro' it renders the place pleasant. In addition to this, the grass diffuses a very pleasant odour, and the dripping of the water is a cooling sound. They are put up soon after sun-rise, and are sometimes obliged to be kept up until midnight. Bed in the Hot weather is dreadful, sometimes not a breath of air, and we are obliged by the mosquitoes to sleep behind curtains tho' they are made of very fine thin gauze. There is also another invader which we are obliged to provide against, this is a small Red Ant, which bites very sharp; to keep them out of Bed we put the Bed-posts into copper pans of water which effectually opposes their ascent. But the most unpleasant thing of all is the myriads of Insects which all Night long keep up a perpetual buzzing and humming, forming one of the most monotonous sounds you can imagine. Perhaps it is only by an Association of Ideas that the noise is so very unpleasant for they are only loudly heard during the Hot and Rainy months.

There is not in India so much of that frigid formality which I think prevails too much in England, and which indeed is easily accounted for when we consider that we are all Servants of the same Company, and that the youngest has every Reason to expect he will in time be as well off as the oldest. This brings us all to a great equality. I should, however, observe that the Company's Servants, taken as a Body, assume a certain hauteur which is perhaps in some instances carried too far; for example, the most respectable Shop-keepers (and a Shop-keeper in this Country means something far beyond the same title in England), Men who have been extremely well-educated and brought up in the society, & with the manners, of Gentlemen, and even some who have been in the Army in India, are not admitted into general society, but form a separate association among themselves.

[138] I believe I have generally described our mode of living and acting which indeed admits of very little variety either in

scene or action. I shall now draw towards a conclusion not without a suspicion that I have omitted many of our smaller domestic customs which however do not at present occur to me, perhaps (tho' it appears strange) because they are directly before my Eyes, for we sometimes hunt about for a thing while it is all the time in our hands. There are, however, a few little trifles which I will put down without order or method.

Our furniture is partly the manufacture of this Country and of Europe. Chairs in particular are made very well in India from a variety of wood, the best is of a hard black kind something resembling Ebony, Calcutta indeed contains workmen (Europeans I mean) who can, and do, make every species of ornamental and useful elegance, but they are of course very expensive. Of articles which we get from England thro' the channel of the Shop-keepers in this country, I think it is not too much to say that they do not come into our hands under 150 per cent. above their original cost, by which you will perceive that Europe shops are extravagant places. I recollect having been obliged to pay 36 Rupees for a Hat, and I have known Cheese at 3 & 4 Rupees per lb. We get tolerably good fish in India, among others there are Oysters, whiting, mullet, pomfret and many more peculiar to the Clime. A small fish (called the Mangoe-fish) is reckoned the most delicate, and best flavored but they are only to be had when there are *tides*, consequently we get none of them in the Burrampooter. In shape they are not unlike a sprat. Fish at Breakfast is general, I have before spoken to that effect. Vegetation is astonishingly rapid, so that the articles in our Gardens are no sooner fit for use than they run to seed, indeed sometimes before they can attain size & perfection for the table. All rivers in this country decrease very much during the dry season; some are completely dry, and even the mighty Burrampooter falls about 30 feet.

We ride about in our Palanquins in some state, eight or ten *Chuprasses* and sometimes more running before us. They are so-called from wearing a *Chupras* or badge of brass and are public officers attached to our Courts to serve process &c. We have sixty allowed us here. Bearers with a Palanquin can travel between four or five miles an hour, and in my way from Chittagong I performed a distance of 106 miles in less than 22 hours on their shoulders. The Natives reckon distances by a Coss,

which contains about one mile and three quarters English ; they have also some curious modes of making distances ; one is as long as a branch of the Banian Tree, carried in the hand, will keep alive ; another is as far as the lowing of a Cow can be heard. These are something like the mode practised in America of a pipe of Tobacco but they are of course all fanciful and uncertain.

It may not be amiss to describe to you the nature and powers of our Courts of Justice in this Country. You must be aware that the Supreme Court of Judicature in Calcutta is exclusively for the administration of *English law*, and that its power extends only over the Town and Factory of Fort William ; the [139] Judges are appointed by the King and are totally independent of the Company. We, that is the Company's Servants vested with judicial authority, are guided in our decisions by the Hindoo and Mussulman Law, as laid down in the *Shaster* and *Koran*, subject, however, to such alterations, modifications and new Rules, as have been from time to time framed by the Governor-General in Council. The country owes to Lord Cornwallis the introduction of the present system of administering Justice to the Natives, which was first adopted in the year 1793 and has been found to answer every beneficial purpose. Lord Wellesley somewhat improved on it by separating the legislative, from the executive power, and thereby removed the members of Council from the Civil Courts.

The Company's possessions in India are divided into Districts called *Zillahs*, perhaps on an average of a similar size to Counties in England. These *Zillahs* are under the Jurisdiction of a Civil Servant who is vested with the united powers of Judge and Magistrate. In his first capacity he is authorized, and directed, to take cognizance of all disputes respecting landed property, mortgages, debts, Rents, and in general of all suits involving real, or personal property, as well as to award damages for libels, or other defamation. He is at once Judge, and Jury, for he both finds the party guilty of the fact, and allots the punishment. To assist him in the discharge of these duties there are attached to his office an *Hindoo* and a *Mahommedun* of birth, Rank, and learning, called respectively a *Pundit* and a *Cauzy*, for the purpose of expounding the *Hindoo* and *Mussulman Laws*³² ; besides this he has a large establishment of writers,

Record Keepers, &c., all Natives. The Regulations which have been from time to time published by the Governor-General³⁵, point out explicitly the manner of receiving, conducting, and deciding on the suits which may be brought before him, and it is only in cases involving some particular point that he has occasion to consult his Law officers. To every Court there are a certain number of *Vakeels* or pleaders, who receive no allowances from Government, but derive their emolument from a certain per Centage on the amount value of the cause of action, they are supposed to be men of birth and education, acquainted with the Laws of the Country, and with the Regulations (which are also Laws) of the Government. A Plaintiff, or defendant has it entirely at his own option to employ them, or to plead his own cause in person; this latter mode however is very seldom adopted. The pleadings are four in number, all on *stamp* paper, vizt. the Bill of plaint, the answer, the reply and the rejoinder. In the event of any thing material being omitted in the Bill of Plaint, the Plaintiff is at liberty to file a supplementary one, and the defendant can also claim the same indulgence, but no more than one supplementary Plaint and answer can be admitted. When the pleadings have all been filed, and Read, the Judge proceeds to examine the witnesses, and documents [140] which either party may have to produce, and having done that, decides on the merits of the case according to the Law, and Regulations.

This is a brief sketch of the mode pursued in civil suits, but as the Natives are extremely and proverbially litigious, it would be impossible for one Judge to decide upon all the causes instituted before him with sufficient expedition to answer the ends of Justice. There is, in consequence, a Civil Servant called a Register attached to all the Civil Courts whose mode of proceeding &c., are precisely the same as that followed by the Judge. He cannot however determine upon any suit in which the cause of action shall exceed 500 Rupees. In addition to this Assistance to the Judge, there is in different parts of each District, a Native called a *Cauzy* vested with power to hear and determine all suits for personal property not exceeding 50 Rupees. From all their decisions an appeal lies to the Judge, whose decision on them is final. In like manner an appeal lies

from decisions passed by the Register, above a certain sum but the Judges decree on them is not final.

An appeal also lies from decisions passed by the Judge, above a certain sum, to the provincial Court of Appeal. The *Provincial Courts of Appeal* are exclusively for hearing appeals; they consist of three Judges any two of whom form a bench. There are only six of these Courts in India, and they are at the Cities of Calcutta, Dacca, Patna, Morshedabad, Benares and Barielly. Such is the Civil power of a Zillah Judge. In his capacity of Magistrate he is authorized, and directed to take cognizance of all prosecutions for criminal acts and to preserve the peace of his District. In causes of a trivial Nature he possesses the power to punish by fine, imprisonment, and flogging, not exceeding five hundred rupees, six months, or thirty stripes on the back with a Rattan. He may confine any Person, however, of a notorious bad Character for any period of time until such person can give good security for his future good behaviour. In cases of a more serious nature such as theft attended with aggravated circumstances, Burglary &c. &c., he is directed to commit the parties for trial before the Court of Circuit.

The *Court of Circuit* is held twice a year at every Zillah Station, and consists of one of the Judges of the Court of Appeal who are (like Judges and Magistrates) vested with these double powers. They sit upon the causes which may have been committed for their hearing, and on which their Mussulman Law Officer (who constantly sits with them) gives his written opinion, stating what punishment the Prisoner is liable to according to the Mussulman Law. If the Judge coincide in the opinion with his Law Officer he immediately issues his warrant to the Magistrate for carrying the sentence into execution; but should he, for any Reason, differ from the opinion so given the trial is transmitted by him to the *Nizamut Adawlut* for their final determination.

The *Nizamut Adawlut* is the supreme head Court (quite distinct from the *Supreme Court*) and consists of three Judges. They also are vested with a double capacity, civil and criminal. In the latter duty they decide (as already mentioned) on any difference between the Circuit Judges and their Law Officers, and it is they who pass judgement in capital cases, such as murder [141] &c. &c., these trials being invariably sent to them by the

Circuit Judges. In their civil capacity they receive Appeals from decisions passed by the Judges of the Court of Appeal and in general settle and explain any particular parts of the Laws and Regulations on a reference being made to them for that purpose. From their decisions there is also an Appeal to the King of England in Council, but this can only take place when the cause of action is above a certain sum, I believe £ 5,000. In like manner all other appeals are restricted to a certain amount. The Judges of this Court are also assisted by Law officers of the description above mentioned. This Court is holden in Calcutta and the members of it are of course stationary. As a *Civil Court* it is denominated the *Sudder Dewanny Adawlut*.

This will I hope convey to you a just idea of the mode of administering justice in India. For other duties there are a Board of Trade, consisting of three members, a Board of Revenue, and a Marine Board. The duty of a Collector is very simple, being merely to collect the Land Revenue due to Government, to attach and sell the Lands of Defaulters and in general to superintend all Revenue matters in his district. For acts committed in his public capacity he is amenable to the Zillah Courts. Commercial Residents provide the Companys Investments, whether Cloth, or silk, &c., and are allowed to trade themselves. This office is not at every station but confined to places convenient for Trade &c.³⁴. The Salt Agents superintend the making of Salt &c. and check any smuggling, for you know the Company monopolize to themselves exclusively this article of Commerce. There is an annual sale of Salt on account of the Company at which the Natives and others buy for Consumption and Retail. The Opium Agent has the charge of providing the opium on account of Government, this being also monopolized, and there is also an annual Sale of this Commodity. The Salt and Opium Agencies are very fine appointments, indeed some of the best in the Country. The emoluments of similar appointments are not all equal, by which I mean that some Districts are better than others.

The salary of a Judge and Magistrate is in no Zillah less than 24,000 Rs. per annum, and in like manner does not in any case exceed 36,000. The Senior Judge of a Court of Appeal and Circuit gets 45,000, the second 40,000 and the third 35,000. The salaries of all Collectors are the same vizt. 1,500 Rs. per

mensem, but some Collectorships are better than others because there is an authorized per Centage drawn by these officers on the sale of stamp paper and on Licenses for selling intoxicating liquors, and drugs, the Consumption of which of course varies in different Zillahs. The Collectorship of Benares for instance is by these means worth upwards of 40,000 Rupees a year. Commercial Residents only receive 500 Rupees a month salary, but draw a per centage on the Investment which they provide for the Company. This circumstances renders these appointments very uncertain as in time of war &c. when [142] the Investments are not so large, their emoluments are of course much diminished. This however is supposed to be compensated by the option of trading which they possess, but which is denied to all in the Judicial and Revenue Departments.

In addition to the appointments I have already mentioned there are Collectors of Government duties, and customs on exports and imports, some of them very lucrative. There are also four Secretaries to Government, Secretaries to the Boards of Revenue Trade and Marine. &c. ; all these are capital appointments. I need not however enlarge on this point as the Directory will best tell you the disposition of the Service.

OMNIUM GATHERUM

Horses in this Country are very dear. Those most in vogue for blood and beauty are from Arabia and scarcely, any of this description are to be had under 1,000 Rupees—1,200, 1,600, and 2,000 are the general prices, tho' there are Horse, called Arabs, but in fact not so, that sell for 600 or 800. This is a source of much expense, particularly among young Men who usually have two or three. There are some fine Horses brought from the North-West parts of India but these are scarce. The Company have an establishment for improving the breed of Cattle and a Board of Superintendence but as yet they have not done much. Few Gentlemen in India advanced in the Civil Service keep less than six or seven Horses. Grooms following on Horseback are not at all common. Saddlery &c. of course all comes from England, and is dear, 120 Rs. is the usual price of a saddle and bridle.

You will, after reading this little volume, be less surprized at the number of Servants we keep ; every employment requires a

separate Servant ; your Groom will not clean your Boots, nor will your Khidmutgar rub your furniture in the House ; your Gardener will not litter up your Horse in the stable, nor will your Cow keeper cut a Cabbage for you in the Garden. In fact Men in this Country are *born* to different professions, and the meanest person in our employ will not wash his own Cloathes there being a particular Race of People destined to perform this service.

We generally dress in fresh apparel three times a day. Our first dress in the Morning early for riding is of course desabille, Boots, &c., &c., for Breakfast we are generally all in white and the same again for Dinner, however this varies according to the Season. As we change our Linen so often it is not much soiled, and of course requires less washing, but the mode of performing this operation is so rough, that, added to the frequency our Cloathes do not last a very long time. Every Gentleman keeps a *washerman* (for this duty is exclusively performed by *Men*) who is a regular Servant. Where there is a family it is necessary to keep two or three. Very few houses have fire places in Bengal, tho' they would at times be pleasant and convenient. Glass windows are sometimes agreeable, but I have never regretted the want of them. Blankets on the Bed are necessary in the Cold weather. Our Doors and windows are left open even [143] during the Night without fear of any intruder, except, perhaps, a Jackall, who will carry away your shoes, or any leather he can find. Nightcaps are not often worn. We always sleep in drawers made very loose, and large, of fine Cloth or muslin. Carpets are occasionally laid down during the Cold Season. The Carriages used in this Country are mostly made by Europeans in Calcutta, and are quite as elegant as any from England, tho' perhaps not quite so strong. You are aware that the Natives will not eat or drink with us, nor partake of any thing from our Tables, do not therefore imagine any black faces at our Dinners &c. &c. At Country stations like this we have literally no one to associate with but the Gentlemen in office.

The Rivers chiefly supply us with our drinking water, except perhaps at Calcutta, where it is brackish ; ponds and Rain are substitutes. The water of the Burrampooter is very fine. Water is the usual *draught* at Table, indeed I might say universal for two or three hardly make an exception to a general Rule. These few

perhaps imbibe ale or porter and in the Cold weather in moderation it is not even by medical Men reckoned to be unwholesome. India abounds with Reservoirs of water called Tanks, they are all artificial excavations. A Native who wishes to perpetuate his name in any particular spot generally digs a Tank or plants some long-lived Trees, and indeed it is a sensible method of courting Fame.

There are no "adieu" or "good byes" in this Country on leaving a Gentleman's House after Dinner. The Company drop off one by one without saying a word, get into their Palanquins and go home. At night in addition to the Carriage lamps there are sometimes three or four link Boys running before the Horses with flambeaux or lanthorns. There is always at least one before a Palanquin.

Almost every description of animal in India is smaller than in more temperate Climates, they are however generally speaking equally good. The Bengal mutton, in particular, is of exquisite flavor. In a Country Station where you keep a farm-yard, you must have a constant stock of at least 100 sheep and 3 or 400 fowls, these latter are in such general use and consumption (being used in various dishes) that six or seven or more are frequently killed in a day. I have before mentioned my dislike to the superabundance of meats at an Anglo-Indian Table. All other kinds of Stock must of course be kept up in proportion. Our fowls are cooped up as at home, and fattened on Bread and milk and Rice. Sheep eat a small pea called *Kullae* and on this they soon get fat. Oxen are brought into eating condition by "gram" which I have before mentioned. Our pork is very good (home fed) both of the China and Country breed. Our fires for cooking are of course all of wood having no coal. An Indian kitchen (to speak generally) in point of cleanliness would put a good house-wife at home in the horrors. Here are no Jacks, and the meat is roasted not *parallel* to the fire but *above* it, for here is also a want of grates. The meat however is never smoked, and considering our style of cooking differs so materially from theirs, the Natives manage very well with our Dinners, tho' if you wish to preserve your appetite, you must not see [144] them dressed. Our cooks are men of the very lowest cast for it is difficult to induce others to defile themselves in our Culinary Arts."

All our Houses are of course pretty near to each other, and are always if possible at a distance from the Natives. We here live

on the Banks of the River which are fine, high, and dry^d. There are large Towns scattered all over the District but scarcely any brick buildings. The Cities of Dacca, Patna, &c., which were the seats of the Mussulman Govt. still shew what they once were. At the former I have frequently gazed on the immense pile of Ruins which once formed the magnificent Palace of Arungzebe. We have a Market held here every Friday, at which is to be bought Cloth, Shoes, ornaments, fruit, Rice, fish, Vegetables, &c.

It is astonishing how very few of the Natives ride on Horseback by choice, we have many Rich ones in this Zillah, but I have never by any chance seen one of them on Horseback. They are like all the rest of the Asiatics indolent and supine to the greatest extreme.

We get very fine Ice during the cold season, but it is procured by the greatest care and art ; it would indeed be a luxury could we have it during the Hot weather. Our liquors of every description are always cooled in Salt petre which is rather expensive, but without this they would from their heat almost operate like a Vomit!! Tea is of course drunk at Breakfast &c. I never drink it myself (a glass of milk and water being my Beverage) but I hear others say that it has not by any means the fine flavor which it has in England ; this sounds very strange and I believe must be a good deal fancied.

I shall conclude with a few Tables which may perhaps amuse you.

OF SERVANTS WAGES

	Per month Rs.			
A Khansamah (steward or Butler) from	..	16	to	50
Khidmutghar (who waits at Table, &c.)	..	5	to	8
Sirdar (or head bearer who dresses you, takes care of your Cloathes &c.)	..	6	to	10
Hookahburdar	..	10	to	20
Syce (Groom)	..	5		
Grass cutter	..	3		
Gardener	..	6		
Hircarrah	..	6		
Bearers (for carrying Palanquin) each	..	3	to	5
Dooriahs (who take care of Dogs, &c.) each	..	3	to	6
Taylor	..	6	to	16

	Per month Rs.
[145] Washerman	8 to 20
Mahout (or Elephant Driver)	5 to 10
Sircar (the head Superintendent of accounts, &c.)	16 to 40
Cook	6 to 16
Mussalchee (or link Boy, &c.)	4 to 6
Aubdar (or Water-cooler)	6 to 10
Ferash (or candle snuffer)	4
Derwan (or porter at the Gate)	5
Cow keeper, Sheep keeper, fowl keeper, &c. each	3
Baker	10 to 16
Butterman (the man who makes Butter)	5 to 8
Fisherman (a regular servant)	4
Bheasty (who provides water, &c.)	5

Almost all these Servants are absolutely necessary and there is often occasion to keep several of the same description, for instance every Horse requires two Servants and so forth.

OF PRICES.

Wheat from 60 to 80 lb. for a Rupee.

Rice from 80 to 160 lb. for a Rupee.

Sheep (not fat) one Rupee each.

Oxen (not fat) from 4 to 10 each.

Fowls I have before mentioned.

Turkeys from 2 to 6 each but in Calcutta they are much dearer.

Ducks 4, 5, 6 for a Rupee.

Geese 2, 3, 4 for a Rupee.

Fruit of all kinds very cheap indeed, for instance fine apples 5 and 6 for a Rupee.

Gram (on which Horses &c. feed) 80 lb. for a Rupee.

Kids four or five for a Rupee.

Fish cheap but out of Calcutta Gentlemen usually keep their own fishermen who provide their Tables from the River. Fish and Rice is the universal food of the Hindoos.

Milk 60 to 80 lb. per Rupee but in the Country Gentlemen always keep their own Cows.

A Milch Cow from 10 to 16 Rupees.

An Elephant from 300 to 1000 Rupees.

Eggs 40 or 50 for a Rupee.

Pigeons 10 or 12 for a Rupee.

Calves (not fat) 4 to 6 Rupees each. In a district where the majority of the inhabitants are Hindoos it is sometimes difficult to procure these animals as they do not like to sell them for slaughter; such is the case here.

I think if you put from 100 to 150 per cent. on the English price of articles sent to this Country it will be about what we pay. However this varies according to the state of the market and is sometimes more, but I think seldom less. [146] Salt peter about 16 lb. for a Rupee and about that quantity is daily consumed where House is kept.

I believe I have before told you that nothing but wax candles are burnt in our Houses. The Natives make use of a lamp & oil extracted from the mustard seed of which large quantities are grown annually. With this urgent they also annoint their Bodies & put it on their Hair which you may imagine makes them very *fragrant*.

Women servants form no part of our establishments except in the Houses of married men. A Gentleman never carries money about his person & except perhaps by accident has not a Rupee in his pocket from one year's end to the other. Indeed we are seldom incommoded with any thing but a Handkerchief, these are always of white plain mushn. Wax candles cost from 70 to 90 Rupees a maund which contains 80 lb. There is a regular post to every station in India & the postage is of course regulated by the weight & distance, for instance a single letter from hence to Calcutta will cost 5 anas, about ten pence.

When at home there are always Hircarrahs waiting in the anti-Rooms to attend any call which is not made as in England by a Bell &c. but by calling out "Koe hy?" *i.e.*, "is any body there". A *Griffin* from hearing this at every house he goes to, is at first apt to imagine that every house contains a Servant named "Koe hy". Our servants are all dressed in white linen, and indeed it is the universal color in India, sometimes they have colored sashes and turbans. At table most Ladies and Gentlemen have two Khidmutghars behind them, so that at a party of 20 there will be altogether 60 persons in the Room.

The Character of an Englishman undergoes some change by a residence in the East. An Englishman in India is proud and tenacious, he feels himself a Conqueror amongst a vanquished people and looks down with some degree of Superiority on all be-

low him. Indolence, the disease of the Climate, affects him with its torpid influence, and to the present moment futurity is made subservient. A cool apathy, a listless inattention, and an improvident carelessness generally accompanies most of his actions; secure of to day, he thinks, not of tomorrow. Ambitious of splendor, he expends freely, & forms his calculation on Riches yet in perspective; *what* he wishes, that he procures, for it is seldom Prudence dares to say "No", when desire says "yes". Generosity is a feature in the Character too prominent to be overlooked, but as it sometimes borders on extravagance it loses some of its Virtue. Bring distress before his Eyes and he bestows with a liberality that is nowhere surpassed. He must be solicited, but he is never solicited in Vain. The extremes of dissipation and avarice are of course to be met with; the first is the thoughtless profusion of Youth, buoyed up by golden dreams of what is to come; the second is the chill parsimony of age, reflecting on what he has let slip past him. These extremes are however rare, & the medium is most common. In his public Character (whatever Calumny & Detraction may [147] say to the Contrary) he is minutely just, inflexibly upright, and I believe no public Service in the whole world can evince more integrity. In short an Englishman in India is voluptuous and idle, indifferent and careless, liberal and independant. He fears no Man's frown, he Courts no Man's smile; he looks to those above him without envy, conscious that time will also exalt him; & on those below him without pride, aware that the same agent will also bring them forward. This you will of course consider quite as a *general* sketch.

I now conclude, but must first offer some apologies for the immethodical & digressive manner throughout these pages; for inelegant language, occasional omissions, faulty punctuation, and inadvertant Grammatical errors. Some custome I have perhaps mentioned as general, which are only particular; and I may have spoken of some as particular only which are in fact general. I have endeavoured to "catch the manners living as they rise", and I hope I have painted things only as they are. Some points worthy of notice I have no doubt forgotten, and have perhaps remarked some which may be deemed too insignificant. The same thing does not appear to all persons in the same point of view, and however the shades of the picture may occasionally

vary, I hope the general outline will be found to correspond. Custom, which makes all things familiar, makes them also sometimes agreeable, and this habituation may have induced me to pass without censure some points which to a distant Eye, may appear vague, useless, or reprehensible. Who ever finished a task of any length that could say "I have completely fulfilled my design"? If he has done to the best of his ability he must be satisfied, and to the *uninitiated* let him cry. *Si quid novisti rectius istis, Candidus imperti, si non, his utere mecum.*

NOTES

1. Judicial Civil : O C., 25 June, 1801 No. 1.
2. Ibid : O. C., 11 August, 1803 No. 6.
3. Ibid : O C.'s, 18 April, 1805 Nos. 17—19
4. Ibid : O C., 27 March, 1806 No. 1.
5. Ibid : O C., 12 March, 1807 No. 13
6. Ibid : O. C., 7 May, 1807 No. 26.
7. Ibid Progs. 3 June 1808 p. 153 [Mr. H.T. Twynam, I.C.S., who has been good enough to examine the record of tombs in the European cemetery at Mymensingh, reports that there is no entry in the name of Roberdeau. None of the graves appear to be of an earlier date than 1821.—Ed B.P. and P.]
8. Mymensingh Gazetteer, p. 118
9. Dodwell and Miles's Civil List pp. 272-273 [LeGros was appointed Commercial Resident at Patna in 1812 and died there on May, 10, 1818, aet. 55—Ed B.P. and P.]
10. Dodwell and Miles, pp. 426-27.
11. Judicial Civil: O.C., 18 April, 1805 Nos. 18-19, and 7 May 1807 No. 26.
12. Vol. I. p. 133.
13. Vol. III. p. 581
14. Sooroy, Arabic-Persian, *Surahi*. A long necked earthenware or metal flagon. Tass : more familiar under the name of *Chillumchee*
15. *Pumplenow*—Pummelo; the "pimplenoses" of Edward Ives (1754-56).
16. A portable chair. "I had a Tonjon, or open palanquin, in which I rode."—Mrs. Sherwood's Autobiography (1804).
17. Yule and Burnell (*Hobson Jobson*) give a quotation from Beaumont and Fletcher (circ. 1624) in which the phrase a Griffin gentleman is applied to a *novus homo*.
18. The "New Theatre," which was erected in 1775, stood to the north-west corner of what is now Lyon's Range. An advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* of November 1, 1808, commemorates its dis-

appearance. Gopi Mohan Tagore, having "lately purchased the house and building formerly called the Theatre, wherein Mr. Roworth established an auction," announces that he has constructed several buildings which "he intends for a new Bazar, known by the name of the New China Bazar."

19. In January 1806 the sale of Mr. Richmond Thackeray's property "at his house in Chowringhee" is announced by Messrs. Lawrie and Goulds to take place on the 10th of that month.
20. Cf.: *Englishman* of November 17, 1924: "The enterprise of hotel and restaurant proprietors has provided us with regular dance halls. We now dance every night, not only after dinner, but before dinner, and even during dinner."
21. "In former days it was a dire offence to step over another person's Hookah-carpet and Hookah-Snake. Men who did so intentionally were called out."—Major-General R. H. Keatinge, V.C. (1825-1904): quoted in *Hobson—Jobson*.
22. *Surpoosh*—properly, cover. The term *chillum* is usually applied to the receiver.
- 22a. Hind, *bidri* from Bidar in the Deccan, where the composition was chiefly made. The ground work is of pewter alloyed with one fourth copper: This is damascened in silver, and the pewter ground then blackened.
23. "Imagine half the men of a large company, puffing and blowing and the Hookahs making a most extraordinary noise, some a deep bass, others, a bubbling treble—the variety of cadence depends, I believe, on the length of the snake and the quantity of water poured into the receptacle for it."—Lady Nugent's Journal, February 28, 1812.
24. This custom is mentioned by Mrs. Fay, whose letters describe the Calcutta of Warren Hastings (1780-1785).
25. The "modern erection" is St. John's Church: by the "older and smaller building" Kiernander's Mission Church appears to be intended.
26. These notes would seem to have been written above the year 1805: See note (30). John Stracey was Judge and Magistrate from December 27, 1802 until March, 21, 1803. William Parker from May 16, 1803 until July 27, 1804, and James Rattray from July 28, 1804 until March, 1807. Francis le Gros was Collector from 1795 until 1806 when he was succeeded by James Law. The assistant to the Collector was C.W. Steer (August, 1804 to September, 1806).
27. Pig-sticking reached its zenith in Lower Bengal during the sixties and seventies of the last century. Moorshedabad and the adjoining districts were then studded with prosperous indigo concerns: and the rafters of the spacious factory houses rang with the rousing chorus of "The Mighty Boar." Civilians were also great at the sport. Mr. F.B. Simson, Collector of Noakhali, once refused a transfer on the ground that he had made elaborate preparations for

- the next season's pig-sticking Indigo is now dead and Civilians in Bengal are engrossed in less stimulating occupations
28. The bear had almost exterminated in Lower Bengal and Behar by 1857. Planters used to hunt them on horse back with dogs, some times dismounting to spear them and some times administering the blow from the saddle.
 29. The office of Commercial Resident was abolished in 1833, when the new Charter prohibited trading by the Company, except in the case of Salt and Opium.
 30. Francis Le Gros came to Mymensingh as Collector in 1795: See note (26).
 31. These irregulars were known as *Sebundies*. As late as 1840 Lieut Robert Napier afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala, was in charge of the Sebundy Corps of Sappers and Miners at Darjeeling
 32. These offices were abolished by Act XI of 1864. The presence of the *Cazee* or *Moulvie* was essential in a criminal trial. The *Pundit* gave his opinion in civil cases only.
 33. The term "Regulation" became obsolete in 1833.
 34. See the article on "The Company's Commercial Residents" in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol XXV pp. 84-88.
 35. A pen and ink sketch shows the "relative position of our dwellings at Mymensing as they appear from the River." On the extreme left is the "Town", denoted by a cluster of huts; next come the "Collector's Office", "Le Gros' House" and the Doctor's." Separated from these by a clump of trees are the "Judge's House," the "Court House", and "My Bungalow."

3

CALCUTTA IN 1810*

By Maria Graham

[131] *Calcutta, Sept. 8, 1810.*—Business of a most distressing nature requiring my presence at Calcutta, I left Madras, on the 26th of August, in his Majesty's ship *Illustrious*, and arrived here so late as to make it impossible to return to Madras before the month of December, as the monsoon is set in on the coast; and I have, moreover, missed the friend to whom I came, so I am here a stranger, and in a manner a prisoner. From the time of my embarking the weather was cloudy and hot. After sailing slowly along the low coast, which was constantly obscured by haze, and passing the Jagernauth Pagoda,¹ which stands by itself on a beach of sand, that seems to have no end, the first land we made was Point Palmyras,² or rather the tops of the trees which give their name to this low sandy cape. On anchoring in Balasore Roads, the breakers, and the colour of the water, told us that we were in [132] the neighbourhood of land, though none was visible in any direction. The water looked like thick mud, fitter to walk upon than to sail through. Here we left the ship, and proceeded in a pilot's schooner. Nothing can be more desolate than the entrance to the Hoogly. To the west, frightful breakers extend as far as the eye can reach, you are surrounded by sharks and crocodiles; but on the east is a more horrible object, the black low island of Saugor.³ The very appearance of the dark jungle that covers it is terrific. You see that it must be a nest of serpents, and a den of tigers; but it is worse, it is the yearly scene of human sacrifice, which not all the vigilance of the British government can prevent. The temple is ruined, but the infatuated votaries of Kali⁴ plunge into the waves that separate the island from the continent, in the spot where the blood-stained fane once stood, and crowned with flowers and robed

From the *Journal of a Residence in India* by Maria Graham; Edinburgh, Archibald Constable & Co., 1812, quarto, illustrated. pages 1-211.

in scarlet, singing hymns to the goddess, they devote themselves to destruction; and he who reaches the opposite shore without being devoured by the sacred sharks, becomes a pariah, and regards himself as a being detested by the gods. Possessed by this frenzy of superstition, mothers have thrown their infants into the jaws of the sea monsters, and furnished scenes too horrible for description; but the yearly assembly at Saugor is now attended by troops, in order to prevent these horrid practices, so that I believe there are *now* but few involuntary victims. As we advanced up the river, the breakers disappeared, the jungle grew higher and lighter, and we saw sometimes a pagoda, or a village between the trees. The river was covered with boats of every shape, villas adorned the banks, the scene became enchanting, all cultivated, all busy, and we felt that we were approaching a great capital. On landing, I was struck with the general appearance of grandeur in all the buildings; not [133] that any of them are according to the strict rules of art, but groups of columns, porticoes, domes, and fine gateways, interspersed with trees, and the broad river crowded with shipping, made the whole picture magnificent.

Sept. 16.—On my arrival at Calcutta, I went to the house appointed by the Indian government for captains of the navy, intending to stay there till I procured a lodging to remain in till I could return to Madras; but I had not been many hours on shore, before I received several invitations from the hospitable inhabitants of Calcutta, to live in their houses till I could rejoin my friends. Among the first of these the governor-general, the only person with whom I had been acquainted at home, called, and kindly insisted on my taking up my abode in the government-house, which I did accordingly the next day, when I was introduced to his daughter-in-law and the other ladies of the family. Never was a stranger more kindly received, and never did attentions come in so welcome a time, or in a form so agreeable.

ENGLISH SOCIETY OF CALCUTTA

Oct. 22.—The English society of Calcutta, as it is more numerous, affords a greater variety of character, and a greater portion of intellectual refinement, than that of either of the other presidencies. I have met with some persons of both sexes in this

place, whose society reminded me of that we have enjoyed together in Britain, when some of the wisest and best of our countrymen, whose benevolence attracted our attention, as their talents commended our esteem, loved to relax from their serious occupations in the circle of their friends. Among the few here who know and appreciate these things, the most agreeable speculations are always those that point homeward to that Europe, where the mind of [134] man seems to flourish in preference to any other land. If we look round us, the passive submission, the apathy, and the degrading superstition of the Hindoos; the more active fanaticism of the Mussulmans; the avarice, the prodigality, the ignorance, and the vulgarity of most of the white people, seem to place them all on a level, infinitely below that of the least refined nations of Europe.

Oct. 25.—This is the season of festivals; I hear the tomtoms, drums, pipes, and trumpets in every corner of the town, and I see processions in honour of Kali going to a place two miles off, called Kali Ghaut, where there has long been a celebrated temple to this goddess, which is now pulled down, and another more magnificent is to be erected in its place.^b In all the bazars, at every shop door, wooden figures and human heads, with the neck painted blood-colour, are suspended, referring, I imagine, to the human sacrifices formerly offered to this deity, who was, I believe, the tutelary goddess of Calcutta. Three weeks ago, the festival of Kali, under the name and attributes of Doorga, was celebrated. On this occasion her images, and those of some other divinities, were carried in procession with great pomp, and bathed in the Hoogly, which, being a branch of the Ganges, is sacred. The figures were placed under canopies, which were gilt and decked with the most gaudy colours, and carried upon men's heads. Several of these moving temples went together, preceded by musical instruments, banners, and bare-headed Bramins, repeating *muntras* (forms of prayer). The gods were followed by cars, drawn by oxen or horses, gaily caparisoned, bearing the sacrificial utensils, accompanied by other Bramins, and the procession was closed by an innumerable multitude of people of all castes. This feast lasted several days. I received a printed card on the occa-[135]sion, which I transcribe:—"Maha Rajah, Rajkissen Bahadur, presents his respectful compliments to Mrs. Gram, and requests the honour of *his* company to a nautch (be-

ing Doorga Poojah), on the 5th, 6th, and 7th of October, at nine o'clock in the evening." Having never seen a nautch, I did not decline the Maha Rajah's invitation; but on the evening of the fifth I went, with a small party, to the assembly, and received more amusement than I expected. The Maha Rajah has a fine house at the end of Chitpore bazar.⁶ The room into which we were ushered was a large square court,⁷ covered in for the occasion with red cloth, to which a profusion of white artificial flowers was fastened. Three sides of the court are occupied by the dwelling-house, the walls of which are adorned by a double row of pillars in couplets, and between each couplet is a window. The fourth side is occupied by the family temple, of a very pretty architecture; the arches which support it are not unlike those used in England in Henry VII.'s time, with cinquefoil heads. A flight of steps leads to the viranda⁸ of the temple, where Vishnu sat in state, with a blaze of light before him, in magnificent chandeliers. When we entered there were some hundreds of people assembled, and there seemed to be room for as many more. The dancing was begun, but as soon as our host perceived us he led us to the most commodious seat, stationed boys behind us with round fans of red silk, with gold fringe, and then presented us with bouquets of the mogree⁹ and the rose, tied up in a green leaf, ornamented with silver fringe. A small gold vase being brought, the Maha Rajah, with a golden spoon, perfumed us with ottur,¹⁰ and sprinkled us with rose-water, after which we were allowed to sit still and look on. The first dancers were men, whom by their dress I took for women, though I was rather surprised at the assurance of their [136] gestures, which had nothing else remarkable in them. These gave way to some Cashmerian singers, whose voices were very pleasing. They were accompanied by an old man, whose long white beard and hair, and fair skin, spoke a more northern country than Bengal. His instrument was a peculiarly sweet-toned guitar, which he touched with skill and taste, to some of the odes of Hafiz and some Hindostanee songs. I was sorry when they finished, to make way for a kind of pantomime, in which men personated elephants, bears, and monkeys. After this some women danced; but though they were pretty, and their motions rather graceful, I was disappointed, after hearing so much of the nautch-girls of India. One of them, while dancing in a circle, twisted a piece

of striped muslin into flowers, keeping each stripe for a different coloured flower. The last amusement we staid¹¹ to partake of, was the exhibition of a ventriloquist (the best I ever heard), although the Maharajah pressed us to remain, saying that he had different sets of dancers, enough to exhibit during the whole night. I was pleased with the attention the Rajah paid to his guests, whether Hindoos, Christians, or Mussulmans; there was not one to whom he did not speak kindly or pay some compliment on their entrance; and he walked round the assembly repeatedly, to see that all were properly accommodated.

I was sorry I could not go to his nautch the next night, where I hear there was a masquerade, when several Portuguese and Pariahs appeared as Europeans, and imitated our dances, music, and manners. I grieve that the distance kept up between the Europeans and the natives, both here and at Madras, is such, that I have not been able to get acquainted with any native families as I did at Bombay. There seems however to be little difference in their manner of living. Their houses appear to be [137] more commodious at Calcutta than at either of the other presidencies, and in general they were fewer ornaments than on the Mahratta coast, though in other respects they appear richer and more at their ease.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS

Of the public buildings of Calcutta, the government-house, built by Lord Wallesley, is the most remarkable. The lower story forms a rustic basement, with arcades to the building, which is Ionic. On the north side there is a handsome portico, with a flight of steps, under which carriages drive to the entrance; and on the south there is a circular colonnade with a dome. The four wings, one at each corner of the body of the building, are connected with it by circular passages, so long as to secure their enjoying the air all around, from whichever quarter the wind blows. These wings contain all the private apartments; and in the north-east angle is the council-room, decorated, like the family breakfast and dinner rooms, with portraits. The centre of the house is given up to two rooms, the finest I have seen. The lowest is paved with dark grey marble, and supported by Doric columns of chunam,¹² which one would take for Parian marble. Above the hall is the ball-room, floored with dark polished wood,

and supported by Ionic pillars of white chunam. Both these fine rooms are lighted by a profusion of cut-glass lustres, suspended from the painted ceilings, where an excellent taste is displayed in the decorations.

Besides the government-house, the public buildings are, a town-house,¹³ which promises to be handsome when finished, the court-house, a good-looking building, and too churches,¹⁴ the largest of which has a fine portico, and both have handsome spires.¹⁵ The hospital and jail are to the south of the town, on that part of the esplanade called the course, where all the equipages of Calcutta [138] assemble every evening, as those of Madras do on Mount Road. The houses now occupied by the orphan schools¹⁶ being ruinous, there are handsome designs for erecting new ones. The writers buildings, to the north of the government-house, look like a shabby hospital, or poor-house; these contain apartments for the writers newly come from Britain, and who are students at the college of Fort-William, which is in the centre of the buildings, and contains nothing but some lecture-rooms. At stated seasons general examinations take place at the college, and public disputations are held by the students in Persian, Hindi,¹⁷ and Bengalee, in the government-house, in presence of the governor-general, who usually makes a speech on the occasion, setting forth the advantages of the college, the anxiety he feels for its success, the liberality of the Company with respect to it and the college at Hertford, blaming the slothful in general, but commending the diligent by name, and medals are distributed to such as have distinguished themselves. For my part, as I do not understand these languages, I amused myself during the time of one of these disputations at which I was present, with observing the various figures among the auditors. All the college and private moonshis were present, with all the native and foreign eastern merchants who pretend to any learning, and crowds of Europeans. The most singular figure of this motley groupe was a Malay moonshi, whom Dr. Leyden had brought to the assembly. A few days afterwards I received from Dr. L. a curious paper, containing an account of the Malay's visit to the palace,¹⁸ and of all he had seen there, written by himself, and translated by Dr.¹⁹ Leyden*. Ibrahim's representation of the

* See Appendix (pp. 197-203).

country, the buildings, the people, and the customs of the English in Bengal, looks almost like a [139] caricature on travellers' representations of new countries and customs; but poor Ibrahim, though the most learned of the Malays, has no taste of European literature, so that the satire being unintentional, is the more severe.

Calcutta, like London, is a small town of itself, but its suburbs swell it to a prodigious city, peopled by inhabitants from every country in the world. Chinese and Frenchmen, Persians and Germans, Arabs and Spaniards, Americans and Portuguese, Jews and Dutchmen, are seen mixing with the Hindoos and English, the original inhabitants and the actual possessors of the country. This mixture of nations ought, I think, to weaken national prejudices; but, among the English at least, the effect seems diametrically opposite. Every Briton appears to pride himself on being outrageously a John Bull; but I believe it is more in the manner than in the matter, for in all serious affairs and questions of justice, every man is, as he ought to be, on a footing.

Oct. 30 —I was spending a few hours yesterday with Mrs. M. an accomplished and agreeable, as well as a very beautiful woman. I know of no place where I am better pleased to spend my mornings than in her dressing-room. She possesses excellent talents, which she carefully cultivates, a lively and engaging manner, much discrimination of character, a turn for description, and an acute perception of the ridiculous, but which never degenerates into ill-natured satire. When I am with her, our conversation most frequently turns on England. Every new book that reaches us, every poem, especially if it recall the legends of our native land, is an object of discussion and interest beyond what I could have thought possible, till I felt in a foreign country how [140] dear everything becomes that awakens those powerful associations,

"Entwined with every tender tie,
Memorials dear of youth and infancy."

Yesterday Mrs. M. gave me the following little poem, translated from the Sanscrit by the late Mr. Paterson. It is a description of one of the *Ragnis*²⁰, mythological nymphs, who, in

conjunction with the *Ragos*, or male genii of music, preside over the musical expressions of the passions.

GUNCARRI RAGNI

GUNCARRI mourns in misery supreme,
 Forsaken love and faithless man her theme,
 Wild as her speech, distracted as her mind,
 And like her roving fancy unconfin'd
 Her hollow eye, her daily wasting cheek,
 The inward fever of her soul bespeak.
 Despair hath mark'd the victim for her own,
 And made the ruins of her heart his throne,
 Loose to the wind her ebon tresses flow,
 And every look participates her woe.
 On a shrunk chaplet of neglected flow'rs,
 In pensive grief she counts the weary hours;
 And as her fond imagination strays
 O'er the past pleasures of once happy days,
 She bends on vacancy her sleepless eyes,
 And memory bids the pearls of sorrow rise
 Scenes of delight, and soothing sounds of mirth,
 Serve but to call new anguish into birth,
 [141] In vain the soul of melody inspires
 The gourd'd vin²¹, and breathes upon its wires,
 Nor dhole²² nor vin have magic to remove
 The hapless torment of rejected love
 Tired of the tedious day's too cheerful light,
 She waits impatient the return of night;
 Night long expected comes, but comes in vain,
 The shadowy gloom but aggravates her pain.
 Her wearied soul no transient respite knows,
 Broods o'er its grief, and feeds upon its woes.
 Silent she mourns, and like a picture wears
 The melancholy dignity of tears!

Nov. 1.—Returning last night from my evening's drive, I passed the English burying-ground²³ for the first time. There are many acres covered so thick with columns, urns, and obelisks, that there scarcely seems to be room for another; it is like a city of the deed: it extends on both sides of the road, and you see nothing beyond it; and the greater number of those buried here are under five-and-twenty years of age! It is a painful reflection, yet one that forces itself upon the mind, to consider the number of young men cut off in the first two or three years

residence in this climate. How many, accustomed in every trifling illness to the tender solicitude of parents, of brothers, and of sisters, have died here alone, and been mourned by stranger ! I do not know why, but it seems more sad to die in a foreign land than at home ; and it is a superstition common to all, to wish their ashes to mingle with their native soil.

BARRACKPORE

Barrackpore, Nov. 20.—It is delightful to be once more in the country, and to be able to ramble about at all hours without re-[142]straint ; and the weather is now so cool, that one really enjoys a walk. We came here a few days ago by water, and I was charmed with the scenery on the river. Close to Calcutta, it is the busiest scene one can imagine ; crowded with ships and boats of every form,—here a fine English East Indiaman, there a grab²⁴ or a dow²⁵ from Arabia, or a prau²⁶ from the eastern islands. On one side the picturesque boats of the natives, with their floating huts ; on the other the bolios²⁷ and pleasure-boats of the English, with their sides of green and gold, and silken streamers. As we came up the river, the scene became more quiet, but not less beautiful. The trees grow into the water, and half hide the pagodas and villages with which the banks of the river are covered on both sides. It was late ere we arrived here, and some of the pagodas were already illuminated for a festival ; fire-works, of which the natives are very fond, were playing on the shore, and here and there the red flame of the funeral fires under the dark trees threw a melancholy glare on the water. When we came to the Park of Barrackpore, the tamarind, acacia, and peepil²⁸ trees, through whose branches the moon threw her flickering beams on the river, seemed to hang over our heads, and formed a strong contrast to the white buildings of Serampore, which shone on the opposite shore. We landed at the palace begun by the Marquis Wellesley, but discontinued by the frugality of the Indian Company ; its unfinished arches showed by the moon-light like an ancient ruin, and completed the beauty of the scenery.

The old village of Achanock²⁹ stood on the ground which the park of Barrackpore now occupies ; and the irregularities

occasioned by the ruins have been improved into little knolls and dells, which in this extremely flat country pass for hill and dale. A little *nulla* or rivulet supplies several fine tanks in the park, [143] which embellish the scenery, and furnish food for a number of curious aquatic birds kept in the menagerie. The pelican, whose large pouch contains such an abundant supply of food, the produce of her fishing for her young : the *syrus*, or *sarasa*, a species of stork, whose body is of a delicate grey colour, and whose head, which he carries above five feet from the ground, is of a brilliant scarlet, shading off to the pure white of his long taper neck ; and the flamingo, whose bill and wings are of the brightest rose-colour, while the rest of his plumage is white as snow,—are the most beautiful of those who seek their food in the water. Among their fellow-prisoners are the ostrich, whose black and white plumes attract the avarice of the hunter ; the cassowary, whose stiff hard feathers appear like black hair ; and the Java pigeon, of the size of a young turkey, shaped and coloured like a pigeon, with a fan-like crest, which glitters in the sun like the rainbow.

The quadrupeds in the menagerie are only two royal tigers, and two bears, one a very large animal, precisely like the bears of Europe ; the other was brought here from Chittagong, where it is called the wild dog. His head is shaped like that of a dog, but bare and red about the muzzle ; his paws are like those of the common bear, but his coat is short and smooth ; he refuses to eat any kind of vegetable food, which the large bear prefers to flesh, and is altogether the most ferocious creature I ever saw.

Nov. 25.—The north winds are now so cold, that I find it necessary to wrap up, in a shawl and fur tippet when I take my morning's ride upon one of the governor-general's elephants, from whose back I yesterday saw the Barrackpore hounds throw off in chase of a jackall ; but here, as at Poonah, the hunters usually [144] return from the field before nine o'clock. The other day, in going through a small bazar near one of the park gates, I saw five ruinous temples to Maha Deo, and one in rather a better state to Kali. As I had never been in a pagoda dedicated to her by that name, I procured admittance for a rupee. Her figure is of brass, riding on a strange form that passes here for a lion, with a lotus in the place of a saddle. Her counten-

ance is terrific ; her four hands are armed with destructive weapons, and before her is a round stone sprinkled with red dust. The sacrificial utensils are mostly of brass ; but I observed a ladle, two lamps, and a bell of silver ; the handle of the bell was a figure of the goddess herself. The open temple in the square area of the pagoda has been very elegant, but is now falling into ruin, as are the priests houses and every thing around, except the ghaut, or flight of steps leading to the river, which is handsome and in good repair.

There is something in the scenery of this place that reminds me of the beauty of the banks of the Thames : the same verdure, the same rich foliage, the same majestic body of water ; here are even villas too along the banks : but the village and the cottage are wanting, whose inhabitants cannot suffer oppression unredressed, and to whom every employment is open of which their minds are capable, or their hearts ambitious enough to undertake. Perhaps there is something of pride in the pity I cannot help feeling for the lower Hindoos, who seem so resigned to all that I call evils in life. Yet I feel degraded, when, seeing them half-clothed, half-fed, covered with loathsome disease, I ask how they came into this state, and what could amend it, they answer, "It is the custom ;"—"it belongs to their caste to bear this ;—and they never attempt to overstep the boundaries which confine them to it !

[145] *Calcutta*, Nov. 30.—As Barrackpore is only sixteen miles from Calcutta, I find little difficulty in going from one place to the other, when either business or the prospect of amusement induces me to leave the country for this place. I came here just now in order to go to the botanical garden, where I went yesterday with my friend Dr. Fleming, who introduced me to Dr. Roxburgh and his family, with whom we breakfasted. Before breakfast we walked round the garden, and I was delighted with the order and neatness of every part, as well as with the great collection of plants from every quarter of the globe. The first that attracted my attention was a banian tree, whose branches Dr. Roxburgh has clothed with the numerous parasite plants of the climate, which adorn its rough bark with the gayest colours and most elegant forms. In another part of the garden the giant mimosa spreads its long arms over a wider surface than any tree, except the banian, that I remember

to have seen. The *Adamsonia*, whose monstrous warty trunk, of soft useless wood, is crowned with a few ragged branches and palmated leaves, seems to have been placed here as a contrast to the beautiful plants that surround it. Among the immense collection of palms, I saw several varieties of the talipot, which I first met with in Ceylon, and the true sago tree. Carefully preserved there is a cajeput, from the leaves of one species of which (*Melaluca cajeputi*), the famous cajeput oil is extracted, which is used by the inhabitants of Malacca and the eastern isles, of which the tree is a native, as a sovereign remedy for rheumatisms, swellings, and bruises; the tree resembles a willow, but the bark is ragged, and hangs loose in strings. The garden contains specimens of all the spices, and of the bread-fruit; the latter succeeds worse than any other tree, being usually killed by the cold and damp of the winter. The plant on which [146] the cochineal feeds is placed in the midst of several of its own family, from which, especially the *nopaul*³⁰ and the common prickly pear, it seems difficult to distinguish it; but the insect will not be induced to live on any but its own plant. I will only mention one other tree, the Norfolk island pine, which reminds me in every one of its habits of the firs of Northern Europe, but that it seems inclined to grow higher and lighter, which may be the effect of the heat and moisture of this climate.

The botanical garden is beautifully situated on the banks of Hoogly, and gives the name of Garden-reach to a bend of the river. Above the garden there is an extensive plantation of teak, which is not a native of this part of India, but which thrives well here; and at the end of the plantation are the house and gardens of Sir John Royds, laid out with admirable taste, and containing many species of curious plants. After having visited the garden, Dr. Roxburgh obligingly allowed me to see his native artists at work, drawing some of the most rare of his botanical treasures; they are the most beautiful and correct delineations of flowers I ever saw. Indeed, the Hindoos excel in all minute works of this kind. I saw in Dr. Fleming's possession a drawing, representing the inside of a zenana: the two favourite sultanas are playing at chess: the nurses are sitting round with the children; guards are in waiting, and the apartment opening to a garden, with a mosque in the background,

seems to denote that the zenana belongs to a person of distinction. The whole of this picture is finished like an exquisite miniature, and the perspective is admirably preserved.

Dec. 5.—We are in the midst of the Calcutta gaieties of the cold season. There are public and private balls and masquerades, be-[147]sides dinners and parties innumerable. The public rooms are very pretty, but too small for the climate, and for the number of European inhabitants. In three weeks all the gay world will be assembled at Barrackpore, on account of the races, which are run close to the park-gate. This year there will be little sport, as the horses are indifferent, but I am told the scene will be very gay, "with store of ladies, whose bright eyes rain influence." The course at Calcutta is abandoned, as the government discountenances racing, so that it only serves for an evening drive for the inhabitants. Returning from it the other night, after sun-set, I saw some of the trees on the esplanade so covered with the fire-fly, as to appear like pyramids of light. This beautiful little insect is about a fourth of an inch in length; its body and wings are of a dark ash-colour; the luminous part is that immediately under the tail, and occupies about one-third of the body; it is not constantly bright, but the insect seems to have the power of becoming luminous at pleasure. Talking of insects, I must not forget two, of which I saw drawings the other day, the *Meloe cicorei* and the *Meloe trianthema*, both of which are excellent substitutes for the Spanish blistering fly, which frequently spoils on the voyage to this country. The first abounds in various districts of Bengal, Berar,³¹ and Oude,³² particularly in the rainy season, during which it is found on the flowers of the cucurbitaceous plants, and also on those of the numerous species of Hibiscus and Sida. The three transverse undulated black bands on its yellow wing-cases, distinguish it from the other species of *Meloe*. The *Meloe trianthema* is found in great quantities in the Doab, and the districts on the right of the Jumna. It appears early in the rainy season, generally running on the ground, particularly in the fields overrun with the *Trianthema decandria*; it is sometimes seen feeding in [148] the flowers of the *Solanum melosigena*. The red orange colour of the abdomen, with the black dot on each of the segments, form its discriminative specific character. The flies should be gathered in the morning or evening, and immediately

killed by the steam of boiling vinegar, after which they should be dried by the sun, and put in bottles, to preserve them from moisture.

Barrackpore, Dec. 20, 1810.—I am once more at this charming place, but notwithstanding its beauties, I look anxiously forward to returning to my friends at Madras. The other night, in coming up the river, the first object I saw was a dead body, which had lain long enough in the water to be swollen, and to become buoyant. It floated past our boat, almost white, from being so long in the river, and surrounded by fish; and as we got to the landing-place, I saw two wild dogs tearing another body, from which one of them had just succeeded in separating a thigh-bone, with which he ran growling away. Now, though I am not very anxious as to the manner of disposing of my body, and have very little choice as to whether it is to be eaten by worms or by fishes, I cannot see, without disgust and horror, the dead indecently exposed, and torn and dragged about through streets and villages, by dogs and jackals.³³ Yet such are the daily sights on the banks of the Hoogly. I wish I could say they were the worst; but when a man becomes infirm, or has any dangerous illness, if his relations have the slightest interest in his death, they take him to the banks of the river, set his feet in the water, and, stuffing his ears and mouth with mud, leave him to perish, which he seldom does without a hard struggle; and should the strength of his constitution enable him to survive, he becomes a pariah; he is no longer considered as belonging to his family or [149] children, and can have no interest in his own fortune or goods. About thirty miles from Calcutta, there is a village under the protection of government, entirely peopled by these poor outcasts,³⁴ the number of whom is incredible.

The Danish town of Serampore is immediately opposite to Barrackpore. It is now in the hands of the English, and is the great resort of the missionaries, under whose direction there is a press where the scriptures have been printed in all the eastern languages. Many other books have also been published under their direction, one of the most curious of which is the works of Confucius, in [150] the original Chinese, with an English translation, by Mr. Marshman, who, without assistance or patronage, has laboured and succeeded in the study of the Chinese

language, and in teaching it to his children, so as to enable them to speak and write it correctly at a very early age. . . .

. . [153] *H.M.S. Fox*, Kedgerree, Dec. 26, 1810.—I embarked at Calcutta on the 23d, on board a pilot's schooner, which should have proceeded immediately to this place ; but by some accident we were detained till the next day opposite to Fort-William, and had full leisure to admire it, as the setting sun gilded its long lines and the white barracks within. Nothing can be more beautiful than both the outside and inside of Fort-William. The barracks are all very handsome buildings, and the trees in the different squares make the whole delightfully cool. There are no private houses within the fort, and the public-buildings seem all in excellent order. I was particularly pleased with the foundery³⁵ and the machine for boring guns, which I had never seen before. There is a private dock-yard nearly opposite to Fort-William, and another a mile below it, on the same side of the river. On losing sight of Calcutta, I could not help regretting some very kind friends, and many agreeable acquaintance I had made during my stay there ; but I hope in Britain to renew my inter-[154]course with some of them, to whom it must be agreeable, as it will remind them of their own kindness to a stranger.

Kedgerree is about half way between Calcutta and Saugor, where the Hoogly widens to a bason, which forms the harbour. Here is a bazar and village, where a Company's naval officer is stationed, who makes a daily report to government of the ships arriving in and sailing out of the river. It is not uncommon for ships to lie here a long time in the rainy season, when the tides are not strong enough to influence the river against the *freshes* or floods occasioned by the rains. Men-of-war seldom go higher up the river, unless for repairs. A little further towards the mouth of the river is Diamond-harbour, an unhealthy station, and which has none of the convenience of Kedgerree. But the tide is turned, the wind fair, and the anchor up, and I must go on deck, and walk to warm myself, for the north winds are still so strong as to make it disagreeably cold on the water, even at mid-day.

Jan. 5, (1811) at Sea.—We were near enough to Madras on the 30th of December to see ships in the roads. (Reached Madras on the 6th January, 1811).

A MALAY'S ACCOUNT OF DISPUTATIONS AT GOVERNMENT-HOUSE*

[197] This is the account of what I, Ibrahim, the son of Candu the merchant, have seen ; this is what I have been present at, and a witness to : where is the Malay who has seen the like that I, Ibrahim, the son of Candu, have seen since I arrived in the great country of Bengal !³⁶

How long was I on my passage from the Malay countries, but how much was I rejoiced to see the beauty of Bengal, which shines like the sun on all nations ; for this country of Bengal is so large, that were I to walk for three months, I should not reach the end of the stone houses, which are everywhere so high, that I could never see the hills for them ;—this accounts for people saying the hills cannot be seen from Bengal. Alas ! I have not forgotten the day when I ventured into the bazar, and having no one to direct me, lost the way. How many days was it painful for me to put the soles of my feet to the ground ! how rejoiced was I to reach the house of *Tuan Doctor Layten*†, and afterwards to think of the wonders I had seen !

How perfect and beautiful is the Fort !³⁷ how exact all its proportions, its four sides, and all its angles. This is a proper fort ; but who would suppose it so large, when it can hardly be seen from without ? This is a fault ; but why should I, Ibrahim, the son of Candu, the poor merchant of Keddah, pretend to give my opinion in this place, all is so wonderful, and much beyond what I before knew ? But yet I must describe what I have seen, that Malays may no longer be ignorant of this great country, but be acquainted with all its wonders and all its beauties, so that their hearts may be glad, and they may no longer be ignorant ! Inside of the Fort there is a ditch larger than that on the outside, and at the bottom of both it is level and smooth, like unto a mat fresh spread out, and the colour is like that of a young paddy ; for such is the management of

* "An Account of Bengal, and of a Visit to the Government House, by Ibrahim, the Son of Candu the Merchant" printed as an Appendix (No. II, pp. 197-203) by Mrs. Maria Graham in her *Journal*.

† *Tuan* is synonymous with *Sahib*, *Master*, or *Sir*. Doctor Layten—Dr. Leyden.

this place, that when the Rajah³⁸ pleases the water can be let in from the river, and when the rains are heavy the water can be let out. Within this Fort, which is like a large city, how many are the stone store-houses for arms, for gunpowder, for small-arms, cannon-balls and every thing required in war ; and how many store-houses are there for wine, because there are many white men, and so many of sepoy, that who can count them !

It was in this great country, in this country of Bengal, which is in this place called Calcutta,—how many months journey from Penang !—on the fifteenth day of the month of Shaaban, in the year of the Hegyra one thousand two hundred and twenty-five, at the hour of ten in the morning, when all Malays remained in the same state of ignorance as when I left them, that I, Ibrahim, the son of Candu the merchant, went to the palace of the Rajah, with all the great men of the Rajah's court, and was admitted even to the second story, (or rather second heaven).

How beautiful is this palace,³⁹ and great its extent,—who can describe it ; Who can relate the riches of this country, and, above all, the beauties of the palace ! When I entered the great gates, and looked around from my palankeen (for in this country even I, Ibrahim, the son of Candu the merchant, had my palankeen) and when I beheld the beauty and extent of the compound, the workmanship of the railings, and the noble appearance of the gates, of which there are five, and on the tops of which lions, carved out of stones, as large as life, seem small, and as if they were running without fearing to fall. I thought that I was no longer in the world I had left in the east ; but it is fortunate that I was not yet overcome with surprise, and that I lived to see the wonders that were within, and to write this account, that man may know what it is.

[199] When I entered the palace, and my Tuan said. "Ibrahim, follow me, don't be afraid,—this is the house of the Rajah, and he is kind to all people, particularly to Malays", my heart was rejoiced ; and as I felt above all Malays on this great day, for there were no other Malays here, I plucked up my courage and followed my Tuan, even mixing with other Tuans, of whom there were many on the stairs at the same time, all of them having large black fans in their hands*, and kindness in their

* These were the cocked hats.

oks, for whenever I raised my eyes to any of them they smiled.

The floors of the great hall are of black stone, polished and shining like a mirror, so that I feared to walk on them; and all around, how many transparent lustres and branches for lights were suspended, dazzling and glistening so that I could not look long upon them!

Until I arrived at the second story, the stairs were all of stone, which formed part of the wall, and had no support. I then entered the great hall where all the Tuans were assembled,⁴⁰ and every one looked at me; but I, Ibrahim, the son of Candu the merchant, knowing the kindness of my Tuan, and that he would laugh at me if I remained behind a pillar, so that no one could see me, walked about and saw every thing, mixing with the other Tuans; no one spoke to me, but all made room for me when I passed, so much was I distinguished among the people of the court.

The floor of this great room is not of stone, because it is of a dark-coloured wood beautifully polished; and were I to describe all the beauties of this great hall, the splendour of the throne, and all I saw there, I should write what would not be read in three months. My head turned giddy when the Rajah entered; but, as far as I can recollect, I will faithfully describe all that I saw in this beautiful place.

At the end of the hall there is a throne,** superlatively beautiful, supported by four pillars of gold, and having hangings of the colour of blood, enriched with golden fringe; it is beautiful in the extreme, and [200] the elegance of the drapery is surprising. Within this throne, there is a golden chair, with hangings and fringe of gold, in which the Rajah sits when he receives other Rajahs and Vakeels.@

In front of this throne, how many chairs were arranged in rows, and how many couches with white cushions were between the pillars, on each of which there was a stamped paper+, as well as on the couch on which I afterwards sat down; for I,

** *Rather canopy.*

@ Ambassadors.

+ A printed list of the subjects of the Disputations.

Ibrahim, the son of Candu the merchant, was seated with the other Tuans.

Near the throne, in front of it, there were many gilded chairs, but one of gold was placed in the centre upon the Rajah's carpet, which was beautiful and rich.

When the court was full, and I, Ibrahim, the son of Candu the merchant, was near to the throne, the Rajah entered, and every one moved different ways. But as soon as the Rajah seated himself, the muntries¹¹ and high officers of the state arranged themselves according to their rank.

On that side of the hall which was to the left of the Rajah, and within the pillars, all the wives and family of the Rajah** were arranged in a row one by one; and it is impossible to forget their beauty, for who could look on them without feeling unhappy at heart! And when everybody was seated, and I, Ibrahim, the son of Candu the merchant, on a couch between two pillars, the Rajah looked around from time to time, and often cast his eyes on the ladies,—when I could perceive that his heart was gladdened, for his countenance glowed with satisfaction, giving pleasure to all.

Among all the ladies there were six who were most beautiful, seated in chairs, being pregnant, some two, others six months; but there was one of the wives of the Rajah beautiful to excess, and she was eight months gone with child. She was kind and delightful to look at, of a beautiful small make, and she sat in front of a large pillar, while a Ben-[201]galee moved a large fan behind her. Whoever gazed on felt kindness and love, and became unhappy. She resembled Fatima, the wife of I, Ibrahim, the son of Candu the merchant, but she was more beautiful.

It is the custom of this great country, that the wives of the Rajah always sit on the left side of the throne. They have neither diamonds, nor cats-eyes, nor rubies, nor agates; yet they are beautiful, and their dress is bewitching. Some looked tall and others short, but I did not see them stand; they appeared happy, and glistened like fish fresh caught.

Such! proud Bangala's King⁴² and court,
Where chiefs and champions brave resort,

** The visitors of the Governor-General.

With ladies happy, gay, and free,
 As fishes in Bengala's sea !
 One beauty shone amid the throng,
 I mark'd her rose so fair and long,
 So fitted to her pretty pole,
 Like a nice toad-fish in its hole.@@

One beauty small, amid the row,
 Did like the fair *Sanangin* show ;
 None softer smil'd amid them all ;
 Small was her mouth, her stature small,
 Her visage blended red and pale,
 Her pregnant waist a swelling sail.

Another's face look'd broad and bland,
 Like pamphlet floundering on the sand ;[†]
 Whene'er she turned her piercing stare,
 She seemed alert to spring in air
 [202] Two more I mark'd in black array,
 Like the *salisdick* % dark were they .
 Their skins, their faces fair and red,
 And white the flesh beneath lay hid.
 These pretty fish, so blithe and brave,
 To see them frisking on the wave !
 Were I an angler in the sea,
 These fishes were the fish for me !!

Some time after every one was seated, an aged bintara stood up and addressed the Rajah ; but I, Ibrahim, the son of Candu the merchant, did not understand him, although I have learnt Arabic. When this bintara had finished his speech, he looked round to all. Two sida-sidas,* who were youths, went each into dark wood cases that had been placed in front of the Rajah, and then began to address and reply to each other. Four times, as the youths became fatigued, they were relieved by others. They spoke in different languages, but not in Malay ; therefore I was disappointed, because I could not understand them.

@@ In Malay termed *kantasa* or *toduda-fish*.

++ In Malay termed *barval*.

% The name of a fish of a dark colour.

* students.

After the Rajah had amused himself with their speaking, and was tired of it, every body stood up, and he gave to each who had spoken titles, and to those who had not, he gave papers, and small packets tied with red string, for red is the English colour. What these packets contained I don't know, but one fell to the ground from the hand of the bintara, and it sounded like metal : it must have been gold or silver, and as large as a dollar. First, the bintara with the green eyes (for it is the custom that the eldest bintara should have green shades before his eyes, that he may not be dazzled by the greatness of the Rajah, and forget his duty), brought the books and packets, and delivered them to the bintara with the black bajee**, from whose hands the Rajah received them one by one, in order to present them to the youths. The papers glistened, and were beautiful to look at ; and they contained much writ-[203]ing for the youths to learn against the next time the Rajah might call them together.

When this was over, the Rajah, who had hitherto remained silent, and spoken only by his kind looks and smiles, took from the skirt of his bajee, on the left side, a book ; and, after every one had taken his place, and the Bengalees with gold and silver-sticks, and some with whisks to keep the flies off, had arranged themselves behind the Rajah, he spoke aloud from the book ; and how long did I hear the Rajah's voice ! Every one was pleased ; but I regretted that it was not in Malay, for who could understand it !

While the Rajah was reading aloud, the sepoy entered from one end of the hall, and marched along, passing the side of the throne, but behind the pillars. The meaning of this custom I do not comprehend, but it was no doubt some compliment to the Rajah, who seemed pleased, and raised his voice while every one stirred.

After the Rajah had finished he got up, because no one sat down any longer, except the ladies, and I followed my Tuan out of the hall ; but I did not hear cannon, nor music, nor acclamations, for the English delight in silence.

It was three days after before I could think of, and recollect all I had seen on this great day. I write this history, that men

** coat.

may not be ignorant of Bengal, and of the manners and customs of the great Rajah of the English; and it is written at Bengal, by me, Ibrahim, the son of Candu the merchant, in the thirtieth year of my age, and on the day of Khamis, being the twenty-seventh day of the month of Shaaban, and in the year of the flight of the Prophet of God one thousand two hundred and twenty-five. This is the end.

NOTES

Maria Graham or Maria, Lady Callcott, the creator of "Little Arthur" was born on July 19, 1785 at Papcastle, near Cockermouth, as the elder daughter of George Dundas, rear admiral of the blue and commissioner of admiralty and his wife Thomson. She accompanied her father to Bombay on his appointment as the Commissioner of Navy. She reached Bombay on 25th May, 1809 and married Captain Thomas Graham, R.N., on December 9, 1809 at Panwell, near Bombay. After the death of Captain Graham on 9th April 1822 at sea off Cape Horn, she married Sir Augustus Wall Callcott, R.A., landscape painter, on February 20, 1827. She died at her husband's house at Kenington Gravel Pits on 28th November 1842 and was buried in Kensal Green cemetery. Sir Augustus Wall Callcott died on 28th November 1844.

Apart from (1) her *Journal of Residence in India*, (2) *Letters on India*, with etchings and a map (London, 1814), and (3) *Little Arthur's History of England* (Murray, London, 1835), she is the author of 11 other little known works, a complete list of which may be read in her biography written by Rosamund Brunel Gotch (319 pages) and published by John Murray in 1937.

1. Puri, Jagannath Temple.
2. On the Orissa Coast.
3. Saugor Island—See L.S.S. O'Malley's *24-Parganas District Gazetteer*, Calcutta, 1914, pp. 254-258.
4. The temple is dedicated to sage Kapila.
5. The present temple at Kalighat was built in 1809.
6. Sova Bazar Rajbati.
7. The "Natmandir" is still in existence. See *Statesman*, 11th April 1988, 'A Palace in Decay' for a description of Sova Bazar Rajbati. Clive could not have been entertained in 1757 at the Natmandu as Maharajah Nabakrishna was displaced from Govindpur for building the present Fort only in that year. He was first settled at Colootala (Medical College) and subsequently built his Rajbati at Sova Bazar.
8. Verandah.
9. Originally printed as "mogue" and corrected as mogree.
10. Attar=Otto or ottar of Roses.
11. Stayed.

12. "All the lime here is made from shells ; it is called *chunam*, of which there are many kinds, one of which the natives eat with the betel-nut. They are very particular in gathering the shells, no person taking two different sorts , they are burnt separately, and it is said that the *chunam* varies according to the shell it is made from" (Maria Graham, *Journal*, p. 31).
13. Town-Hall.
14. St. John's & Old Mission Church.
15. The steeple of the Old Mission Church became insecure by the earthquake of 1897 and was, therefore, taken down.
16. The Military Orphan School was originally situated at Howrah. where the Magistrate of that district has his office now. No house was built for the Orphan schools, but Barwell's house at Kidderpore (now St. Thomas School) was initially rented and later purchased.
17. Read Hindi.
18. Government-House
19. Dr. John Leyden, poet and orientalist (8th September 1775—August 27, 1811). After achieving fame as a poet, Dr. Leyden sailed for India in 1803 as Assistant Surgeon at Madras; was surgeon and naturalist on the survey of Mysore and Travancore (1804), resided for a time in Penang; was professor of Fort William College, and afterwards Judge, Commissioner of the Court of Requests, and assay-master of the Calcutta Mint. He translated the Gospels into five languages. He accompanied Lord Minto as interpreter to Java, and died of fever at Batavia. He knew thirty-four languages or dialects, and has left behind many poetical and other works. Maria Graham (*Journal*, p. 153 note) says: "Dr Leyden fell a victim to the climate of Java, where he died soon after the reduction of that island in 1811. No person had ever carried their researches so far with respect to the various dialects of India, and their connection with each other. In him oriental learning lost one of her brightest ornaments".
20. Read Ragini. It was originally printed as Reguis, which was evidently a mistake for Ragni. Ragos = Ragas.
21. Vin = Veena. "Vin, a musical instrument played like the guitar ; it consists of a long board, on which the strings of iron wire are placed, with a hollow gourd at each end, as a sounding-board" (Maria Graham, *Journal*, p. 47 note).
22. Dhole = Dholak.
23. Park Street cemetery (South), which was still open to burials then.
24. Grab from *ghorab*, an Arab vessel.
25. Dhow.
26. Prow, *parao*—a Malay vessel.
27. Boliyah—baulea.
28. Pipal.

29. Achanak or Chanak is still the name of the locality at the end of Barrackpore cantonment, close to the Railway station. It has nothing to do with Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta. There are references to Chanak or Channock in the Company's records before the foundation of Calcutta (Letter of 12th December 1677 to Hugli from the Court of Directors). See *The Diary of William Hedges*, edited by Henry Yule, vol. III, London, Hakluyt Society, p. 200, 217 &c.
30. Read Nepal.
31. Read Behar as Berar is between Nagpur and Bombay
32. Oudh.
33. We retain the various spellings of jackal (with double ll)
34. Read outcastes. Sooksagur is the village referred to
35. Read foundry.
36. Ibrahim's "Bengal" seems to be confined to Calcutta
37. Present Fort William.
38. Governor-General, Lord Minto (Sir Gilbert Elliot, Earl of Minto)
39. Government-House.
40. Ibrahim is describing the examination of the Writers of Fort William College. Their proficiency in Persian, Hindustani, Bengali and other oriental languages was judged by public disputations in the presence of the Governor-General.
41. Read Mantries (= ministers).
42. Governor-General.

CALCUTTA IN 1812*

By Maria, Lady Nugent¹

[68] (1812 January) 9th.—We can see a long line of low coast, and this is Saugur Island. Many ships are lying in the road. Several fishing boats came, with fresh fish, which was a great treat. The fishermen were a very dark olive, almost black, with very slight figures, but very good countenances. They were dressed in turbans, and had large muslin shawls round them, but they throw this [69] off, when at work, and have only a bit round their waists. Their boats are of a rude construction, narrow and long, and not calculated, I should think, for bad weather.—They have two upright sticks of bamboo, with a cross piece, like a tent; over this, is thrown some cotton cloth, which serves as a shelter from the sun. They look like a mild innocent race of people, but I should imagine, from their listless manner, that they are without any energy of character.—In the evening, another boat with eggs, plantains, &c. They are, however, none of them very good in their way.—The eggs were not fresh, and some bread they brought us was like anything else but bread.

More odd shaped boats, and odd looking people, every hour, and I do nothing but sit in my cabin window, to watch the proceedings of these little vessels and their crews.—The boats² are long and sharp at both ends, and paddles are used instead of oars, and one man, called a mauntjee, steers the boat, with a paddle. In the morning, they seemed to be very sensible of

From *A Journal From the Year 1811 till the year 1815, including a Voyage to and Residence in India, with a Tour to the North-western parts of the British Possessions in that country, under the Bengal Government*, by Maria, Lady Nugent; London, 1839, in two volumes; volume I, pages 428 and volume II, pages 388; frontispiece picture of the author. (Calcutta, vol. I, pp. 68-119 and volume II, pp. 201-340).

the cold, for they wrapped the coarse muslin, or cotton shawls, [70] round them, and squatted down like so many monkeys, smoking a sort of odd shaped pipe called a hookah; but they sung occasionally, and seemed very merry.—They prepared some rice, in a coarse earthen pan, upon deck, and the Ayah told me, they were making curry, but I saw nothing but a few vegetables, with the rice; but as they are all Hindoos, I suppose they do not eat any animal food.—After eating very heartily, stuffing every thing into their mouths with their fingers, they laid themselves down in the sun, to sleep, but not before they had drank and washed themselves plentifully, and well, in the waters, which they reverence even at this distance, as coming from the Ganges. In the middle of the day, they all jumped up, as if by the word of command, and began to sing; they then set to work to mend their nets, and to make ropes of the bark of a tree, as I am told the material is.—They make as much use of their feet as their hands, and both are as small and delicate as a woman's—indeed, the only thing that makes them look like men, is their whiskers, and they are immense. [71] when they show the under part of the face; but almost all of them keep their mouths continually covered, by their shawl, or a cloth tied round the head. We threw them some rolls from our breakfast, but they actually moved away their canoes in a great hurry, to let the rolls fall into the water, as if they were fearful of contamination, by only being touched by them.—Poor creatures! their prejudices seem to be very ridiculous, but I cannot help admiring that sense of religion, (if it is such), which would lead a man to starve in the midst of plenty, rather than violate what he conceives to be a religious duty. It has been known, I am told, in years of scarcity, that hundreds have died, because their rice failed, and their principles would not allow them to eat anything else.—These poor fishermen are, however, delighted to receive empty bottles, boxes, old clothes, &c. but when I threw them a bottle of wine, they shook their heads, and looked, I thought, sadly distressed—Some of the Indian gentlemen on board, told me, they would keep it till night, and then drink it, with many other strong things; but I am incredulous, for there is a sort of sin-[72]cere simplicity about them altogether, which seems quite incompatible with any sort of excess.—Their food is dried with rice, which they make into a curry,

taking a draft of the muddy water of the Ganges after it ; then, by way of dessert, they chew the betel nut, mixed with a sort of sand, powder, and lime—Sleep seems to follow every repast—From this drowsiness I conclude, that there is but little reflection, or occupation of mind, among them ; their actions, customs, and all, seem, indeed, entirely animal—I observed that the mixture of lime &c. made their teeth and lips red, at first and then, in a few hours, of a very particularly livid hue. My ayah was delighted, to get some fresh betel nut from the fishermen, and it was in her I saw this effect. She told me it was a very fine thing for the stomach and gums, and, although it discoloured the teeth, it made them very strong, and prevented the tooth ache.

11th. Left the Baring East Indiaman.—

SAUGOR ISLAND

[75] The water looks dark and muddy, owing to the rapidity of the tide, which is really like a torrent. No vessel ever attempts to stem it, without a very strong wind in its favour.—The Hoogly is a branch of the Ganges, upon which Calcutta is situated, and the narrowness of the channel occasions the great flow of water.—The river Wye, in Wales, and the bay of Fundy, in North America, are instances of the same kind of thing ; and at the spring tides it is furious, and is called the Bore, I think.

(January, 1812) 12th. Chiefly spent on deck, looking at the banks of the river the odd sorts of boats, &c. that passed us, as we lay at anchor ;—there were a great many boats loaded with wretched Hindoos, enthusiasts, going down to Saugor to sacrifice themselves to the Ganges. This is an annual ceremony, and takes place on particular holidays ; in the month of January, generally. Government has endeavoured to suppress this cruel superstition, but has not been able to do it effectually ; though I am [76] told these sacrifices are less frequent than formerly.—They were all singing a solemn sort of tune, and keeping time to it, with their oars.—It seems, many of them walk into the sea as far as they can, without being obliged to swim, there they stand praying to their gods, and if a shark or an alligator takes them off, they are supposed to be particularly favoured ;—others go out in boats, the weights to their feet, and

leap into the sea.—Poor creatures, they believe that these victims or martyrs go direct to heaven!—I am sure, I speak within bounds when I say, I saw at least a dozen boats, going to Saugur Island this day, loaded, or rather crowded with them. This puts me in mind of what I have heard, of their treatment of the dead and dying ;—they take them down to the edge of the water, and, after stuffing their mouths and ears with mud, place them so far in, that they are almost sure of being carried away in a very few hours by the alligators. If the poor invalid happens to escape all the perils by which he is surrounded, he can never return to his family or society more ; his heirs take [77] possession of his property, he loses his caste, and is to all intents and purposes dead to his family and friends.—There is, I am told, a village (Sooksaugor, p. 197) on the banks of the Ganges inhabited by these wretched outcasts.—Poor people ! I should like much to show them some kindness, and will make further inquiry about them. But I must now return to our friend the pilot and his hospitality to us.

At 4 we had a dinner of large joints of meat and curry, and plenty of vegetables, which we enjoyed very much, having been so long deprived of them.—We had made some progress up the river from 12 till 5 when the tide changed.—The shore now became more inhabited, and much better cultivated—In the evening the pilot's mate left the deck, to take off his smart clothes, and prepare for the night watch. Sir George and I were walking on the deck, and I could not avoid seeing him at his toilette—he lounged in a chair, with two tall men in turbans attending—one took off one shoe, the other another, and so on, while he remained quite passive and helpless ; and yet there could [78] not be a more active person than he was in our service. When we came on board the night before, he worked so hard to get our cots &c. in order, that I made him a great many fine speeches on his activity, industry &c. and asked him about his absence from England, and talked about his country and friends, that I hoped he would be able to return to. He said all countries were alike to him, as he had never known a relation to whom he belonged, nor where he was born ;—he supposed, however, it was in London, as he was left very young at the Foundling Hospital, and taken care of there, till he was about eleven years old, when the Governor of that Institution

sent him to sea—What a melancholy fate! and yet this man seemed quite happy, and was particularly cheerful and merry.

Just as we were going to bed, about 11 o'clock, we were hailed by the government boats; the yacht, a boat built by Lord Wellesley, called the *Soonah Mooka*, (I spell it as it is pronounced), another, the *Snake*, and I do not recollect the name of the third, and a variety of smaller boats, making quite a little fleet.—The kitchen boat is [79] called the *Calcraft*, from a gentleman of that name in Calcutta, who is said to be a great epicure—All the boatmen were singing and making a great noise.—We sent to say we were going to bed, but would go on board the government boats early in the morning—this we did (Jan. 13) first going into a boat, the name of which I am unacquainted with—It was very long, and at one end was an awning, the inside fitted up with seats and cushions, covered with chintz—it was rowed by twenty-four men in scarlet jackets and turbans, one man standing in the centre, singing a welcome to Calcutta, as they told me; a kind of extempore song, to a monotonous tune—the rest all joined in chorus; they received us by putting their hands to their foreheads, and bowing down to the ground—this is what is called a *salaam*—They touch their foreheads three or four times very quick, and bow down till their heads nearly touch the ground.

After we had rowed a short distance, we went on board another boat—here the song was different, and the music more pleasing—The man in the centre held two chowries, with which he kept [80] time.—Chowries are white cow's tails, set in silver handles, and are to keep off flies, mosquitoes &c. The boatmen were dressed in the same sort of scarlet jackets, and short pantaloons; I should not call them pantaloons, for they scarcely cover the thigh an inch. They sit cross-legged, and paddle in time with the song, or waving of the chowries. There was an awning to the *Snake* boat, like the other, excepting that on the outside it was more gilded and ornamented.—I ought to have mentioned that we were all this time attended by an A.D.C. of Lord Minto's, Captain MacGregor, and Major E. Murray who had left England with his wife, Lady E. Murray, a few weeks before us.

When we arrived at the *Soonah Mooka*, I was really much struck with it. It contains a large dining room, with a number

of windows down to the floor; a bedroom in the same style, with a large standing bed; a marble closet; a shower bath, concealed by large convex and concave mirrors; two handsome chintz couches; dressing table &c.—The mast passes through the upper part of the cabin; this is concealed by a case in [81] the shape of a pillow, and covered with mirrors—All the inside of the *Soonah Mooka* is painted white, with gold mouldings, and the whole has a gay and splendid appearance.—We found an old Frenchman, of the name of Lomel who did the honours extremely well.—The other attendants were in Lord Minto's livery, which is white with dark turbans and sashes.—We had a tiffin to-day, for the first time, at one o'clock, and 6 we dined, when it amused me not a little, to see the boat which served as a tray going backwards and forwards between us and the kitchen, or Calcraft, with the different dishes, &c.—The head cooks, as I suppose they were, sat under an awning, smoking and giving their orders.

At 8 o'clock Captain MacGregor and Major Evan Murray left us, to announce, at Calcutta, that Sir George would land at daylight, the following morning.—Colonel and Lady C. Murray, went on board the yacht to sleep, and I and Sir George had the *Soonah Mooka* to ourselves, where we slept very comfortably, but found it quite cold towards the morning.

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF'S LIFE IN CALCUTTA*

[82] *Jan.* 14th (1812). At day break Sir George was up, but did not land till 7 o'clock, as the fog was so thick we could not see many yards before us. The salute, however, at his landing.

* Chapter III (pp. 82-118) begins here Chapter headings (omitted by us):—Ceremonies of Reception at Calcutta—Musquitoes—Native Prejudices.—Ball at the Government House—State of religious Feeling at Calcutta.—Conversation with a Brahmin.—Jackalls—An infant Bride and Bridegroom.—Another Conversation with a Brahmin.—Dying moments of Hindoos.—Pleasant Stratagem of a Brahmin.—A Hindoo holiday.—Hookahs.—The Evening Drive.—The Great Bazaar.—A Calcutta Breakfast.—The Black Hole—Hurricane.—Indian Temples.—Mildness of the Hindostanee character.—Bhesties.

contributed to clear the air, by dispersing the fog a little, and we then were delighted with the scene—Fort William, the buildings of Calcutta, the banks of the river, and the odd shaped boats, formed a very striking and really beautiful scene.—Lady [83] C. Murray came to breakfast with me, on board the *Soonah Mooka*, where we were joined by the gentlemen soon after ten.

When Sir George landed, he found the way up to the government house lined with military, and all the staff of the army there ready to receive him ; he was met by Lord Minto on the steps of the government house, sat down to breakfast, with all the principal civil and military personages of Calcutta, was afterwards sworn in as a member of council, when a salute was fired, and then he returned to us.

At 11 we were all paddled on shore in the Snake boat ; we landed in the midst of a great crowd of people.—They were all in white dresses, native men, I mean, looking like women ; and there were all kinds of carriages, palanquins, &c. Lady C.M. and I were taken out of the boat in a *Toujou*, (I do not know how to spell it yet,) Captain MacGregor's chariot was waiting for her, with her own horses which he had purchased for her.—We had Lord Minto's coach.—A hired one came with our own four horses, also purchased by Captain MacGregor : they were grey. [84] and three of them Arabians, the fourth from the Company's stud, for Johnstone.—Lady C.M. went to Captain MacG's in Fort William, and we proceeded, with a large party of gentlemen, to the house lately inhabited by General Hewett, which has been painted and done up new for us. We found Sepoy Grenadier Centinels at the gate ; they are fine looking men, and I like their dress extremely—it has a very military appearance.—The yard in front of the house, called a compound, was filled with servants, with a *Surkar*, and a *Khanasounah* at their head—the servants were principally in General Hewett's livery, having lived with him, the *Khanasounah* in white, and the *Surkar*, with a turban different from the others, and a piece of muslin wrapped round him, to make a dress, but nothing actually made up, but twisted in a sort of shape to cover him.—The *Khanasounahs* are all Mahometans, but the *Surkar* is a Hindoo and of high caste, and his dress, I suppose, is the costume of the Brahmins, of which order I am told he is.—The footmen are called *Kitmatgars*—we dress ours in white, with scarlet sashes, or rather white

[85] and scarlet mixed or twisted together—scarlet bands to their turbans—and silver crescents in front—this dress is really very pretty. The servants were all drawn up in order, and when we got out of the carriage they all made salaams down to the ground.—The whole of the party attended us into the house—the inferiors arranging themselves in the hall, the superiors attending us up to the drawing room. The Surkar presented us a gold Mohur in a napkin, which we both touched, and then put our hands to our foreheads, in token of receiving the compliment as it was intended. The agent, (Mr. Colvin) and his wife, a good friendly old lady, came to assist in settling us in our own mansion, and by their advice, all the servants were retained for the present, and they went to their stations extremely well pleased. I observed it seemed to be the duty of ten or twelve to remain on the staircase, and in the passage.—General Wetherell, and Sir Wm. Keir, &c. &c. called—at 8 o'clock we sat down to a family dinner, and at 10 went to bed.

15th. Half dead with the mosquitoes—all of [86] us passed sleepless nights, and are quite in a fever this morning—Sir George was not so great a sufferer as either Fortescue Fraser, or myself—but we were really martyrs.—Sir George surrounded by visitors, heated and fatigued with them, almost as much as we were with mosquitoes.—The evening alone—dined at eight.

16th. Yesterday Sir George received an invitation from Lord Minto, to a public dinner on Friday, and he also requested to see me this morning—eleven o'clock was the hour fixed.—He spent an hour with us, and I liked him very much; Mr. Elliot is his private, and Captain Taylor his military, secretary.—The rest of the day was past in writing letters for England.—Walked in the garden with Sir George at half past 6 o'clock—dinner at eight—went to bed at ten.

Several men, with silver sticks in their hands, attended us, and we could not get rid of them all the time we were in the gardens, and we are both sadly annoyed with the number of salaams that are made, whenever we move from one room to another. The house is really full of these people.

17th. The morning as usual—Sir George [87] visitors and business—myself busy making arrangements—sadly low and unwell all day, and could not help showing it by my eyes.—Sir George

dined with Lord Minto, to meet all the Calcutta world.—I ordered tea at eight ; the scene was a curious one, though it did not divert me at the time, my spirits being particularly affected—I sat leaning on the table, expecting a cup of tea and a biscuit on a waiter, when the folding doors were thrown open, and the huge butler, or Khanasounah, looking like the great Mogul himself, marched up towards me, followed by eight men, one with a cup of tea, another with milk, a third with sugar, and so on—one man with a chowrie, or silver stick, with a white cow's tail, to keep off the flies, &c. I begged to be left alone, and at last, by signs, made them understand me ; however, the Mogul would not leave me, he placed the others outside the door, and then stood behind my chair.—I asked him two or three questions, which he answered in broken English, and I learnt he had a wife, for whom he was obliged to keep two maids, for she could never stir out of her room, or be seen without [88] being disgraced for life, and this he said was "great expense to poor man"—By way of pleasing him, I said I would never have any pork at our table—he seemed to shudder at the very name, and said, "very good," "pork shocking"—I mentioned the chambermaid, who is called a materannee, her name is Malmah : I said I liked all the servants, and thought she seemed a very good woman. You would have thought I had mentioned some odious reptile, he shrunk back and said, "bad, very bad ! eat any body dinner !" This is a most severe reproach, I understand, and it is the greatest mark of contempt to give that character of any one.—This poor outcast materannee is the only woman in the house, excepting my ayah, but the men are innumerable ; I am sure, I shall never know half their faces.—The materannee has nothing to do, but to bring and take away water from the bedrooms—that is from mine and Johnstone's.—There are men of the same caste, who attend Sir George &c.—She never makes her appearance, unless called for by the ayah, but sits squatting like a cat on the back stairs, with a long veil, which covers not [89] only her head, face, and shoulders, but her whole person—her dress is a coarse petticoat, very full, and plaited round her, like a Dutch woman's, and so long that it covers her feet—then the veil I have just mentioned covers the rest of her dress, concealing almost every thing but her eyes :—her arms are covered with silver bracelets, and are really remarkably pretty, and well shaped, otherwise

she would be hideously ugly, and her caste is held in the greatest contempt by all the natives.

18th. All very busy—saw a few gentlemen in the morning—all our English things unpacked, and delivered to the servants—the rest of the day quiet.

19th. Sir George not well—we did not go to church—rather a quiet day.

20th. The morning as usual—in the evening we attended the great ball at the government house, in honour of the Queen's birth day. We had silver sticks &c. &c. all in great state.—The house is really a very fine one, and the marble hall beautiful.—The crowd was very great, and the figures were extraordinary.—The men [90] wore black caps and aprons, and the women have towers on their heads, ornamented with all sorts of jewels and precious stones in abundance.—We supped at half past 12 or 1 o'clock, and Sir George and I came away immediately after.—I pass over many descriptions of people, dresses, buildings, &c. &c. as I intend to get drawings of every thing, and my time now is so occupied, and I am so unwell, that I cannot write much, or distinctly.

22nd. Began to see company—the houses crowded every morning—Captain Gilbert and Major Brown appointed aides de camp—the former a Cornish gentleman, the latter a fellow passenger of ours—a day or two after his appointment, I got a vexatious anonymous letter, respecting him, but Sir George and I agreed not to take any notice of it. Bought some shawls, and sent them by Captain Pellew and Captain Jameson of the General Stewart, East Indiaman, with some little drawings of the costumes, &c. to my dear children.

From the 23rd our time was completely occupied in receiving and returning visits, receiving [91] and giving dinners &c. At times I have been low, ill, and miserable; then, again looking forward with some comfort, and cheerfulness, seeing that my dear Nugent's mind is satisfied, and consoled, with the prospect of this last campaign, (I trust our last), being of service to our dear children. God grant we may see them once more; then I shall never repent the great sacrifice we have made.

This is the 19th of February, on the 16th we gave a large dinner to Lord Minto and the principal people of Calcutta; on the 18th (last night), we gave a ball to the whole Presidency,

which went off extremely well. Mr. Moore, (the Gunter of Calcutta), conducted the supper &c.—Our house was not quiet till after 4 o'clock, and today we all feel a little the worse for our exertions.—Sir George must, however, go to a military dinner.—I shall take a drive, and go to bed at 8.

Saw some gentlemen this morning ; Mr. Colman a clergyman, one of our fellow passengers, took tiffin with us. He has preached three times in the great church, and is much liked by a certain party ; but there is unfortunately so much party [92] business going on in the church here, that more of controversy is heard from the pulpit than anything else,—but I hope to speak of all this when I am more at leisure than I am now. At present I am very unwell, and my eyes suffer much from the state of my health ; I cannot, however, avoid remarking, or rather making the same remark I did formerly, in the West Indies, how much upon one's guard one ought to be, respecting religious observances, at this distance from home.—The 12th was Ash-Wednesday, and we were invited to a great entertainment, given by Mrs. Lumsden, wife of one of the members of Council ;—we could not refuse, as she is a very particular person, and we did not like to begin society with a discussion.—No one seemed to remember it was the first day of Lent, and no service was performed in the church. On Sunday divine service is pretty well attended, but it always appears to me like a place of public amusement.—The women are all dressed very fine, and the clergymen dispute points of doctrine from the pulpit, rather than preach the useful parts of the Gospel. In this country, as well [93] as in the West Indies, I see how necessary it is to keep up, in one's own mind, the remembrance of those days set apart by our church, as well as to keep a vigilant watch upon our minds and hearts ; for at any age we are but too apt to be negligent of duties that we are not in some degree reminded of, by the example of others.—My constant prayer to the Almighty is, for the grace of His Holy Spirit, to enable me to become every day more worthy of his protection, by the purity of my heart, and my intentions, and that my motive for every action may be such, as to make them acceptable in His sight, and that I may be constant in all the religious duties. He has commanded me to do :—and let me here entreat my dear children, (if it should please the Almighty not to permit me the happiness of

seeing them again), that they will always remember the tear and love of God;—obedience to His commands, a constant observance of their religious duties, and watchfulness over their own hearts, are the surest, the only grounds, for peace and happiness in this world, as well as the only foundation for that happiness we hope to enjoy in another.

[94] 22nd. I shall now go on every day detailing the events of the day before, including Sir George's engagements, reviews, &c. He has already inspected Fort William, and reviewed the troops of this garrison.—Fort William is very beautiful, and Sir George tells me it is a fine military work.—Today I had a present of one straw-berry from a Captain Brown of the artillery,—it came in a little box covered with leaves.—A Miss Churchill has also just sent me four more, with some mignonette—Mr. J. Monckton often sends me little pieces of stick—he is the Persian interpreter to the government.—These little baskets are laid at his feet at his levees, and sometimes much more valuable presents, but the latter are always deposited in the public treasury.

Yesterday we had a large dinner party, but only four ladies, this is the usual proportion of females in the Calcutta society—My remarks must at present be short, and very desultory, as I have very little time, and my eyes are still troublesome.

I have just had a conversation with one of our [95] Surkars, he is called Rham Haroy—he is nephew to an old Surkar about the house, called Buoney Sunchar, and there is a third called Gopal.—These men settle accounts, and arrange all money matters.—Buoney Sunchar repeated to me several chapters out of the New Testament, and I really believe he is a Christian in his heart;—but he told me he could not openly become one, as he would then lose his caste, and be driven from the society of his family and friends.—He and the two other Surkars are Brahmins, or of the priest caste, which is the highest; and in the sepoy regiments I am told many of the men are of much higher caste than their officers, and though they obey them in the field, and are very subordinate in every respect, yet these men would not condescend to sit at table with the very officers who command them; it would be a degradation that would for ever deprive them of their caste.—But to return to the Surkar, he told me that, being a Brahmin, he was allowed to read any book,

and he had read the Bible, and thought it all very good, though he could not say so out of my room. He said the law of his religion [96] was as good as that of Christians, but there were many contradictions, and some things he could not understand ; he thought the burning of women on the funeral pile of their husbands was very bad, but it was the custom. I doubted in my own mind, while he was talking, whether I ought not to try and confirm him in being a Christian, but such an attempt would be mischievous, I am told, and would lead to unpleasant consequences, so I ought not to think of it.

Sir George and I drove out till seven.—The course was particularly crowded, and the number of odd sorts of carriages diverted me much. Had a large party at dinner at eight. Young Irvine tiffed with us, and took leave on going to Java. I should have said that we went to a large dinner party at eight—it was at Sir Henry Russell's.—The custom here, is, for your kitmatgars to enquire where you dine ;—they then all precede you, and are ready when you arrive.—I have four footmen, Sir George has the same number, and a chowrie man each—the jamindar and silver sticks go with us.—The Jamindar's business is, to take Sir George's hat and sword, [97] and to give orders to the other servants ; he wears a short sword in his sash : the head silver stick wears a sword also, and is a Brahmin—he is fond of his caste, and has always a white mark from his turban to nearly the tip of his nose, with a vermilion spot between his eyes.—The jamindar wears a finer muslin dress than the other servants, and a shawl, put on like a Scotsman's plaid.—It is strange to hear the confusion of ideas, upon the subject of religion.—My ayah's child was ill the other day, and she got the Brahmins to pray for her ; she says it cost her ninety rupees—she gave six to the Brahmin Sonti Badar ; to offer up a prayer, but I believe the Hindoos never get a Christian to pray for them.

There is one thing I forgot to take notice of, which is, all the time we were coming up the river every night as soon as it was dark, the cry of the jackalls was frightful—it is indeed a melancholy sound ;—here they come about in crowds, and make a hideous noise.—Their cry is something like that of a child, and this annoyance begins as soon as it is dark, and never [98] ceases till day-break.—I am told they do no mischief, but robbing the larders and poultry-yard, and thus it is hunger that induces them

to come about the town.—It has been known, indeed, that when pressed by extreme hunger, they have attacked infants—but the idea is too horrible to dwell upon.—Although we have two sentinels, a jackall made his way up into my maid Johnstone's room the other night, and was driven away with some difficulty.

Sir Henry Russell, with whom we dined today, is the Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature, and has very excellent apartments in the Court-house, which is a handsome stone building, and the veranda is said to be the finest in India. Lord Minto and all the great people of Calcutta were there—home about twelve.

23d. Rose early—breakfasted in my own room, and went to church at ten, with Sir George and the aides-de-camp; Mr Colman preached, and Mr. Colman read the prayers. I did not much like either the sermon or the delivery.—Saw two little girls that put me in mind of my dear Louisa and Emily—most in features, as, [99] by their size and appearance, their ages were different—one seemed about ten and the other four, and I fancy two years hence, when Louisa is ten and Emily four, they will be going to church together, and Louisa will be pointing out the places, and teaching Emily to read the prayers.—But I have promised myself, I will not indulge in talking about my children, in this Journal, for I should fill all my paper with them, and my heart would be too much occupied, to think or write of any thing else.

After church, saw Captain Losack of the navy and Captain Forbes.—We are to dine and tiff to-day at 4 o'clock, and go to bed at an early hour. We have refused all invitations for Sunday parties, and mean to continue this plan, during our residence in India. We took our usual drive out at half-past five o'clock; Captain Gilbert, and Miss Casamajor, with her little niece Amelia Elliot, went out with us, and came home and went to bed before nine.

24th. Sir George up at 5, and rode till near 8 o'clock. This is the first moon, and it is a great religious festival with the Hindoos. No-[100]thing is to be heard but their odd tum tum music, nothing is to be seen but their gaudy processions. Early this morning, I saw a little boy, of four years old, carried in state to dine with a young lady of eighteen months, to whom he is to be married next week.—He returned about 5 o'clock in the

evening, in the same state, seated in an upright palanquin, which is very like our sedan-chairs, only carried on the shoulders of four men ; he was preceded by the music and twelve or fourteen men, dressed in white, and carrying scarlet flags, and a crowd of people following him, carrying presents (nuzzars) for the little bride. I understand he is to sit in state for several days. His friends and the bride's friends gave nautches or dances, performed by dancing and singing men and women. Thus the marriage is concluded, and at the age of fourteen they live together.—We mean to attend one of these nautches, having been invited to several, but our numerous engagements have hitherto interfered with our attending any.

As I find I have been already greatly misled by ignorant people, on the subject of the customs [101] and manners of the Hindoos, I shall not attempt in future to describe any that I do not see myself, or that my experience in the country does not allow me to judge the truth of ; I will therefore confine myself, for the present, to the mere incidents of the day, and defer all the rest till I am better acquainted with the country.

Sir George, this afternoon, saw the Company's European regiment embark for Java, and returned at a quarter past 5 to accompany me to the course. Sir William and Lady Keir, and Mr. Vansittart, joined our party. Mr. Vansittart is a little mad. I think ; I should rather say not a little, and we had great difficulty in getting rid of him ; at last, Sir W. and Lady Keir were kind enough to take him off our hands, and we came home to a comfortable tete a tete dinner, at half past 7 o'clock—all our staff being engaged to dine at the government house.—went to bed soon after 9 o'clock.

25th. Sir George up at gun-fire, and took his ride—I laid in bed till 9—after breakfast, received visitors—Sir George in council—the aides de camp tiffed with Sir W. Keir.

[102] I went to my own room at once, and had a long conversation with my half Christian surkar. The history of his mode of living is very curious—his wife, he says, lives entirely shut up, and, as he expresses it, would be ashamed even to eat in his presence, or that of his eldest son, who is about fourteen years old. When her sons are very young, they live and eat with her, but, at an early age, they are removed from her.—She sees his father, and very near relations, but never without a veil

—even before him, she never dares throw it back—she works for him at her needle, assisted by the women he is obliged to keep, to attend upon her, and these assistants he says, are the greatest expense. He tells me, that a man who has recovered after having been put into the Ganges to die, may once more return to his family, if they wish to receive him, but a woman who has declared she will burn with her husband's dead body, and refuses to do it when the time comes, or, as he says, "does not like the fire," can never be permitted to enter her own house, and is considered dead :—that all poor people are anxious to have children, to support them in their old age :—and that those who have none, after begging from door to door, for a short time, drown themselves in the Ganges,—for they say, "If I die in the streets, the Jackall or vulture will eat me, but if I die in the Ganges, I shall go to God".—Poor creatures ! life is indeed of little value to them, and it is scarcely wonderful, under such circumstances, to hear how very general the disregard of it is. The surkar further assured me, that when a person is placed on the edge of the Ganges to die, if before he expired the name of God was whispered in his ear, he would certainly go to heaven, and that it was the duty of every man's children, and friends, to call the name of God in his ears, as long as any life remained, that they might insure his happiness above. He said no one could be made a Brahmin, though they might be made a Mahometan or a Christian, but the Gentoos neither make nor receive proselytes, in any of their castes ; that there was once a King of Delhi who told his principal minister, he would cut off his head in a week, unless he made him a Brahmin ; that the poor minister was very [104] sorrowful, knowing how impossible it was to obey his Majesty, and, after making every inquiry upon the subject, just before the week expired, he thought of an expedient to save his life—he took an ass with a halter round his neck, and disguised himself as a dhobie, or washerman, and met the King as he was coming in from a hunting-party, on an elephant, when he began to beat the poor animal so unmercifully, that the King ordered his attendants to stop, and called out from his elephant, "Wicked dhobie, what makes you beat that poor ass so cruelly ?" The dhobie bowed down to the ground, and told the King he was trying to make his ass a horse. The King reproved him for his

folly, when the minister discovered himself, and said, "Is it not equally impossible to make your Majesty a Brahmin?" The King was so struck with this, that he immediately took the minister into favour, and never afterwards attempted to be made a Brahmin.

26th. Sir George did not ride out—low and nervous—very weak indeed—Saw a few visitors in the morning—A large dinner party—wished [105] not to go down, as there were only gentlemen, but Sir George made it a point I should.

27th. Sir George saw the cannon foundry at Fort William. before breakfast.—I had another sleepless night, and my eyes are a good deal affected.—In the evening Sir George reviewed the artillery.—I drove out with Lady Keir—Dined at Mr. Churchill's, at half-past 8—Sir George did not come home from the review till 8, which made us later than usual.

This day was a great Hindoo holiday, which in fact is a kind of Saturnalia. All the Hindoos in our house appeared mad—they were covered with red dust, many of them quite tipsy, notwithstanding their strict laws about intoxication.—Some of the bearers came into my dressing-room, and presented a brass plateau, in which was red powder, rice, sugar, cakes &c. with a rupee in the middle.—The ceremony is, to throw a pinch of red powder in their faces, touch the plate, and then your forehead. We added to their store a few rupees, and the poor men went away quite happy.—I heard a great many odd customs of the Hindoos to-day, at dinner, from [106] a Mr. Addison, a pleasant, intelligent man, who has been long in India—he says a man who will not sometimes, on account of his caste, condescend to move a punkah to fan you, will, if you place a glass of water before you, pull the punkah to cool *that*—this acquits his conscience.—A man who will remove the candles off the table, will not approach within a certain distance, if there is anything eatable on it—in short, that their prejudices of custom and religion are absurd and unaccountable, to the last degree.—We have promised to make this gentleman a visit, on our way to the Upper Provinces, when he is to show me many curiosities, and give me a great deal of interesting intelligence.

28th. Feel rather better to-day, but my head still far from well.—Saw company in the morning—a few gentlemen at tiffin.—A present of white coral from Captain Schomberg of the

navy.—Made up a cadeau, to go by Captain Losack to the Cape of Good Hope, for Lady T. Cradock, Mrs. de Witts &c.—The afternoon as usual; a large dinner party at 8.—Military and civil mixed.

[107] I have hitherto not mentioned the hookahs, which are indeed an extraordinary sort of things; they are not admitted at the government house now, but, as the late Commander-in-chief and his wife admitted them, and neither Sir George nor myself find the smell very disagreeable, or insupportable, and as it would be depriving half of the community of one of their greatest comforts to object to them, we have agreed to receive them, and a most ridiculous sight it is.—Imagine half of the men of a large company, puffing and blowing, and the hookahs making a most extraordinary noise—some a deep bass, others a bubbling treble—the variety of cadence depends, I believe, on the length of the snake, and the quantity of rose-water poured into the receptacle for it.—I have generally one on each side of me, as my place is always between two of the oldest gentlemen in society. I have, however, set my face against young men smoking, as it is in reality an odious custom.—Fortescue and I have had quite a little battle about it, for he had sent off to Benares to have one made; however, at [108] my request, he has given it up with a very good grace.

I do not think I have yet mentioned the evening drive in full. We go with four horses to the sociable or coach, the postilions are in our livery, white and scarlet, excepting that they wear white turbans, with scarlet bands instead of caps. Each horse has a groom, or sice, running by its side. The establishment in the stables is, besides a postilion to each horse, a groom and grass-cutter to each. There is also a derangar, or chief coachman, who is always dressed in silk and gold trimming, with a silver tissue turbans, he merely makes his appearance when we get into the carriage, and when we return home. He always makes the sices take turns, to remain at the corner of the course, so they get a little rest, for it is shocking to see the poor creatures trotting by the side of the horses in the manner they do. If the moon shines ever so bright, the massalgies, or linkmen, always meet us at a particular place, and, though we have lights to the carriage, and the moon shines as bright as [109] day, there are always six of them running before us. If a postilion

happens to look back, and catches your eye, he immediately touches his forehead three or four times, bowing down on the neck of his horse ; in short, the servility of these people is beyond anything I ever saw—it is indeed quite melancholy to see human nature so degraded.

29th. Sir George in council.—Low and unwell myself—did not see any company.—Captain Caulfield sent me a present of wild boars' teeth. I mean to begin a collection of curiosities of all sorts, drawings &c. for my dear children.—Sir George came home at half-past 5 o'clock ; we took our usual drive till 7.—Dined with Sir Wm. Burroughs at 8—A large dinner is called a burrah khaunnah.

March 1st. Rose at 8, went to church at 10, and received the sacrament.—A small party at tiffin—In the evening, drove as usual—Lady E. Murray and Lady Keir, &c. dined with us. (—I am determined this shall be the last Sunday we shall have company, and to keep Saturday evening as much as possible to ourselves.—) Fortes-[110]cue and Captain Gilbert tiffed at Lord Minto's, to accompany Mr. Elliot &c. and a party to hunt the wild boar—felt a little anxious about Fortescue, but was told he would not be in the slightest danger.

2d. Passed the day in writing English letters—dined at 4, and went to bed early—I want rest exceedingly ; the fatigue of so much company, and the anxiety of my mind, at not hearing from my dear children, interferes sadly with the recovery of my health and spirits.

3d. The morning spent as usual.—A present of strawberries came from Sir John Royd's—I gave Johnstone some, who offered a few to the Brahmin, Assabadar, or silver stick ;—he put his hands together, shook his head, looking up to heaven, as if it would be a sin to accept of them. She then gave some to the tailors—they took them, as a compliment, but looked at each other, as much as to say they pitied her ignorance, and then laid them down on the floor near them. I believe, of all sects, they dislike the Christians most.

Mr. Colman, the clergyman, has had a severe [111] illness, and only came out yesterday for the first time—he tiffed with us, and looked sadly—he hates the country, and his illness is, I really believe, owing as much to fretting as the climate.

We dined to-day with Mrs. Ricketts—she shewed us the toilette and dressing plate, left her by Mrs. (the begum). Johnson, who died a few days after our arrival in Calcutta—she was grandmother to the present Lord Liverpool, and was one of the oldest inhabitants of Calcutta, had been married four times, and was nearly a hundred years old.

4th. The morning as usual—Company till 2.—In the evening drove through the great bazaar, or market, and were much amused as well as astonished, at the odd mixture of people and things we saw there. Copper vessels, crockery, rice, sugar, gods and goddesses, knives, muslins, silks, &c. &c. were all displayed together—all sorts of coloured turbans and dresses, and all sorts of coloured people—the crowd immense—the sacred Brahmin bull walking about and mixing with the multitude—it is extraordinary to remark, that these animals, so fierce and savage [112] in our own country, are here domesticated and perfectly harmless, or very rarely otherwise. They are absolutely worshipped by the Hindoos, and it is considered quite a sacrilege, to ill-treat them.—Home soon after seven; dined at Mrs. Udny's at eight; to bed by twelve.

5th. Sir George had an immense crowd at breakfast—the compound was full of carriages of all sorts—It is curious to see the preparations for breakfast in this country, so different from our own. The men sit on mats and arrange dishes, cups, &c. all is done in the open air—the tea-kettle boiled &c.—I see the bearers lying down in the sun, the others with chowries driving the flies from their horses. The odd carriages &c. under my window at this moment have a truly Indian appearance—Last night, when we were driving through the bazaar, some were taking the air on the house-tops—it put me in mind of scripture—some squatting in little Chinese looking temples, with their legs crossed, smoking hookahs &c., and indeed the whole had the appearance of a new world. I should like to see the old one again, however.

[113] Mr. Elliot tiffed with us—tried to laugh and talk nonsense, but my heart is heavy—Drove out in the evening; dined at Mrs. Henry's—a sumptuous entertainment; music in the evening;—home at twelve.

6th. Up early—saw company as usual—After tiffin had a long conversation with our medical man—Mr. Leny—found him

pleasant and intelligent. He says all my maladies rest in my own mind, and my recovery depends chiefly on my own exertions. I am determined to exert myself in future.—The usual drive—Dined with Dr. and Mrs. Keys; music in the evening home at twelve.

7th. Captain Schomberg took leave this morning for the Cape—Saw company—as usual—In the evening drove to the China bazaar. Visited the Black-hole; the greatest part of the old fort, where it was, is nearly in ruins, and the Black-hole itself almost demolished. There was a sepoy sentry near the famous window, and the whole scene came to my mind with such force that I felt quite sick. A wretched looking black man, with no covering but a piece of [114] cotton cloth, pointed out to us the place—He, and every thing about it, bore such an aspect of misery I was glad when we left the spot. There is a monument to the memory of the unfortunate sufferers, but the inscription is entirely effaced, if ever there was one.

We drove through many streets of Calcutta, and were greatly amused by the odd figures and odd occupations of the natives. As soon as the sun sets, every house has a lamp lit, even the poorest creatures have this, to keep out evil spirits—Called to see poor Mrs. Fuller, General Fuller's wife—found her extremely ill—dined at Mrs. Fuller's, and got home a little before 12.

About 10 o'clock this morning we had what is called a north-wester, which is a kind of hurricane. It comes on so suddenly that we had scarcely time to shut the windows before every thing was nearly blown away—then, were torrents of rain, which laid the dust, and made it very pleasant in the evening. I had heard so much of the horrors of this wind that I own I was not so much astonished and alarmed as I should otherwise have been; and the thunder [115] and lightning were not nearly so tremendous as in the West Indies.

8th. Went to church at 10—spent the rest of the morning in my own room—Colonel and Lady C. Murray tiffed with us—Fortescue and Sir J. Royds—I am glad he has made this acquaintance, as Sir John is a most agreeable and respectable old gentleman, and it will be an advantage to him.—In the evening, the dust being laid, we drove through a little neighbouring village or bazaar—How different from our English villages! The

people appear uncommonly dirty in their houses, and uncomfortable in their manner of living altogether.

We saw the clouds gathering for another storm, and were glad to get home. At 8 it came on most tremendously—the thunder and lightning were dreadful, and it lasted two hours. The hurricane yesterday did a great deal of mischief—a vessel called the *Britannia* insured for a lack of rupees, went down close to Calcutta. An Indiaman was driven on shore, and several small boats perished—but I will return to our [116] drive through the village, and not think of these melancholy things—We saw some Hindoo and Mahometan temples—people prostrating themselves, and praying in the latter—the former were many of them like children's toys, and so small they will barely hold a candle. Every house had its lamp, and through the trees and bushes they looked like enchanted places; but when you get near any of their dwellings the dirt is disgusting. We returned much gratified with our drive, and, after taking some wine and water and biscuits, went to bed at the close of the storm.

9th. Rose early—Mrs. Udny brought her nice little children to see me. Mrs. Blair and Mrs. Hall among other visitors—Mrs. Blair was on the course the fourth day after her confinement.—Dined with Sir William and Lady Keir—home at twelve.

10th. Went to the government house—Visited Mrs. Elliot after her confinement—went to Gold's long-room, the China commission-warehouse, &c., and made some little purchases for my dear [117] children.—In the evening another storm prevented our drive—A large dinner party at home—to bed at twelve.

11th. Rose early—the morning as usual—Drove in the evening to Bally Gunge, to see Mrs. Gall.—A salute was fired, and, as we had new horses of Mr. Campbell's on trial, I was not quite at my ease.—My first assembly—Lord Minto and all the world came—danced till 12—all went off extremely well.

12th. My dear Nugent had a fall from his horse, but, thank God! he was not much hurt, only a slight bruise—he went to council at 10—I felt very unwell and low all the morning. When Sir George came home he seemed quite well, and we took our usual drive, and having only a few gentlemen to dinner got to bed about half-past 10 o'clock.

Our drive this evening was interesting—we went through another village.—I cannot help remarking the extreme mildness of

the native character. Every one seems to walk slowly and lightly ; all speak low, even in the market ; there is a sort of gentleness in their voice and manner [118]—Those who were not employed in squatting at their doors, smoking their hookahs. The games of the children seem to partake of the native character ; they, too, squat, in little parties, about the doors, and, though they look lively, you scarcely ever hear their little voices, and none of their amusements appear at all of a riotous nature.

We saw some of the Calcutta militia on duty as soldiers.—They are all naked, excepting a piece of cloth tied round their waists, and have a large sword, in general, instead of a musquet.—I ought to have mentioned, in speaking of the course, the bhesties, who water the drive. We have a good many of these people attached to our establishment they all carry leather bags on their backs, or rather across their loins—the bag has a long neck to it, which they bring out on one side, and run along spouting out the water in the oddest manner.—I cannot help laughing when I see them, for it appears to be a most ridiculous occupation—yet this business, like all other trades and employments in this country, descends from father to son.

CHAPTER IV. (pp. 119-149)

Tatties.—Mrs. Palmer and her Hookah.—Punkahs.—The Orphan School Ball.—Storms.—Shock of an Earthquake.—Birds' Nest Soup.—A Toujou.—Visit from the Nabob of Chitpore.—Use made of their Toes by the Indians.—Dancing Snakes.—Dinner given to the Nabob of Chitpore.—Splendid Nautch at the Nabob of Chitpore's.—Dancing women.—A singular Guest.—Fireworks.—Persian Paper.—Preparing for a Tour to the Upper Provinces.

[119] March 13th (1812). Sir George in council—My morning as usual—I hear a great deal of scandal from some of my visitors—Drove out and dined with Dr. and Mrs. Moore—Home at twelve.

14th. Sir George in council—the rest of the day as usual—Colonel and Lady E. Murray dined with us—to bed at eleven.

15th. Went to church—A sermon from Dr. Young—In the evening visited the Orphan School ; Sir George is patron, and

myself [120] patroness of it—Plans for the education of the young ladies there. I will not give an opinion till I am better acquainted with the institution, but I do not think I admire some of the arrangements—promised to attend a public night there on Thursday.—A family party.

16th. Sir George in council—my morning as usual. Tried a tatty for the first time—It is a sort of screen, made of matted grass, put up before the windows, and the bhesties keep watering it all day. It is painful to think these poor creatures should be so continually at work; and, after all, the only benefit we derive is changing a dry bracing atmosphere to a damp hot vapour, like a steam bath.—Took our usual drive, and had an immense dinner party at 8.—Had the surkars with me this morning, giving them money for different expenses. I sat in a loose dressing-gown, distributing rupees to them squatting on the floor, it was a most ridiculous scene.—The heat greatly increased these few days past.

17th. Sir George received a Vakeel in state this morning—many fine speeches were made and many salaams; he was from Bhurtpore in the [121] upper provinces.—At 8 had a large party—I need not in future mention the evening drive; that is a constant practice—A great many hookahs to-day; and, for the first time, a lady brought hers, a Mrs. Palmer, a very fine looking person, who piques herself on her likeness to Catalani, and who, from her colour, has, I believe, some native blood in her and is, according to the expression here, a half caste. Her hookah was a particularly gay one, with a gold mouth-piece, and her hookah-bedar, (the person who has the peculiar charge of her hookah), had a most picturesque dress. I tried to smoke it, as she assured me it was only a composition of spices, but I did it awkwardly, swallowing the smoke, and the consequence was I coughed all night. The party was very gay, and the company did not retire till 12 o'clock.

18th. Sir George took his usual ride before breakfast. Among my visitors this morning was a General Garstin, who bored me sadly, and I thought I never should get rid of him.—Gilbert and Fortescue set out on a hog-hunt again.—The [122] rest of the staff dined with us, and I got to bed at ten.

19th. The heat great—began to find the tatties of use, and conducing much to comfort—the punkah too is an excellent

invention ; it is a machine made of pieces of wood, covered with paper, and painted, and acts the part of a fan, by a man pulling it backwards and forwards. I pity the poor bearers, for it must be tedious work, and they seem generally half asleep at it.—Had a dinner party, and we all went to the Orphan School ball. I cannot help being shocked, to see so many young officers dancing and flirting with these dark complexioned young ladies. It is really laying a snare for them, and cruel to their families, to arrange such meetings—The governess I do not like at all—she seems confident and flippant : but I shall observe every thing quietly before I tell the governors my opinion. I asked for, but could not get a sight of, any of their works, books &c.—I fancy all they learn is to dance and dress themselves to the best advantage.

[123] 20th. The morning as usual—Dined at Mr. Dowdeswell's—out of six women three were half castes, as it is called—Home at 11—a north-wester in the night—very furious.

21st. Sir George in council—I feel particularly unwell to-day, and have been all the morning in my own room—Drove to Garden-reach in the evening. A large dinner party at night.

22d. Sir George went to church. I kept my room from indisposition. He and Fraser took their tea and cake with me at one—In the evening drove again to Garden-reach, as we were too late to see much of it last night—The road, though flat, is extremely pretty, and many of the houses look like villas in the neighbourhood of London, only they are without chimnies, and the roofs are all terraces, where the inhabitants take the air early in the morning, or late in the evening—passed through a village—saw a Hindoo temple, and a priest officiating at the altar.—Only a small dinner party.

23d. Sir George his usual ride and public business.—I, my usual morning—tiffed, and dined at 4—took our drive—Sir George read [124] papers till near 10, and I employed myself in various arrangements till that hour, when we went to bed.

24th. Spent much as yesterday. Captain Taylor lent me his Journal of a Tour to the Upper Provinces ; made some notes from it &c. &c.

25th. As usual—Dined with Mr. and Mrs. Campden, paymaster-general—heartily disgusted with my neighbour at dinner

—came home quite sick.—A dreadful thunder storm in the night.

26th. Sir George in council.—I was a good deal agitated all day with the report of an overland dispatch, and the hope of hearing from my dear children. Disappointed—dined at eight—to bed soon after ten.

27th. Good Friday—Went down, for the first time, to see the breakfast party, as I always take my tea in my own dressing-room—A number of officers &c.—Mr. Shakespear introduced Mr. Chinnery, (the miniature painter), to me.—After church talked a good deal to the old ayah, about the day—She has odd ideas, and is really more of a Hindoo than a Christian—Saw Chinnery's paintings—the likeness excellent—prevailed on Sir George to sit for me.—An early dinner, and went to bed early—I begin to be very anxious about my brother Philip, whom we have been long expecting from Madras.

[125] 28th. A dreadful storm in the night—I scarcely slept at all—Sir George in council—the day quiet.

29th. Went to church—a full congregation and many communicants—twelve punkahs going all the time of service—at first this had an odd effect, and dazzled my eyes very much—I felt quite sick.—After church, saw Mrs. Gowan, upon the subject of her husband's affairs.—Feel greatly fatigued, and my mind harassed about poor Philip; it is now eight and twenty days since he left Madras, and we have had many storms.—A small party to dinner, and to bed early.

30th. I kept my room from illness—Sir George had a large dinner party—Lady C. Murray supplied my place.

31st. Ditto—Mr. Leny attended me—Fortescue returned from hunting.

[126] April 1st. Very ill still—Heard of my brother's arrival at Saugur—An account came of two frigates from England—Took the air on Saturday, for the first time—sadly weak and low—no news yet of my children, nor has my brother made his appearance.

5th. My brother arrived—it was a joyful meeting—he is much altered, and I should scarcely have known him, but he is in excellent health and spirits—Dined below stairs for the first time.

6th. Still very ill, but reclined on the sofa, and talked all the

morning to Philip.—In the evening a large party—got to bed sadly fatigued at eleven.

7th. Confined again to my room.

9th. Lady E. Murray gave birth to a daughter.

10th. A dreadful alarm in the night—three terrible shocks of an earthquake— all forgot in the morning by the appearance of letters, giving an account of our dear children—very much agitated—unable to go down to dinner.

11th. Still ill.—A delightful letter from Lady Buckingham. May God bless her for her kindness to our children, and make her own a lasting [127] comfort to her!—Letters also from dear Lady T. and Miss Macnamara &c.—Those from dearest George and Louisa were almost too much for me—Miss Dewey is an excellent creature, and I am truly thankful for having her about our children.—Sir George read all the letters, and I could see he was almost as much agitated as myself, and yet he is obliged to go to council—he and my brother breakfasted with Lord Minto.—In the evening drove out for a short time, and dined with the family.

12th. Sir George went to church—I said prayers, and remained in my own room till the evening.—Drove out, and dined at eight.

13th. The day as usual.—A few gentlemen dined with us, among whom was Captain Fountaine, who came out in the African Frigate with the Brownrigges: he brought me the valuable letters &c.

14th. No rest all night, and ill in the morning; remained in my own room till 8, when we had a large dinner party.

15th. Rather better to-day.—My assembly very full, and every one apparently much pleased.

[128] 16th. Sir George, Philip, &c. went to look at the boats, which are preparing for our voyage up the Ganges.—Only a few gentlemen at dinner.

I have always forgotten to mention the birds' nest soup, that we have had at several places where we have dined; but to-day Sir George was reading some papers upon the subject of the revenue of Java, and birds' nests are mentioned as one of the principal sources of revenue there. The Chinese consider them a great luxury and procure them from Java in great abundance.—From what I have tasted here I should not be of their opi-

nion ; for, independent of the natural repugnance to, and prejudice one must have against, such luxuries, the soup appeared to me a most disagreeable vapid sort of thing.

17th. A dry north wester in the night, and the house filled with dust and sand.—Sir George in council—a large party in the evening.

18th. The day as usual—dined with Mr. Taylor.

19th. Sir George could not go to church, on account of business—very unwell—Lord Minto tified with us—he looked as if he pitied me, and [129] yet I do not give him credit for a great deal of feeling—Only ourselves at home in the evening—at dinner I was taken ill with spasms, and obliged to go to bed.

20th. Extremely ill all night—Letters by Sir Samuel Hood, giving the most delightful accounts of our dear children, and their pictures, which, though not the very best likenesses, still they are very valuable to me. This revived me a little, but Sir George was obliged to receive a large dinner party, which I could not attend.

21st. Slept tolerably from the anodyne given me by Dr. Leny. Sir George had another large party to entertain.

22nd. Better, and made very good resolutions—determined, if possible, to conquer this melancholy that preys upon me, and distresses all around me.—All the family dined with Sir William Keir. Sir George sent an excuse, and took his dinner in my dressing room.—Passed a most comfortable evening, talking of our dear friends and children.

23d. Although I have had my usual sleepless night, I feel in better spirits this morning—[130] When Sir George and P. went to ride, I took a walk on the house top—In the evening took a little drive &c. &c.—Received letters to-day from Lady Hood, on her arrival in Madras ; she is in high spirits, but *she* has left no children behind her in England !

24th. Walked again on the top of the house, and wrote English letters in the morning.—Went out in the evening, in a toujou, for the first time—The cavalcade was very curious—twenty-four men attended me—I mean to have a drawing of this procession, so I will not describe it. A toujou is a small curricule body, carried on the shoulders of four men, and I could not help thinking I looked like a successful candidate at an election.—Only Col. and Lady C. Murray and our family at dinner.—Very unwell

Col. and Lady C. Murray and our family at dinner.—Very unwell in the evening.

25th. Sir George breakfasted with me, in my dressing room, and then went to church. I read prayers at home—the dust and heat intolerable ; and, after tiffin, Sir George, as well as myself, was so tired that we went to sleep.—Only Sir William and Lady Keir and our staff at dinner.

[131] 27th. Scarcely any sleep during the night, for the heat—Sat on the top of the house till near sun rise—Sir George feels the climate very much, as well as myself ; but we are told that after the first year people support it better.—In the evening, Mr. and Mrs. Churchill and a party at dinner.—The thunder and lightning tremendous till 10 o'clock : then a dead calm, and not a breath of air.

28th. A cooler night and more rest.—The morning spent in writing English letters—A chameleon sent for me to look at, and never did I see so hideous a reptile. It is of the lizard tribe, but much more frightful—it is really almost impossible to describe it—it was green when I saw it, and it varied very little in colour during the time it remained in my room, for its cage was filled with leaves—The evening quiet.

29th. Very unwell all day—an assembly in the evening, and got through it better than I expected.

30th. Remained at home all the morning.—Sir George received the Nawaub of Chitpore, and his son and grandson, who came to make their [132] first visit.—The procession was extraordinary indeed, and put me in mind of that in Blue Beard on the stage. The grandson was sent to my room, to make a salaam. I put a ring on his finger, which delighted him ; it was a pink topaz set in pearls.—His dress was very fine—a silver turban ornamented with pearls, gold, and precious stones, a white dress, with a sash of gold tissue, and a dagger ornamented with pearls &c. Round his neck were a variety of chains of pearls &c., with clasps of diamonds and emeralds—the same on his arms. He was about six years old, and appeared a fine intelligent child.

Sir George received the party in the drawing-room, and sat between the old Nawaub and his son ; the former smoked his hookah, but the latter said he was not of sufficient rank to do the same—indeed he said he could not smoke in his father's presence. It is wonderful how attentive the natives of this coun-

try are to the most trifling points of etiquette. The procession consisted of the state-palanquin, quantities of led horses, carriages &c. and all sorts of things.—About two or three hundred people attended [133] with flags.—In the evening we had a small party.

May 1st. Had a good night, and feel better to-day.—Had a native painter to draw the house, &c. Wrote some letters to Fortescue, in the names of the different medical men in Calcutta, on the subject of his being made a Freemason—Drove out—Had a dinner of forty people at eight. Hot and stupid to a degree—Only two ladies, which is the usual proportion here.

2d. Sir George in council—the day quiet.

3d. The heat dreadful—Sir George read prayers in my room—Fell asleep twice before tiffin—only the Murrays and our staff at dinner.

4th. The heat excessive—a party of gentlemen at dinner

5th. No one could sleep in the night for the heat—A thunder-storm—Sir George had a gentleman party—Lady C. Murray dined with me in my room.

6th. The night cooler, and we all rested better—Dined at Mr. Hall's—a large party.

7th. Sir George in council—discussed Fortescue's affairs with him, when he came home, [134] and got them all settled—In the evening a small dinner party.

8th. Sir George in council—My eyes very uncomfortable—dined at General Garstin's.

9th. Sir George in council—a quiet day.

10th. Went to church—much better to-day—a few people in addition to our staff dined with us.

11th. The day as usual—Dined with Mr. Murray.

12th. Sir George and all the staff, breakfasted with the Nawaub of Chitpore—many fine trays of shawls, muslins, &c. were displayed. Sir George took one common shawl, not to offend him, and a sword with a green velvet sheath.—About 5 o'clock, came on a storm of thunder, lightning, wind, and dust, without rain; the atmosphere had a most extraordinary appearance—we could not take a drive, for it was thickened with dust, and looked a sort of dark red.—Had a very large dinner-party in the evening.

13th. The morning as usual—Visited Lady C. Murray, to see my little God-daughter, Jane-Anna-Maria—Col. and Lady

Murray were to [135] have dined with us alone, but it turned out a large party.

14th. The morning as usual—a present of some native drawings from the Vakeel of Bhurtpore—he is a fine young man, and an excellent horseman—he rides every night on the course, and always comes up to our carriage, to make his salaam. which he does in a very graceful manner—A party of gentlemen to dinner.

15th. Sir George not well, and could not go to council; he spent the morning in reading papers in my room.—In the evening we had a party of military men to dinner.

I must not forget to mention, that the natives make almost as much use of their feet as their hands on every occasion. The tailors as often place their work between their toes, or hold it with them when sewing up a seam, as with their hands. Mrs. Irvine, Mrs. Hewett's late house-keeper, who is now settled in Calcutta, and visits my maid, told Johnstone, the other day, that she happened once to go into the kitchen when the cook was preparing a hash, and she [136] saw one of the cooks dexterously slicing the mutton, for the purpose, held between his toes.

16th. Sir George better, and in council all the morning. In the evening a few military men.

17th. Did not go to church.—Sir George still unwell—at 4 we all dined, and Sir George set off for a review at Barrackpore—I went with Mrs. Udny and her family to Mr. Thomason's church. Drank tea with them afterwards.

18th. A very hot morning—thought of poor Nugent, who has a review and a mess-dinner to-day—Mr. and Mrs. Harrington called on me—I then made a visit to lady C. Murray, and sat some time with her—this is the first visit I have made at any distance in a palanquin. Went out in my toujou, with Lady C. Murray and Lady Keir, in the evening—Fraser and I dined en famille with Mr. and Mrs. Udny—About an hour after dinner Sir George returned home from Barrackpore, having got away from the mess-dinner at 11; he was much better, and had spent a [137] pleasant day—he rode home from the review on an elephant.

19th. The morning as usual—Dined with Mr. Treves, whose house is in the old fort, and near the Black Hole. The entertainment was handsome, and the house uncommonly well lit up, but still there was an air of gloom in my mind's eye, for I thought

I saw all the suffering wretches who had been shut up there formerly, and there was something shocking to the feelings in the contrast with the present scene.

20th. The day quiet—wrote to Dr. Ward on the subject of charity, and hope to do a little good before we go up the country—Only a few gentlemen at dinner besides our staff.

21st. A very large breakfast-party—the rest of the morning as usual. In the evening some snakes were brought us, to show us that hideous reptile in a tame state ; the men had them in baskets, and let them out two or three at a time—the cobra capellas were very large, and seemed furious and powerful ; they expanded their heads in a most extraordinary manner, looking as if they had goggles on, making every now and [138] then a violent dart at their keepers ; there was also a small green snake, the poison of which is said to be more immediate than that of the cobra capella. The men seemed to make quite pets of these odious reptiles, and the snakes did not appear to dislike their confinement, for the instant the baskets were opened they returned to them eagerly ; but perhaps the dancing and various movements, they were obliged to go through for our amusement fatigued them, and they were glad to be at rest.—In the evening a large dinner-party.

22d. Sir George in council—I did not drive out, but took the air on the house-top after sun-set.—At 8 gave a dinner to the Nawaub of Chitpore, and his son and grandson, (Mirza Nawaub he is called)—They came in state—the procession was numerous—the lights really beautiful—and the whole had a magnificent appearance. The Nawaubs were dressed very handsomely in point of jewels and trimming, but the shape of their dresses, or rather the fashion of them, is very unbecoming—Little Mirza was very fine, and his fingers were covered with rings ; he wore [139] also a large one on each thumb. Sir George received his guests below stairs, attended by his staff, all of whom embraced by the Nawaub, according to their custom and etiquette ; they then came into the drawing-room, and each took my hand, and made salaams down to the ground. We all sat in a circle, in the centre of the room ; the old Nawaub insisted that Sir George should sit next to me, and placed himself on the other side—his son and grandson opposite—Then, after a few high-flown compliments, he called for his hookah.

We had only to dinner the staff and their wives about twenty-four in number. Sir George led the old Nawaub down to dinner, and I marched between the two young gentlemen, the silver-stick calling out our titles, and making a great noise till we were seated at table ; Sir George and the old man on one side, and myself and the two younger opposite. The little Mirza was attended by several servants, but the chief of them was an immensely tall black man, belonging to the harem, who seemed to have particular charge of him.

[140] We had a great many Mussulman dishes, and they ate very heartily, but would not drink any wine. After dinner, their servants brought them some large silver basins &c. to wash their hands in ; and indeed they required it, as they eat chiefly with their fingers. At 10 we left the table, and, after taking their coffee, they went away in the same style as they came, making many fine speeches, and the old Nawaub said we had treated him like the Nawaub Vizier himself &c. I can only remark on this specimen of the native character, that, although the father seems to be a gentleman like sort of person for a Nawaub, they appear to me to have the conversation and ideas of children. I thought the young Nawaub rather vulgar.

23d. Sir George in council—the day quiet—made a few purchases for my children.

24th. The heat dreadful—a present of grapes came from the Nawaub of Chitpore, little Mirza's father, and many fine speeches—We tried to take a drive, but were caught in a dust-storm, and were obliged to return home almost blown out of our carriage—Only Sir H. and [141] Lady Darrell in addition to our family party at dinner.

25th. Wrote letters &c.—dined with Mr. and Mrs. Maitland.

26th. Another hot day—Heard of the arrival of the China fleet at Bombay. I hope soon to get letters.—Dined with Mrs. Udny—walked on the top of the house before sunrise this morning.

27th. Very hot indeed—no letters yet—we all assembled in the large dining-room, and tried to keep ourselves cool with the tatties, punkhas &c.—Dined with Mrs. Colvin, at Garden Reach—the situation beautiful—it is three miles from our residence in Chouringhee, and we did not get back till after 12 ; the wind was very high, and the dust very uncomfortable.

28th. Remained on the top of the house this morning till 5. Sir George and Philip brought books, which are our principal morning amusement. A dinner-party.

29th. Morning as usual—Dined at Sir Wm. Burroughs—A Sheik came in the evening, on purpose to be introduced to us.

[142] 30th. A party to dinner; Mrs. M'Gregor and Mrs. Elliott were the only two ladies.

31st. Unwell—Sir George in council.

June 1st. Sir George sat for his picture at 7 this morning, for the first time—Sir George has a great deal of business and trouble, arranging matters with Colonel M.—I am very sorry for it, and hoped it would have been otherwise—A large dinner-party.

2d. The day as usual—not well.

3d. Went out in the carriage—being unwell I sent an excuse to Mr. Strettell.

4th. The King's birth-day.

5th. Mrs. Paton with me.—Sir George went to General Eden's to breakfast, but returned home in time to partake of mine. All the morning visitors and chits.—A large dinner given by the Company at Government House to Lord Minto. I had a large party in the evening.

6th. Chits and English letters all the morning; in the evening, a small dinner-party—the heat very dreadful.

7th. Sir George read prayers in my room—a few gentlemen to dinner.

[143] 8th. Very hot indeed—Dined at Mr. Waltes—some rain.

9th. Much rain—quantities of insects.

10th. My dear Nugent's birth-day. May God bless him, and grant him many happy returns of it! Prepared a box of scarfs &c. for England. At half-past seven set off for the Nawaub of Chitpore, who gave me a nautch—He received us in his garden, and conducted us to the house. His dress was white muslin, with a silver sash; a large gold clasp fastened the dress upon his breast; an immense diamond graced his tawny finger; his turban was plain. He led me to a sofa at the top of the room, and before me were placed a silver chalice, with flowers tied up in the most ingenious manner with silver thread, a vase with

rose water, and another machine with utta of rose. The dancing-women were immediately introduced to me—one of them sang extremely well, and I did not dislike the music, although it is very different from ours. As to the dancing, (if so it may be called), it is a most extraordinary thing, and consists more in the motion of the hands and fingers than [144] of the feet; now and then they beat time with their feet, and even then but slowly, and that is all—never scarcely moving a yard from their place. The woman who sung so well is the Catalani of Calcutta—the gentlemen call her Nicky, but I suppose that is not her real name.

I was told that I must name the dinner hour, and, when I sat down, the rajah and his brothers remained at a distance from the table. Mr. Moore, (the Gunter of Calcutta), arranged every thing—he whispered to the gentlemen who sat near me, to tell me it was not so good as he could have wished, as he was forbidden to place on the table any beef, veal, or pork, though he had stolen a few sweetbreads into a pie.—I asked the Rajah, who stood at a great distance from me all the time, to drink a glass of water with me; he said he could not drink out of a glass, but would bow while I drank. There was an old Nawaub present who ate and drank as we did;—he did not scruple to take several glasses of wine, and, when the liqueurs were handed about, he asked for some cherry brandy. By mistake some catsup was given him instead, but, as Sir Wm. [145] Keir was going to take some too, the little man did not show by any face or gesture that he did not like what he had in his glass—enjoying very much Sir Wm. Keir's taking his, and running to the window to get rid of it. He was an old man, upwards of seventy, his eye lashes painted black, his whiskers and eyebrows the same; his face was painted yellow and red, and he wore a little black wig, that peeped out under his wig, behind each of his ears—he had on a tunic of scarlet shawl, spotted with silver and trimmed with the same, a broad silver sash, and an immense sabre at his side—his turban was of silver tissue, and had an immense plume of scarlet green and purple feathers at one side of it. When I made him a low courtesy, he did the same, thinking it, (as he said), respectful to do the same as I did. I am told he is half mad, and I am sure he appears so.

After dinner we had Chinese fire-works, which were the best I ever saw—they began by firing a salute of seventeen guns for Sir George and nineteen for me—the squibs, rockets, wheels, &c were the same as in England ; then came a tree, and a ghost, who, after vomiting fire, flew up into the [146] air ; the tree was beautiful, and the ghost had a most extraordinary effect. The whole concluded with an engagement between the French and the English, in which the former were defeated and destroyed. After the fire-works, the dancing and singing were resumed till 12, when we took leave of the Rajah, he first putting utta of roses &c on our fingers. Trays were set out, as usual, with presents, but Sir George only touched them, telling the Rajah he made him a present of them all ; this odd sort of speech prevents them being affronted at your not taking anything they offer. The Nautch women were all dressed in gold and silver gauze dresses, made very full, and concealing their shape very much ; they were all of them covered with ornaments, but Catalani wore the best, hers being handsome pearls, emeralds &c. Their eyes were blackened, their lips, teeth, &c red, and their hair was parted in front, and en queue behind. Their movements were far from graceful, but many of their songs were pretty, the notes odd and wild, the words Persian.

12th. A party of gentlemen to dinner—much fatigued.

[147] 13th. Sir George in council—gentlemen to dinner.

14th. Went to church—a quiet day.

15th. My dear Edmund one year old to-day. May God bless him, and grant us the happiness of seeing him and his dear brother and sisters once more ! Sir George dined with Mrs. Lumsden, but I was not well enough to go. Lady C. Murray embarked for Patna today.

16th. A large dinner party in the evening.

17th. As usual.—Sir George sits twice a week before breakfast to Chinnery—Went in the evening to see his miniatures, which are very good indeed—A few gentlemen to dinner.

18th. Wrote letters—A present of Persian paper, from Mr. Monckton, very curious. I do not know why I call it Persian paper, for it is manufactured here, and serves to write to all the great Eastern Powers upon, as well as the King of Persia.—Called upon Lady E. Murray, who has just returned from her unfortunate attempt to make a voyage to Madras, having been

nearly shipwrecked—Mrs. Mackenzie, and her sister [148] Mrs. Shakespeare, and a party of gentlemen, to dinner.

19th. Very hot indeed—dined at Dr. D's.

20th. Unwell with the heat—dined with Mr. Stewart of the Supreme Court.

21st. Sir George read prayers to me—Pleased to hear of the arrival of the Chinese fleet at Madras—We were both much distressed, on receiving the account of the death of poor General M'Kinnon, Sir George's cousin, a remarkably fine young man—he was blown up in Spain—how I pity his poor wife!

22d. Sir George visited the Orphan School—afterwards received a large party, which is to be his last before the tour.—Drove out in the evening—Mrs. Chitock and Mrs. Hall and a party of gentlemen to dinner.

23d. Still unwell—a large dinner party, consisting of Mrs. Churchill, Mrs. Udny, &c.

24th. The morning rainy—the air still oppressive, but more comfortable, being less burning. Drove out, intending to visit our boats, but were prevented.

25th. Very unwell—Mr. Leny thinks I should [149] confine myself entirely—however, for very particular reasons, I went to dine with Mrs. Roache.

26th. Sir George in council.

27th. Very ill indeed all day—saw our boats in the evening.

28th. Sir George read prayers—I was too ill to leave my room—drove out in the evening.

29th. The same as usual—Drove out, and left some little trifles with Mrs. Churchill, until my return.

30th. The house all in a bustle of preparation—A large party at tiffin—sent an excuse to General Garstin.

CHAPTER V.

[150] *July 1st, 1812.* From the time I awoke, crowded with business of all sorts—Visitors, chits &c.; had a large party at tiffin; and at 5 we all set off in different vehicles to our boats. About 7 we found ourselves comfortably settled, and all matters tolerably arranged about us. Our sleeping boat has three rooms, and is really very pretty. I did not get much sleep this night, for the noise of the dandies, or boatmen.

[151] Yesterday, one of my kitmatgars, or footmen, was in great disgrace, having been impertinent to one of the upper servants, and was dismissed—Just before we set off, Ponchoo and Harnoo, (our two butlers), came to beg he might be restored to his place, he having allowed them to take off their slipper, and place their foot upon his head, in token of his contrition, and through their forgiveness he has been restored; but I am told he is not likely to continue long, as he is a beau and a dissipated man, wearing his turban on one side, and being fond of music, nautching, and, above all, of drinking.

2d. I consider this day as beginning my tour, and shall take more pains in writing the account of it, hoping that the volumes containing it may afford some amusement hereafter to my dear children.

Slept, or rather lay, in our boats all night, the noise of the boatmen being incessant. At daylight we got up, to enjoy the prospect, and the banks of the river looked really beautiful—the air and scene were very enlivening—we were surrounded by a little fleet of all sorts of boats—the [152] shore was lined with people, and the morning was calm and cool, there having been much rain during the night. We got under way before sunrise, and proceeded towards Barrackpore. The peculiar song or cry of the boatmen, to encourage each other to pull the boat, (for both the wind and the tide were against us, and we were obliged to track up the river), the number of temples and pagodas on the banks of the stream, the innumerable parties bathing, and, in short, altogether, the novelty of the scene, reminded me more strongly than ever that I was in a new world; and yet the variety of all things served to cheer and rouse my spirits, and Sir George complimented me upon the return, in some degree, of my health and animation.

At 5 o'clock we reached Barrackpore, but as the rain, which had fallen at intervals all day, was then pouring down in torrents, it was near 6 before we could land—Lord Minto and all his family were waiting for us, and the dinner was ready. The house is not large, being merely a temporary residence, built by Lord Wellesley, while a palace he had projected was building. [153] The foundation of the latter only remains, Lord Wellesley having been prevented by the Directors from proceeding with the building and, indeed, from what appears of the extent of

the plan, the expense would have been too great ; yet the Governor of India should hve a handsome country residence. The present house is called a banqueting house, the dining room is beautiful and well proportioned ; the bed rooms are all taken from the veranda, which is a very fine one, and there are several Bungalows attached to the house, which serve as bed rooms for Lord Minto's family. It stands a short distance from the river, on a rising ground, and altogether the situation is very beautiful. Lord Minto says it is ten degrees cooler than Calcutta.—Serampore, on the opposite side of the river, adds much to the beauty of the prospect. This settlement was formerly in the possession of the Danes . . .

. . . [157] 4th. We made sail after breakfast, to try and reach Santipore to-day, but were obliged all to anchor, at 4 o'clock, on account of the dining pinnace (khaunnah ka pinnace) losing her top-mast.—We sent our bhouliah to Calcutta, for a new one, and decided to remain here till its return . . .

(p. 194) "Our mauntjie kept out a little from the shore, to avoid the crowd, the consequence was, we were carried away by the current, into what is called, by the people, (burrah crab pauney) 'very bad water', which is in fact a whirlpool, when our vessel became unmanageable, and, with all her sails set, went round and round, at least a dozen times, in the most frightful manner".

(p. 218) "Each soldier had a man to hold a chitta over his head, and many had a second, to attend and carry their bundle".

CLAUDE MARTIN

(Lucknow, October, 1812) 18th. [313] Prayers at 11—Saw a soldier's child baptised—Took tiffin as usual—Soon after 4, set off for a seat in the neighbourhood, called Constantia, built by the late General Claude Martine, who amassed an immense fortune in the Nawaub's service. The house is intended to be in the style [314] of an old French chateau, but it is a singular mixture of all sorts of styles ; yet it is beautiful and interesting, as well as extraordinary. It is adorned with statues innumerable—heathen gods, Chinese mandarins, shaking their huge heads, milk-maids, shepherdesses, nuns, &c. all jumbled together!—In the front of the house, a column is erected, in the

style of the Monument at London, to commemorate the life and death of this singular man. His tomb was built by himself, under the house, and by his desire, is, in compliance with his will, kept constantly lit up—It is a plain marble monument, with this inscription—

"Here lies the body of CLAUDE MARTINE, who came to India a Common Soldier; and died a Major-General. Pray for his soul "

At each corner of his tomb is a grenadier, as large as life, resting his head on his arms reversed, and so well represented, in painted stone, that I was at first deceived, and took them for real sepoys. There was something very affecting [315] in this sight, and I was glad to leave the place. We then went into a Chinese garden, exactly like one sees on china cups and saucers—General Martine was a Frenchman. He left the greater part of his fortune to the poor of Lucknow, Calcutta, &c. Constantia overlooks the Goomty river, and a vast extent of ground is seen from the turrets. Over the principal door is written,

Labore et Constantia.

It seems well applied to the history and character of the founder.—A large party at dinner.

19th. Rose at 7.—Major Baillie lent me General Martine's will to read. He died immensely rich; some of his bequests are most extraordinary, for he leaves legacies to most of the ladies of his zenana, and gives the character of all his principal favourites.

SOOKSAUGER* (Volume II)

(1813. August 8th.). [197]. . Proceeded at 5.—The wind still against us, but the frequent windings of the river enabled us to sail.—After breakfast, Sir G. read prayers, &c.—Passed by Soaksanger, at 12. This is the village I have mentioned before, as being inhabited by the poor wretches who have recovered, after being exposed by their relations (I cannot call them friends,

* Excerpts from here onwards are from volume II.

in our sense of the word at least), to die on the banks of the river. They lose all their claims on society, their caste is gone for ever, and no one can associate with them, [198] without incurring the same penalties. They, therefore, have formed a little colony, here, of themselves, but how they exist I cannot understand. We saw many of them fishing which, I suppose, with their little gardens, supplies them with food. There was a body burning just below the village, and the stench was so intolerable, we were obliged to sprinkle our cabins with aromatic vinegar, lavender, &c, for some time, to get rid of it. A groupe was sitting near the body, smoking their hookahs, and two men were turning it, from side to side, with large sticks, and feeding the flame with small pieces of wood.

9th. [199] . . Stopped at Barrackpore at 10.—Lord Minto, to our great joy, is in Calcutta ; so we were spared the fatigue of landing, and proceeded on our voyage, though slowly, wind and tide being both against us, and we were obliged to track the whole way. Arrived in Calcutta, between 4 and 5.—All the world shut up, after their tiffin, and most of them asleep.—Sir G. and I stole up in our palanquins, and the salute was not fired, till we had fairly reached our own home. By these means, all the bustle of troops out, &c, was avoided, which Lord M. was as glad to escape as we were, and thanked Sir G. for it. We had not been half an hour in Calcutta, before Sir G. received a letter, with the distressing report of the death of dear Lord Buckingham. I trust it may not be true. We passed a melancholy evening, and I did not join the gentlemen at dinner . . .

(Volume II) **CHAPTER XIX** (pp. 201-232)

Journal of Calcutta events recommenced.—Visits, Dinners, &c.—Melancholy News of Lord Buckingham's Death confirmed.—Oppressive Heat.—Death of two young Officers, and of Count S.—Parental Partiality.—Extraordinary Sheet Lightning.—Discussion with the Apostate Khaunsunah.—Grand Mussulman Festival.—Arrival of Lord Moira in Saugur Roads.—Gentoo Custom on the Death of a Mother.—A Gentoo Quarrel.—Festival of the Doorgah Poojah.—New Ceremonies, &c. to be introduced at the Government House.—Expected Curtailment of Sir George's Patronage.—Doubts as to the future conduct of Lord Moira.—Offensive Proceedings of his Lordship.—Unsatisfactory Interview of Sir George

with Lord Moira.—Sir George resolves to resign as soon as possible.—Visit in State from Loudon.—Sir George invested with the Order of the Bath.—Awkward speech of Lord Moira on the Occasion.—Consultation on Dress, Feathers, &c.—Drawing Room, and Cards, at Government House.—Hint to the Card Players.—Sir George exposed to daily Annoyance.

[201] Tuesday, August 10th. I shall now begin [202] another journal of Calcutta events ; but for some time, I fear, it will be merely a diary of engagements, and the business of society. I will try, however, when the first bustle of our return is over, to collect whatever may be at all entertaining, or instructive, for my dear children, who are never for a moment absent from my thoughts, and who are the objects I have in view, in all my occupations, &c.

This has been a melancholy day, my dear N. and I thinking of, and talking over incessantly, the distressing report of yesterday. It makes us miserable, but we trust that the goodness of God has warded off so great a calamity. If we could be cheered by the kindness of friends, or the attentions of society, we should find ample source of comfort at this moment, in the crowds that are continually coming to congratulate us, and express their joy at our return.—To-day we had only a few gentlemen to dinner. I excused myself, and remained in my own room, for I cannot get up my spirits for society, while this sad disaster is hanging over us.

Wednesday, 11th.—The same as yesterday—[203] crowded with visitors.—Our minds ill at ease.—I dined by myself ; Sir G. had a party of gentlemen.

Thursday, 12th. A dreadfully hot night ; but thunder, lightning, and torrents of rain, have relieved the atmosphere a little, this morning. It was, however, really most awful.—There was a review, and feu-de-joie, for the Prince Regent's birth-day.—I did not go out, or see any one.—Lord Minto gave a dinner ; Sir G. and all the staff attended.—No further accounts from England, and our anxiety must continue, till some new ships arrive.

Friday, 13th. The morning, crowds and bustle, as usual.—I dined with the family for the first time, since our return ; as my absence made poor Sir G. so very uncomfortable.

Saturday, 14th.—Colonel Nicolls arrived.—Got all my letters from our dearest, ever dear Lady Temple, and our darling children.—All well and all happy, thank God! She has kindly sent me several very pretty and very useful things, and is only too good to me.—The even-[204]ing as usual.—I long to see Mrs. Nicolls, and hear all about dear England.

Sunday, 15th. Rose at daylight. Read and talk over our letters, and pray for all those whom we so tenderly love.—No church to-day. Lord Minto the only visitor I received this morning—Colonel and Mrs. Nicolls at dinner. Rejoiced to see her, and hear all about our dear friends, and darling children. Our minds are more at ease, about the horrid report; it seems impossible to be true, from the date; yet, after the calamity of last year, we tremble and fear, almost more than we can possibly encourage ourselves to hope.

Monday, 16th, Tuesday, 17th, and Wednesday, 18th.—All the mornings, from nine till one, receiving crowds of visitors. Then shut myself in—write English letters—read and think.—Large parties at dinner every day, and were not in bed till 12 o'clock, which is really severe duty in this broiling weather, in the present state of our minds, and in my present situation.

Thursday, 19th. Company as usual all the [205] morning.—Towards evening, heard of the arrival of the March fleet at Madras.—Alas! all the sad news is confirmed, and we passed a most wretched night. Poor Fortescue, too, is deeply grieved.

Friday, 20th. We have neither of us slept, and are unequal to society, I am sure, or anything but remaining alone, and talking over all we have to lament, in the loss of our dear, excellent, and kind friend; but, in the evening, I was obliged to summon all my strength and resolution, and receive a large party, who had been engaged here many days. I was, however, soon obliged to retire, and Mrs. Nicolls kindly came and sat with me, till they were all gone, which was much earlier than usual. My poor dear husband feels such, but his time must be given to business and society, and perhaps it is most fortunate for him.

Saturday, 21st. A tremendous thunder storm kept us awake, almost the whole night. Sir G. in council all the morning.—Had a great deal of conversation with Fortescue.—The day melan-[206]choly, but more quiet and consequently more comfortable, than the last have been.

Sunday, 22d. All the family went to church.—Sir G. read prayers to me at home, and we kept this day quietly to ourselves.—Only the staff at dinner.

Monday, 23d. No private letters yet, and we are most anxious, as we know nothing, but through the Calcutta newspapers, none of ours having arrived yet.

Tuesday, 24th. Still anxious for letters, and the suspense about our dear friends, and the situation of our dear children, under the heavy loss they have all sustained, is sad indeed, and weighs upon our spirits ; but we exert ourselves, and hope all is well as it can be in such a break up, and with so much to regret and lament.

Wednesday, 25th. Our morning as usual.—No private letters yet.—In the evening a large dinner party, and more guests in the evening.—Not in bed till after 12.—Perhaps it is as well to have all this bustle, is our present suspense ; [207] but it is a sad fatigue, and makes the heat doubly oppressive.

Thursday, 26th. All our letters have arrived, and renewed our distress.—The sad events, at Stowe, have made us miserable. Remained in my own apartment all day. Sir G. with me, as much as possible. Dined *tete a tete*, and only saw Fortescue in the evening, for a short time.

Friday, 27th. Saw no one.—Sir G. wrote in my room all the morning ; but was obliged to dine at General Blair's, where a large party had been invited to meet him.

Saturday, 28th, and Sunday, 29th. Quite quiet.—Our whole thoughts and conversation were devoted to our dear friends at Stowe, and our darling children.—The staff went to church, but Sir G. read prayers to me.

Monday, 30th. Saw no one all day.—Poor Sir G. obliged to attend a dinner, given to him by Mr. Edmonstone.

Tuesday, 31st. The morning quiet, but made my appearance at the dinner, which was a very large one, of members of council, their wives, and us.

[208] Wednesday, September 1st. Sir G.'s public breakfast ; and I saw most of the gentlemen afterwards.—Drove out in the evening, for the first time ; and had only the staff at dinner.

Thursday, 2d. Heavy rain, with much thunder.—Receive many visitors, but have only Col. and Mrs. Nicolls at dinner, in addition to our staff.

Friday, 3d. The morning as usual.—Many ladies to visit me, while Sir G. was in council, and did not return till six.—All our staff dined with General Garstin.—We were alone, for a wonder, and passed a comfortable though melancholy evening, talking over the sad changes that have taken place, since we quitted our home. May God Almighty preserve our dear children, and other dear friends !

Saturday, 4th. Sir G. in council all way.—I saw a few people, and then read and wrote, &c. till 6, when he returned, we drove out.—An immense dinner party at 8, and they all seemed to enjoy themselves particularly ; so that it was past 12 before the house was closed.

Sunday, 5th. The damp and heat excessive.—[209] The air of the church was quite like a vapour bath.—Only Mr. Addison at dinner, in addition to the staff. To bed early.

Monday, 6th. The clouds low, and the heat excessive ; but no rain till towards the middle of the day, when the thunder was tremendous, and it poured in torrents.—In the evening, we took our drive, and were a little refreshed.—Dined at Colonel and Mrs. Fagan's, and Sir G. and I stood sponsors for their little girl, who was named Maria Elizabeth.

Tuesday, 7th. Write English letters—all my distress renewed, in giving dearest Lady Temple her new title. But God's will be done, and we must endeavour to be resigned ; but how dreadful are these changes, and how many we may have to lament, when we return to our home, if God in his mercy permits us ! After Sir G. had finished his business, he persuaded me to drive out, though the clouds were gathering ; and we were caught in a dreadful thunder storm. We, however, returned home refreshed, and better able to entertain a large party, that as-[210]sembled soon after 8, than if we had remained in the house all day.

Wednesday, 8th. This is our dearest Louisa's birth-day. She will be distributing her little charities on the occasion, please God she is alive and well. May she live to bless, and enjoy every blessing, many, many years to come !—Sir G. had an immense breakfast party, this morning, being his public day, and I held my levee afterwards, as usual—Only our own party at dinner.—Had a nice conversation afterwards with Sir G. about our

dear children, and little L. in particular, who was more especially remembered in our prayers at night.

Thursday, 9th. Up very early and wrote letters.—One of Lord Moira's aides de camp at breakfast, Major Foster. Have a long discussion afterwards with him, in my own apartment, and hear all about the family, and am determined to like them all. A nice drive in the evening, and only a small party at dinner.

Friday, 10th. The heat oppressive. The deaths of two young officers, who were recom-[211]mended to Sir G., were announced to us, and a third at the last gasp. Fortunately, we did not know them! but these melancholy occurrences strongly remind me of the sad scenes we witnessed in the West Indies, and which are so frequent here too, at this season of the year.—A small dinner party, in addition to the staff, but no ladies to-day.

Saturday, 11th. Sir G. in council, till a late hour.—I passed the whole day in my own room, reading, &c.—Dinner at Mr. Rock's.

Sunday, 12th. Church, and the day quiet.—No rain.

Monday, 13th. Heard of poor Count S's death, as soon as we got up; many other young men are ill—Alas! we must not let our minds dwell upon these melancholy events, but we cannot help feeling them.—Had a large dinner party, to meet the aides de camp of Lord Moira, who have just arrived.

Tuesday, 14th. Mrs. Nicolls, and her nice little girl, spent the morning with me. She says the child was considered, at Stowe, to be very like dearest little Emily! but, like true papas [212] and mammas, Sir G. and I considered the likeness a bad compliment.—In the evening, a very large dinner party. The heat was great, and we were all not a little fatigued.

Wednesday, 15th. Sir G.'s public breakfast, and my levee as usual.—Drive out in the evening.—Only our staff to dinner, to my great joy.

Thursday, 16th. Quite overcome, with the vapoury heat of the weather, and beg, after our evening drive, to be excused attending the dinner party, which consisted of only gentlemen.—Sat in my dressing gown, and amused myself, with reading, till 10, when Sir G. got rid of his company, and we went to bed.

Friday, 17th. Much the same as yesterday.—Sir G. in council.—A drive in the evening, and only a family dinner.

Saturday, 18th. Sir G. in council all day; and an immense dinner party was beginning to assemble, when we returned from our drive.—Hurried to dress, and got through it all extremely well, in spite of the more than usually oppressive state of the weather, owing to the heavy clouds, and the rain not coming down; but the sheet [213] lightning was most extraordinary, and this, I believe, in some degree, cools the air, and prevents our being suffocated.

Sunday, 19th. No church to-day.—The weather dreadful. Scarcely a breath of air, and every thing damp and clammy, and the heat indescribable.—Sir G. read prayers, and we passed a quiet day.—Only the staff at dinner.

Monday, 20th. Soon after breakfast, Sir G. and the staff went to the *disputation*, at Government house. The young men of the college spoke in the four different languages—Bengalee, Hindoostanee, Sanskrit and Persian. The first two are the common vulgar tongues, the Persian is the court, and the Sanscrit the learned language.—The heat so great, I could not attend, and Mrs. Nicolls, and her little ones, passed the day with me.—In the evening, we drove out, &c.—All the gentlemen dined with Lord Minto.—Mrs. N. remained with me, till 9 o'clock.

Tuesday, 21st. The morning as usual.—An immense dinner party. All the principal people of the Presidency were invited. Introduced Lord Moira's staff to them, and my dear N. [214] shewing them every kindness and attention. The tremendous thunder and lightning, with rain, prevented our dispersing till a late hour—However, it cooled the air a little, and that was some comfort.

Wednesday, 22d. Sir G.'s public breakfast; but I was too unwell, to hold my levee afterwards.—A few gentlemen to dinner, and another storm. I excused myself, on the plea of fatigue, from joining the party, and went to bed early.

Thursday, 23d. Many visitors this morning, to enquire after my health, as they heard I was poorly yesterday. Obligated to receive them, out of civility, and I am indeed grateful for their kindness.—In the evening, a small dinner party; very quiet and comfortable, though the heat is excessive—three ladies at dinner.

Friday, 24th. No one slept last night, from the closeness of the air; and, frightful as it is, we are longing for another thun-

der storm.—Sir G. in council all day.—No rain.—Drive out, and a staff dinner.

Saturday, 25th. Sir G. in council.—Have a curious discussion with Pascal, the Khaunsunah, [215] who, I find, was once a Christian, but, from motives of gain and *convenience* is now a Mahometan. Try to convince him of his sin, but fear with no effect, as his worldly interest will plead more strongly for, than any argument I can use against, his conduct. I mean to consult Mr. Colman, and hope he will endeavour to lead the wretched man to a right line of conduct, &c.—The day as usual.—Only a staff dinner.—Sir G. busy after council, in arranging papers, &c., for giving Lord Moira the best information in his power, on the subject of India, and the army.

Sunday, 26th. The church thinly attended, and the heat less.—A quiet day.

Monday, 27th. It is the new moon, and a grand Mussulman holiday. I saw our *renegade* Khaunsunah embracing his friends, and going through all the ceremonies of the day, with apparent pleasure and devotion, (if it may be so-called), although, in our conversation yesterday, he confessed to Mr. Colman and me, that he despised it all in his heart. I have been told, that this man cheats us abominably; but how can any degree of honesty be expected, [216] when there is evidently no principle?—In the evening, a large dinner party of military.

Tuesday, 28th. An express, early in the morning, to announce Lord Moira's arrival at Madras. A council held at one o'clock, and Sir G. issued orders to the military, &c. In the evening an immense *Burrah Khaunnah*, and another express, before we went to bed, to tell us, that Lord Moira had arrived at Saugur Roads.—To bed at 12.

Wednesday, 29th. Sir G.'s public breakfast, and my levee.—All the Calcutta world is in a state of bustle and preparation. Poor Lord Minto in a great fuss, to get out of the Government House, in time for Lord Moira's arrival. A council held again, at an early hour, and all the arrangements made.

CURIOUS CUSTOMS

In the meantime, I amused myself with some native customs, that are very curious. On Saturday last, Sir G.'s *surdar*, or head

bearer, came to announce the death of his mother, and ask permission to shave his beard and his head, and go through certain ceremonies, for the peace of her soul. This of course was granted, and I begged to know what the ceremonies [217] were. On Sunday, he had leave to go as far as the Ganges, or rather to a branch of the Hooghly River, close to where the Ganges runs into it. There he bathed and said his prayers, &c. His head and beard being shaved, and having no turban on, made him look deplorable.—I should have said that there was a Brahmin in attendance upon him, when he bathed in the Ganges, to assist with his prayers. On Monday, he gave a dinner to several hundred bearers. At daylight, he began separating his parties, into fifty persons each. It will take several days, to accomplish this part of the ceremony, as each party, consisting of fifty persons, is to be feasted at different hours.—To-day, poor Tophane, (for that is his name), is in great distress. It seems one of his guests has got drunk with betel, &c., and has spoken ill of his mother ; and this, as it seems, is the usual custom, when they meet for ceremonies, either of lamentation or rejoicing. When they get drunk with betel, they reflect upon the female part of the family, which is the greatest insult that can be offered. In the present case, it appeared particularly atrocious, [218] as the poor woman was dead, and the man was bidden to the feast, to do honour to her memory.

When poor Tophane was conducted into my presence, by the Khaunsunah, I really did not know him, he was such a miserable looking object ; he was without a turban, or indeed any dress, but merely a piece of cotton tied round his waist, and his beard and whiskers, as well as his head, were closely shaved. His eyes were sunken and hollow, and he looked altogether the picture of woes. This, I suppose, is as much owing to the betel, and the starving and bathing, as to grief ; though he does appear to lament his mother very much, or he feigns extremely well.

As soon as Sir G. came out of council, I made known the affair, when he ordered one of the sentries to take the offender in charge, till he was sober, and then the feasting, &c, all went on as quietly as possible, to the end of the day. When we went out for our drive in the evening, we saw about fifty bearers, all squatting down most comfortably in the compound, (i.e.

court), with each a plantain leaf before him, eating their [219] rice and curry, and poor wretched Tophane seeming to enjoy the sight, though he must be half dead with fatigue; and this is to go on, at intervals, the whole night—but if it lasts much longer, I think he must die of it.

Thursday, 30th. Received letters this morning from dearest Lady Temple, and our precious children.—All well thank God! Sir G. in council again; so I denied myself to all the world, to enjoy my letters, and write answers, as a ship is soon to sail for England.—A party of gentlemen to dinner; the only new one is Major D, one of Lord Moira's staff, who arrived to-day.

Friday, Oct. 1st. Tophane has returned to his duty, and, though looking ill, is more like his former self, in spite of the loss of his whiskers, as he is dressed in his livery, and has his turban on.—At 4 o'clock this morning we were awoke by the *music* of the Hindoos, announcing the beginning of their great festival the Doorgah Poojah, (I spell it as it is sounded). It seems that the Brahmins, at daylight, give notice of the arrival of the goddess Doorgah, to pass a little time of gaiety with her friends on earth. She is [220] represented by a figure made of painted mud, with large silver eyes, which a Brahmin, concealed behind her, opens and shuts continually. Her children and attendants, made of the same materials, are also carried in procession. A plantain tree is placed before her, for her eyes to rest upon; the effects of these silver orbs being supposed to be fatal to any human being; and my ayah assured me, whatever she put her eye upon would instantly die—yet Ayah calls herself a Christian!—All the day, the noise of tomtoms, and music of all sorts, was beyond description tiresome; for the goddess is honoured by dancing, singing, feasting, and bathing, and, as I am assured, by intoxication and the greatest profligacy.—In the evening, we dined with Doctor and Mrs. Munro, and were received with particular respect by a large assembly of people.

Saturday, 2d. A great many of the new staff to visit us to-day, and much was said, about court dresses, court ceremonies, &c, intended to be introduced at the Government house. All this is rather amusing, but we hear, and say nothing, being determined not to enter into any [221] party business, or interferences whatever.—Only Colonel and Mrs. Nicolls, in addition to our dinner party.

Sunday, 3d. The morning as usual ; but I am sorry to say, we had a large dinner party, contrary to our rule. The staff of Lord Moira were our principal guests. They are very numerous, and all, as is manifest from their conversation, expect to be soon provided for ; but I imagine Lord M. will find it an embarrassing task ! Sir G's patronage, I suppose, will be confined to this presidency, and he can now be of little use to his friends, or to any one ; but kindness and civility will always be in his power, and these we can both shew, in our different situations, to all—He rests a great deal upon Lord Moira's character for generosity, and high mindedness, and yet we cannot but both feel that his returning a verbal answer, by Sir William Keir, to the very generous letter Sir G. wrote, does not savour much of either of these qualities. However, Lord M. is now so near, that tomorrow, or next day, must bring him to Cal-[222]cutta, and then we shall see what line of conduct he means to adopt.

Monday, 4th. Before we went to bed last night, it was announced, that Lord Moira had arrived nearly to Garden Reach, and would land early this morning—Sir G., in consequence, gave every necessary order, and at daylight, was ready at the ghaut, to receive him.—The troops paraded, and every thing was done which is usual on such grand occasions.

On Sir G's return, I heard all the proceedings, and cannot say, after the specimen that had been given, by the cool verbal reply to Sir G.'s excellent and manly letter, that I was much surprised to hear, that Lord M. avoided all direct communication with Sir G. ; referring him, in the most extraordinary, and I must say unmilitary and ungentlemanlike way, to the staff for information, instead of addressing his conversation to their chief.—By the manner in which Sir G. feels it all, at present, I am sure it must end, ere long, in his resigning the command of the Bengal forces, and returning [223] to Europe. It seems, however, that this appointment, as Commander in chief of all India, is not cancelled, but left in abeyance, to be resumed, in case of anything happening to Lord Moira, or ill health obliging him to return home.

Visits innumerable in the course of the day, and every one seems empresse, to show kindness and attention.—A grand dinner at the Government House.—No ladies, so I remained quietly

at home, building castles, on the prospect of our return to England, at no distant period, and finding our dear children prosperous, &c.

Tuesday, 5th. Further communications from Government House, and still of the same vexatious nature.—My dear N. is greatly annoyed, and I am equally so, at seeing him so worried. My old *Bundelcund* illness came on, in consequence, next morning, and I was obliged to keep my own apartment, the whole day.—Better towards evening, but not well enough to go to the Government House, though I am particularly anxious to do so, having received a very kind [224] note from Lady Loudon, wishing to see me, and tell me all about my dear children.

In the evening, we had a small dinner party, which I attended, in spite of my illness; for being alone, and thinking, only increases it.—Sir G. was in tolerable spirits, and I think has now made up his mind, to the disappointment of finding Lord M. so *little* a man, as he really has shewn himself, instead of the character he expected to find him, from report, and former knowledge of him.—After our company were gone, we had a cheerful conversation about our return home, though I fear, alas! it cannot be this year.

Wednesday, 6th. No sleep all night; but we were both up at daylight, and Sir G. had his usual public breakfast, but I should not call it so—as *all* the world came to-day, and never was there more kindness, or more attachment shewn, of which I came in for my share, as my drawing room was crowded, till I was obliged to make my curtsey, and go off, to keep my appointment at Government House.

[225] I like Lady Loudon exceedingly, and heard from her a most delightful account of my dear, dear children. I admire Lady Loudon's children exceedingly, and, indeed, they are charming little people.—In short, I was charmed with my visit.—Not so my dear Sir G., who had an interview with Lord Moira, while I was with the ladies, the result of which is, his determination to resign immediately, and go home as soon as he is relieved; indeed, he would go sooner, but various reasons oblige him to remain here till next year. I deeply regret it, but I know he must do his duty, and I ought to be resigned.—After we left the Government House, we paid a visit to Lord Minto; and, in the evening, we had a mixed dinner party of civil and military.

Thursday, 7th. Constant arrangements for the new *regime* going on, though all the communications are made through the staff, and every thing is done to show Sir G. it is meant he should be a cypher.—A large and cheerful dinner party, and the day concluded much more comfortably than it began—But these constant worries must [226] injure poor N's health, as I am sure they do mine, and particularly just now.

Friday, 8th. Sir G. in council all day.—I wrote, read, and laid plans for the future.—Civilities passed between Lady Loudon and me. Enquiries after health, &c. She wishes to come and see me, but her carriages, &c. are not ready yet.—Visit Mrs. George Elliott, &c.—In the evening take a short drive, and have a quiet party.—Heard many ridiculous and idle reports to-day, of the intended etiquettes of Government House. I am sure they will never be carried into effect, if Lady Loudon allows herself time to learn anything of the society here, or Lord Moira forms the least acquaintance with his subjects. before the next intended drawing room.

Saturday, 9th. Sir G. in council all day.—My time spent as usual.—A few gentlemen at dinner, in addition to our own staff.

Sunday, 10th. Not well enough to attend church.—Sir G. read prayers, and we passed a quiet day.—Only the staff, and a few gentlemen, at dinner, at 8.

Monday, 11th. The day cooler, and I am [227] much the better for the repose of yesterday, and seeing my dear Nugent so much less annoyed, he having now made up his mind to the future.—Had crowds of visitors all the morning; and, in the evening, Lady Loudon made me a *visit in state*, before we took our drive. She seems very anxious, about the ceremonies to be observed in her situation; but I could not much enlighten her on the subject, and, especially when she wished to know if her jemindar was not disrespectful, in coming into her presence in his shawl. He should, I believe, take off his slippers at the door, our people always do; but I think the shawl and scimitar are part of the insignia of his office.—After all this, Sir G. and I had a great scramble to get to our different dinners; he to meet Lord Moira, at Sir Henry Russell's and I to meet a party assembled at Mr. and Mrs. Strettell's, that had been long invited in our account.—Very late, and very much fatigued.

Tuesday, 12th. My dearest little George's birth-day.—Re-

member him, most particularly, in my prayers, and may the Almighty bless him, and make him always happy!

[228] At daylight, received a letter from Lady Loudon, pressing me to come to the Government House, to see Sir G. invested, by Lord Moira, with the Order of the Bath. The heat was great, and Dr. Leny thought I had better not risk the fatigue; however, I decided upon going, at 12 o'clock, Lady Charlotte Murray and Mrs. Nicolls being my companions.—It was altogether a curious scene, both behind the curtain, and in the public hall, and I rejoiced, for my dear N's sake, when all was over. Lord Moira's speech, on the occasion, was thought most extraordinary and several people expressed indignation, at the want of delicacy of one part of it, when he took occasion to say, that Sir G. was shorn of his honours, meaning his patronage, which was certainly an odd way of expressing it. I do not think, however, he meant any real offence, but merely to display his own grandeur and eloquence. &c. I have his speech in print, and mean to keep it, as a curious specimen of his mistaken view of things.—Sir G. dined with Sir John Royds, who had invited a large party to meet us, but the fatigue of the morning made me incapable of going.

[229] Wednesday, 13th. The public day, and the party a crowd. All came up to the drawing room in succession, and it was late before the party dispersed.—At 3, a crowd of ladies, to consult about court dresses, &c., and I am solicited to present almost the whole society, at the first drawing room, which is to be held on Friday next, the 15th.—Poor George Fortescue very unwell; and I was so tired, in the evening, that we agreed to remain at home, instead of attending the grand dinner given by Mr. and Mrs. Ricketts, to Lord Moira and Lady Loudon, &c.—Sir G. and the staff went, but got home again before 11 o'clock.

Thursday, 14th. All the morning, crowds of visitors again.—In the evening, we gave a dinner to the 14th regiment; only two ladies—To bed at 12 o'clock.

Friday, 15th. Fortescue better.—I am myself still poorly, but obliged, all the morning, to answer notes, about dress, and see various ladies, on the subject of feathers—gave Mrs. Lindsay a set of my own, Johnstone helping to show how they [230] must be placed, &c. In short it was indeed a busy day, and a still busier evening.

Only the staff to dinner ; but, before we had left the table, a number of ladies began to assemble, and we proceeded to the drawing room, at the Government House. There was much awkwardness, and no little confusion, in the presentations ; but, according to Lord M's. remark, it will no doubt be better understood another time. After the drawing room, there were two commerce tables. I played at Lord Moira's, and Sir George at Lady Loudon's, table. A guinea each was put in the pool, and a hint given, that the winner would of course bestow it on the pages ; but old general MacDonald, when he was successful, pocketed the whole, with great glee, and did not seem at all to comprehend the hint. This was Lady Loudon's table. I was *dead* and so tired, I was glad to take my leave, before the General, &c. finished ; so I don't know how the matter was arranged at Lord M's table ; but the whole seemed to be much quizzed by the company. It was past 12 before we got home, and I was all the worse for [231] standing so long. However, a little rest will set all right again, I dare say.

Saturday, 16th. The morning as usual.—Sir G. in council, and I tried to rest, to gain strength for our great doings to-day.—At 8 in the evening, an immense dinner party. Three rooms open, for dining. Lord Minto, and all the principal people of this society, present. Nothing could go off better ; but it was really a most cruel fatigue altogether, and very late before we got rid of our guests.

Sunday, 17th. The atmosphere like a vapour bath, and the church most dreadfully hot. We passed as quiet a day as the state of my poor N's mind will admit of ; but he has, hourly, vexations and worries from Government House, and it is now evident, that nothing will satisfy Lord Moira, but the certainty of his resigning his appointment, and returning to Europe.—I feel all this sensibly, indeed, and it has a most uncomfortable effect upon my health—but I must do my best, and trust that all will end well. If my dear husband's health is but preserved, it [232] is all I ask ; but, amidst these constant annoyance, I have a thousand fears.

Monday, 18th. Much the same as yesterday.—Sir G's spirits, if any thing, better. A small dinner party in the evening, and to bed early.

Tuesday, 19th. Quite unwell. The weather and vexation contribute to keep me so.—A dinner given to us, by Mr. Arderly; but I could not attend it. All the staff went with Sir G., and I retired to my bed, immediately after they left the house.

CHAPTER XX (pp. 233-275)

Chasm in the Journal.—Severe Illness of the Writer.—Departure of General Skinner.—Sir George resigns.—Sermon to the Freemasons.—All Calcutta Freemason-mad.—A Demele to arrange between two Ladies.—Visits, Dinner Parties, and Assemblies.—The most agreeable Occupation of the Writer.—Lord Moira at the Theatre.—Freemason's Ball.—A drive through the Bazaar.—Succession of Engagements.—Dancers in danger.—Go to a Nautch at Raja Ramchunder Roy's.—Receive a Present of Indian Coins.—Going out of the Dauk, or Post.—Festival of the Choorig Poojah.—Extraordinary Scene at the Poojah.—Penance-doers.—The Festival of the Rah Poojah.—Horrors Committed at it.—Caught in a North Wester.—The Nawaub of Barrack—Rival Dinners.—Odd Reception of Lady Loudon's.—Tremendous Hail-storm.—Fete at Commodore Hayes's.—Singular Fireworks.—Former Consequence of a Hail-storm.—A Protege in Disgrace.—Visit to Sir John Royds.—Character of Sir John.—The Botanic Garden.—A noble Banyan Tree.—The Lichis.—Return to Calcutta.

[233] Here is a great chasm in my Journal, for I have been very ill. In the night of the 19th [234] or rather the morning of the (October) 20th, I was taken exceedingly ill, and did not leave my apartment till the 22d of November (1813).

On the 24th I gave an assembly, and was very nearly confined to my room again, in consequence of the fatigue; but my reason for having company so soon was, on account of Lord Minto and his family being about to take their departure for England, and wishing to receive them in public, before they left Calcutta.—Lady Hood arrived in Calcutta, that morning, and came to me in the evening.—All went off beautifully, and we parted with mutual satisfaction.—I began to go out, as usual, on Christmas day, when we dined with Sir John Royds, to meet Sir Edward and Lady East.

Several events have taken place, since I left off writing my Journal regularly. My poor dear brother sailed in the Salsette frigate, for Bombay, being appointed to the staff there, and will

act as commander in chief, till the new commander in chief comes out.—Lady Hood went off, to the Upper Province, a few days afterwards.—Sir G. has resigned, and means to go home, by the first [235] fleet that sails next year.—The idea of this is a real cordial to my mind, and has contributed much to the re-establishment of my health; and, though I look sadly, I am certainly much better than I have been, for a long time, and I trust, with a little care, to get well through this last year.

Sir G., and all the staff, were with us, at church, on Christmas day. A charity sermon was preached, and the collection exceeded 6,000 rupees—more than £ 700 English.—The weather cool, but exceedingly damp still, and certainly not comfortable; but anything is better here than the great heat of summer.

Sunday, 26th. We all went to church again, and called on various invalid friends, &c, afterwards.

Monday, 27th. The day as usual. Many morning visitors, till 2 o'clock.—Sir Frederick and Lady Hamilton, the Watsons, &c, &c, to dinner.

This being St. John's day, there was a sermon preached for the masons, and they all dined together afterwards—All Calcutta is now free—[236] mason-mad, and much amusement is afforded, in consequence. A gentleman has given me, in confidence, a book, that tells all the secrets, and I mean to puzzle Fortescue, Fraser, &c, and all the young masons, with my knowledge.—A ball is talked of, and Lord Moira seems to delight in it all, as much as the most youthful of the society.

Tuesday, 28th. The weather so cool, that Sir G. and I made many visits this morning, and then rested, instead of driving out this afternoon, that we might the more enjoy a very large dinner party, of civil and military, who remained till a later hour than usual, and we did not get to bed till much past twelve.

Wednesday, 29th. The early part of the day, as usual.—Make a large party to attend the public rooms in the evening, to prop up the poor proprietors' falling fortunes. An immense crowd, and all very gay.—Home soon after 2, but much too late for a climate and country like this.

Thursday, 30th. Visitors and notes all the morning.—A de-mele to arrange, between Lady H. and Mrs. B. Both very silly women, in my [237] humble opinion.—In the evening, dine with Colonel and Mrs. Nicolls.

I don't speak of public affairs, for we try to think of them as little as possible.—I have arranged with Lady Loudon, to have my Wednesdays, and she has her Fridays, and talks of Saturdays too. I have offered to change my day, or do exactly as she liked, that I might not interfere with her, &c. But Friday and Saturday being council days, she will come in from Barrackpore, and, in short, those days will suit her best. Lord M. pursues the system he began with; but now that Sir G. has told him he will resign, &c., all goes on more smoothly. Still it requires some *patience*, as there is such a mixture of vanity and folly together, that it makes one sick.

Friday, 31st. Sir G. in council all the morning.—Surrounded myself with visitors, till past 2 o'clock; for, now the weather is so much cooler, people can come out in the middle of the day.—Go to a grand ball, given by Mr. Rock, and Mr. and Mrs. Pattle, who are living with him. Not at home again till past two o'clock.

[238] Saturday, January 1st, 1814. This is the first day of the new year, and I thank God, most humbly, for all his mercies and blessings, bestowed upon us, and ours, and pray, most sincerely, that we may be worthy of the continuance of them, and that we may deserve once more to see our dear children, and friends in our native land!—At home, and quiet at dinner, and agreed to remain in, this one evening so sent an excuse to Government House, on account of being so late last night.

Sunday, 2d. After church, a few visitors. Only our own staff, and three or four military men, at dinner. To bed early.

Monday, 3d. Went out, and made many visits in the sociable, this morning, as it was so much cooler, than usual.—Took another drive, on the course, in the evening, and dined afterwards at Mrs. Rees's.

Tuesday, 4th. The morning much as usual.—A drive, and a large dinner party in the evening.—All the company in great spirits, as it was so cool that the punkahs were scarcely necessary, and our guests did not depart till twelve.

[239] Wednesday, 5th. In the morning, many visitors.—Merely a staff dinner, but a crowd in the evening, who all danced merrily, till past 12, and then took their leave.

Thursday, 6th. Visitors as usual—*now*, in the *morning*; and Sir G., as usual, shut up with boxes of papers.—In the evening,

I begged to stay at home, and sent my excuse, by the gentlemen, to Colonel and Mrs. Fagan, who give a grand dinner to-day.—Sir G. better than he has been, as the cooler weather agrees with him.—Thank God!

Friday, 7th. Sir G. in council, and I in company, all the morning, as usual. At 2, I was left to myself, and at 6, when he returned home, we took our drive, and then dressed for Mrs. Monro's dinner and ball.—Left the party at 12, and were glad to get home again.

Saturday, 8th. Visitors, as soon as breakfast was over. Lady Loudon, from 11 till 2. Much talk upon various matters, particularly on the subject of Captain G. and Miss M.—Our usual drive.—An immense dinner party at home, and [240] then went to the ball at Government house, in the evening. To bed at twelve.—It is unfortunate, that Saturday should be a ball day; it makes one so good for nothing on Sunday morning—but it can't be helped.

Sunday, 9th. Up at 6. To church at 10.—Made a few visits after, and I am sorry to say, our dinner party was made up by degrees to twenty-four; but this is considered rather a small number here, and moreover, Sunday is but little remembered. Alas! alas!

Monday, 10th. Another day of business, and visitors, and another large dinner party.

Tuesday, 11th. The morning as usual. In the evening, Mrs. Edmonstone's dinner, and a crowd.

Wednesday, 12th. Visitors, after Sir G's breakfast.—Many at dinner, and a crowd in the evening; for this is now *our* day. All very lively and agreeable. The Governor, Lady L. &c, all very gracious.

Thursday, 13th. Dined with Mrs. Churchill. and attended Lady East's first assembly.

[241] Friday, 14th Sir G. in council, and after our drive in the evening, an immense dinner party at home.

Saturday, 15th. The usual morning, and a grand dinner at Government house—Much conversation with Lady L. about the Orphan School, &c.

My Journal is very dull, but I live in such a bustle, and such continual fatigue, that I have no time, or thoughts, for enquiry or remarks. My most agreeable occupation is, when I can

steal a moment to myself, to shut my eyes, and build castles, on the subject of England, and my dear children. God grant that we may live to realize them !

Sunday, 16th. Church in the morning.—Sir G. dined with the 24th regiment, to meet General Gillespie. I took my dinner at the usual hour, and went to bed, before he came home, having been glad to get a little rest, after the fatigues of last week.

Monday, 17th. The morning as usual.—The play in the evening was very tolerably performed, and all went off extremely well. Lord M. bowed [242] to the audience afterwards, and I am sure felt himself quite a king ; and indeed, we were all in great state, and very great people.

Tuesday, 18th. The morning as usual.—A large dinner-party, and we all attended the birth-night ball, in the evening.

Wednesday, 19th. The usual morning.—A dinner at Mr. Rees's.—Returned early to receive my company at home, this being my evening ; and we had a greater crowd than ever.

Thursday, 20th. A dinner and ball, at Mrs. Watson's.

Friday, 21st. A day of fatigue for Sir G.—A review.—Council.—A large dinner at home, and then we all went to the Free Mason's ball. Surprised some of the old Masons, by shaking hands with them, especially Mynheer Von Braam, &c. Lord Moira seemed to enjoy himself particularly, and really appears to be very easily amused, with anything like show, &c. ; and I must think him a good-natured man, where his own interest, or consequence is not concerned. I like Lady Loudon very much, though she appears, at times, very tenacious, and fanciful. [243] about little matters. But we have all our foibles, and I am sure I have no right to find fault, or remark upon any one.

Saturday, 22d. Council as usual, and an immense dinner-party in the evening.

Sunday, 23d. Sir G. unwell this morning, and we did not go to church. Read prayers in my room, and made it a day of rest in every respect.

Monday, 24th. Sir G's cold better, and he was busy with his papers all the morning.—I had crowds of visitors, till 4.—Drove out, as usual, in the evening, and dined with Mr. and Mrs. Larkin.

Tuesday, 25th. Wrote English letters, and had a real burrah khaunnah, in the evening.

Wednesday, 26th. Saw company till 2.—Gave up my own evening.—Dined at Lady East's.—Lord Moira in the evening.

Thursday, 27th. Sir G. reviewed the troops at Barrackpore, and dined with the military.—Fortescue and I dined at General Blair's, and went to Lady East's second assembly, in the evening.

[244] Friday, 28th. A grand review; after which, Sir G. ordered a feu-de-joie, in honour of Lord Wellington's victory, in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees. It is glorious, but alas! how many aching hearts are made by such glorious events!—At 10, Sir G. returned home, only to leave it again, for council, where he remained till a late hour.—This has been a day of fatigue to us both, and I rejoiced that we had only a family party at dinner.

Saturday, 29th. I went with Sir George to Government House, and sat an hour with Lady Loudon, and then made a few visits, as the morning was cool, with a few slight showers.—Sir G. did not return from council till near 6 o'clock, but our evening was again quiet, and we enjoyed it.

Sunday, 30th. To church at 10. Made a few visits after, then spent the rest of the day quietly, till 6 o'clock, when we took our drive through the Bazaars, and were much amused, with the merchandise, and the odd dresses of the merchants. Saw many opium smokers, who looked horribly—so thin, and so hollow eyed.

[245] Monday, 31st. Visitors came pouring in, before we had half done breakfast.—The morning as usual.—Sir G. and I liked our explorings so well yesterday, that we drove, this evening, to the regular Chinese bazaar.—Every thing was most exceedingly curious, and we should be tempted to make many purchases, if it were not for the trouble of getting them to England.

Before I went home, to dress for dinner, I visited a poor sick woman, with Mr. Colman. She is the wife of a soldier, and is in the most melancholy state. It was altogether so sad a scene that I must try to forget it.—Dined, today, at Sir E. East's and went, with a large party afterwards, to General and Mrs Blair's ball. What a contrast to the scene I had witnessed a few hours before!

Tuesday, February 1st. Visitors in the morning, and a large dinner-party in the evening.—I shall now, for some time, only keep a diary of engagements, for I am in such a continual round,

and have so much fatigue, that I cannot write at any length, nor indeed is there anything to say, for all dinners and balls are nearly [246] alike, and these are my only occupations at present, and there are no events now, or any thing else, to speak of. . . .

Sunday, 6th. To church at 10.—A party of gentlemen at dinner.—Receive a present from [247] Kallinger, of a crystal Hindoo god, dug up in the ruins of the fort, ten or twelve feet below the surface of the earth.

[248] Thursday, 24th.—A dinner to Mr. and Mrs. Palmer and family—their daughter on her marriage with Mr. Hobhouse.

(March) Tuesday, 8th. The poor dear baby (of Lady Charlotte M's, delivered on Friday, 4th) is out of danger, and all going on well.—In the evening, a small dinner party. We all attended a nautch. given by the Rajah Ramchunder Roy, to celebrate the marriage of his son, a great, fat, clumsy-looking, stupid boy, about twelve or fourteen years of age; the bride did not appear, but she is, I am told, not more than five or six. The illuminations were beautiful, and the whole appearance exceedingly gay. I saw the mammas in the Zenana, and complimented them on the marriage. They were dressed in silver and gold muslins, with jewels, &c. and the whole put me much in mind of the Arabian Nights. (pp. 249-250).

April, 5th. Tuesday. The day quiet. Received a present of coins, from Mr. Chester, of Malden (Maldah). A gold mohur and two rupees, dug up in the ruins of Gour, and supposed to be near six centuries old; a small gold coin and a rupee of the Emperor Shah Jehan; and various specimens of the gold and silver coins of India. All these I will treasure up, for my dear children, and as curiosities for my English friends . . . (p. 253).

DAWK

[254] Wednesday, (April) 6th (1814). The day quiet, and we finished our letters before we drove out. I could not help remarking, in our drive, how true it is, if you do not put down any thing new, as it occurs, how familiar it soon becomes, and then passes unnoticed. This observation was occasioned by seeing the dauk, or post, go out this evening, which is so unlike any thing of the kind in England; and yet I don't recollect ever mentioning it before. There are three men; one carries the

bangy, or basket, which holds the letters.—I should say rather, baskets for there is one for letters and another for packages—these are equally balanced, and swung, by a light bamboo, over the man's shoulders. The other carries a torch, for they always set off at night, and travel night and day. The third man has a tomtom on which he beats incessantly, to keep off tigers and other wild beasts. They all three run very fast, keeping close to each other, for the light is as necessary to keep off tigers as the music, and the dauk, or postman, is always between the two others.

CHARAK FESTIVAL

[256] . . Sunday, 10th (April, 1814). Easter Sunday. Awoke at daylight, by all sorts of noises, this being the commencement of one of the great Hindoo holidays, called the Churruk-Poojah. —I suppose this is the god of the spring season, as Doorga Poojah means the goddess of the Atumn. To church early. The rest of the day at home, and only our own staff at dinner. I could not help thinking these Pagan noises were a real profanation of the day, but it can't be helped; the native customs must not be interfered with, yet [257] it is most unfortunate that this holiday should this year fall on Easter Sunday. . . . We have been to the Poojah, and a most disgusting sight it is; and melancholy indeed to think, that human beings should so torment and degrade themselves, from a false idea of religion. But I will try to describe the extraordinary scene. First, as in all holiday meetings, there were groups of dancing people, that is, parties of men, with very little clothing on, squatting on the ground, with each his hookah, and looking at the evolutions of Nautch women, which is one of their greatest amusements. These women were ornamented with beads and tinsel, and looked very gay.—Then there were jugglers, all, I am told, very expert; but we did not stay to look at their tricks. Groups of opium eaters, sitting in a circle, and looking like drunken skeletons—such miserable wretches I never saw [258] before, and it is impossible to describe! Then, there were poor sinners, doing penance in various ways. But the most shocking sight is the swinging; this is done by the unfortunate creature having iron hooks passed through the sinews of his back, and by these he is sus-

pended to a high pole. The wretched man, whom we saw begin this penance, appeared at first to be in torture, for he drew up his legs, as if in great pain, catching at the rope by which he was suspended, as if to relieve himself; but, soon after, he was apparently at ease, and went round and round, as fast as possible, distributing flowers, &c. to the mob, who all scrambled for them, as sacred relics. It seems these swinging people, like many others who do penance, are hired by the priests who make vows, and have the option of performing by proxy. One swinging man let fly a white pigeon, and he is most fortunate indeed that catches it; crowds were running in every direction, for the prize.

As I turned, with horror and disgust, from the wretch who was swinging, to Sir E. East's and Sir G.'s great amusement, a man thrust his [259] head in my face, with his tongue out, and a great iron rod passed through it. I started back, and he made signs for a rupee, which was given him.

At a little distance from the carriage, were men doing penance, by being driven in strings, like horses, going to a fair in England, but the reins were passed through holes made in the flesh, on each side of them, and the pain must have been dreadful. But I will not enumerate all the many horrors, that superstition and ignorance lead these poor infatuated creatures to commit, or submit to.

The Rah-Poojah, or sacrifice by carriages, is another and still more horrid festival than either the Doorga-Poojah, or the Churruk-Poojah. Men are often crushed under these shocking machines, as sacrifices to their gods. Now, it is not done openly, but as if by accident; they are however, prepared, by dress, &c. and then the crowd presses upon them, as if their fall was unintentional. The Ayah told me, she saw a beautiful boy, all dressed in gold and flowers, and in a few minutes he was under the wheels, and his [260] parents rejoiced, because he went to Brama. But I will not distress myself with these horrid descriptions, for I have drawings of all the ceremonies, and they are hardly credible. Sir G. could hardly be persuaded that all the apparent torments were not juggling tricks; but what we saw, this evening, were too evident to be doubted. Only Sir E. East, his son, and Captain Fountaine, in addition to our staff party this evening, when we all talked over the horrors of the day, with wonder and execration.

[261] . . . Saturday, 16th. (April 1814). The morning as usual. In the evening, Sir G. and I drove out *tete a tete*, and, the dust being laid by the late storms, we extended our drive beyond Allypore, instead of remaining on the course, which is always watered.—Last night, it thundered frightfully, and the rain fell in torrents all night, and the air was in consequence most delightfully fresh, this evening, for Calcutta.—On our return we had an immense burrah khaunnah, and all the party were merry.

[262] . . . Tuesday, 19th (April, 1814) . . . Caught in a dreadful north wester, just after we left the course. It was an awful and sublime sight indeed, but most truly alarming.—Went in palanquins to Mr. Monroe's dinner, on account of the weather. The thunder and lightning were frightful.—Home at 12.—Much rain, and the air cooler.

The party, this evening, was pronounced to be very stupid by some ladies, but I thought it the [263] reverse; for I was much amused, in the first place, at dinner, by the Nawaub of Barrack, who piques himself on his descent from the great Timur, and calls himself a Mussulman; but I am sure all the native attendants, particularly those of his own religion, must have been shocked at his conduct, for he drank more wine than any other guest, and, at last, appeared quite tipsy, looking as silly and foolish as possible; he retired, in consequence, very early after dinner.

[264] . . . Thursday, 21st. (April, 1814). Early visitors today; and much discussion about the invitations given from Government House, to some of the party engaged here this evening to dine. Insist upon the Lindsay's (Mr. & Mrs. Lindsay, just married and arrived in Calcutta from Madras on 31st March) not coming to us, and try to prevail upon others, especially the young people, to do the same. General and Mrs. Blair, and several others, are also invited to Lord Moira's dinner, but have excused themselves, on account of their prior engagement to us, and particularly as Fridays and Saturdays have always been Government-House days, and they could not anticipate a change. In the evening therefore we had a large dinner party, having filled up the vacant places, made by the Lindsay's.

We all went, before 11 o'clock, to Lady Loudon's soiree.—An odd reception!—General and Mrs. Blair not spoken to, and most others not noticed; and it was late in the evening before

Lady L. had even time to ask me how I did. Before we went away, however, she seemed to [265] think better of it, and we had a little conversation, particularly on the subject of the Orphan School, and the new arrangements she proposes, &c, and which I endeavoured to point out would be very unpopular, with the Indian or Bengal army—However, on one point we entirely agreed, and that was, the abolition of the monthly balls, as I do think they can only lead to entrapping young and inexperienced men into half-caste marriages, and must also be productive of other mischief.—Home and to bed by 10 o'clock.

Friday, 22d. (April, 1814) . . . About 5 o'clock, a tremendous hail storm—Many hailstones were picked up, by our servants, of a very large size, and Mr. Monckton, the Persian interpreter, who lives near half a mile [266] from us, sent me a large pudding dish, full of them ; many were as large as pigeon's eggs, although they must have melted, and lost some of their size, on the way. Yet the heat has been dreadful to-day, and the atmosphere like a vapour-bath. We could not take our drive, on account of the storm, but walked about the house, and veranda, for a little exercise, before we dressed for a fete, given by Commodore Hayes. It was in the true Indian style, and ended with a ball and supper, and magnificent Chinese fireworks, that really succeeded beautifully, in spite of the poor man's apprehension, of their being spoilt by the storm this afternoon. I opened the ball with Major M'Leod, Lady Loudon's uncle. All was good humour, throughout the whole evening, and we did not get home till past 2 o'clock . . [267] . . my darling boys particularly would have enjoyed the (fireworks) scene, as a regular battle was carried on by two parties of soldiers, formed by the ingenious Chinese artists, and the vanquished party was sent up into the air, and quite demolished, by the last explosion. It was very curious indeed, and I may say wonderful, and Lord M., Lady L. &c. were as much amused and astonished as I was, and she too wished for her little ones, for a short time.

Saturday, 23d. Did not get up till 8, on account of our dissipation of last night.—Colonel Loveday was of our breakfast party, who, upon talking of the hail storm yesterday, told me, that formerly such an event was the signal for a jolly party, the hail being generally sufficient to ice the wine, which was a great treat in those days, as they had not the means of procuring

the luxury of ice, which we enjoy at present. Now refreshing it must have been, and is indeed to us to-day, for the *abdar* is constantly employed cooling the water, and yet we are never satisfied. The weather is, indeed, most oppres-[268]sive ; such a damp, vapour heat . . .

BOTANICAL GARDEN

[272] . . . Tuesday, 3d. (May, 1814) . . . At 6, we all went to the Botanical Garden. However, a tornado being threatened, poor dear old Sir John (Royds) thought it wise to hasten back to Calcutta, for the night. Sir E. East and his son [273] Mr. J. East, did not remain long after, as they had engagements in Calcutta ; so Sir G. and I had a delightful stroll alone, and explored the garden to perfection, as the threatened storm did not come on, and the moon came out, as bright as day. The plants were not all new to us, as we had seen many of them in the West Indies, but the garden is beautifully laid out, and kept in excellent order. The house is tolerably good, and delightfully situated, on a projecting bank of the river, and the superintendant seems to live much at his ease, and very comfortably.

The most splendid banyan tree is nearly in the middle of the garden, the branches of which extend to an immense distance, and form a magnificent bower. The walks under it, and all round, and indeed those of the whole garden, are nicely gravelled, so there is no concealment for reptiles, and therefore, one can walk, and admire, without fear. I should not omit to mention, among the various beautiful trees, and flowering shrubs, the *lichis*, it is so pretty, and picturesque ; the leaf is of the darkest green, and the fruit of the lightest scarlet. It is also most refreshing to the [274] taste, or palate, which is not generally the case with tropical fruits, they being often insipid, and merely watery, so as to allay thirst only, while the *lichis* has the most grateful acid.—Returned home to our little castle, before half-past 9 ; had a little ice and biscuit ; and went to bed, quite cool and comfortable.

CHAPTER XXI (pp. 276-303)

[277] . . . Saturday, 7th (May, 1814) . . . I have undertaken, in conjunction with Lady Loudon, a tedious investigation of

the Orphan School establishment. It is a delicate subject to interfere with, on account of native prejudices, &c; and it appears to me that the best plan would be, to establish something distinct from it, so as gradually to remedy the evil. In the midst of all, there is so much anxiety expressed, about etiquette, and unpopularity, that I am surprised any change is attempted. . .

[278] . . . Monday, 9th (May) . . I passed the morning in finishing my document, about the Orphan School, and despatched it, in the evening, to Sir G., to deliver to Lady L.—

[279] . . . Wednesday, 11th . . . To my surprise, at 2 o'clock, Sir G. and Fortescue made their appearance, being tired of their visit, and finding the weather tolerably cool. After a cheetah hunt, at daylight, a breakfast with Lord M., and a prose, they were glad to get home again

Saturday, 14th (May, 1814). Lady Loudon, Miss Ross, &c, at 10—had a great deal of conversation, on the subject of the school, &c; and I think she seems to take the same view of matters that I do. She is a well intentioned, but a fidgetty woman, [280] and I am sure I should like her much, and she would probably not dislike me, if it were not for our relative situations, which makes her take a false notion of my conduct, and, in consequence, hers is not comfortable.

[281] . . . Friday, 20th (May). Government House . . . A most extraordinary and curious exhibition of juggling men and women, from Madras; but their feats are too long to describe, and the heat is so great, that all occupation, even writing the commonest note, or reading a few pages, fatigues me sadly.

[285] . . . Wednesday, June 1st . . . We were almost blown over (by the northwester) from the church (after the marriage of Gilbert with Miss Isabella Ross) to the Government-House, when we all mounted our favors, and looked like so many Medusas, for our hair was all blown into snakes, and strips, by the gale. Lady Loudon made a toilette; but we had not the same advantage, of a dressing room, so we kept each other in countenance, by smoothing our locks, as well as we could, with our fingers.—

[286] . . . Monday, 6th (June) . . . Before 10, went to the Government House; all the world assembled. Many Armenians most splendidly dressed, in their odd costume.—The ladies had

towers on their heads, sparkling with various jewels. The heat was dreadful.

[289] . . . Wednesday, 15th Sir G. having taken cold, which has given him the lumbago. was very unwell all day . . . Friday, 17th. Sir G. much better to-day, from the application of cajeput oil to his back . . .

[290] Monday, 20th June. Sir G. rather better. At 10, I went to Government House, to attend the disputation, which was very curious, and very interesting. Lord Moira made a long speech himself.

[291] Friday, 24th (June). Up soon after 4.—All Calcutta in a bustle, for Lord M. &c., embark at Champaul Ghaut, before sunrise. The troops were out, and all due honours paid.—At 10 o'clock, Sir G. took his seat as Vice President, under a salute, and usual ceremonies.

[294] Tuesday, 28th (June). (Some few years ago, the Rajah of Nepaul sent ambassadors to the Calcutta Government, on the subject of a negotiation, relative to the trading between the Nepaulese and the Company). "The Rajah's orders were, to have the men to write him anything new and extraordinary, that they saw. Among other things, they reported, that the River Hooghly ran part of the day one way, and part of the day another. Having no idea of tide, and knowing nothing beyond the Ganges, and the streams that issue from the mountains, and make their way into the sea, he recalled the ambassadors, as people not to be trusted, having set out with telling him such falsehoods and impositions".

July 1st.—Dined at 5 o'clock, to go to the amateur play. Were received with "God save the King".—Great applause, all standing up when we came into the theatre. The play was exceedingly well performed, and all over before 12 o'clock (p. 295)

CHAPTER XXII (pp. 304-339)

[305] Monday, July 25th. . . . On Tuesday (26th July 1814) Sir G. held a durbar, which was attended by all the natives of rank, at present in Calcutta. The Persian ambassador was introduced, and presented a letter from his king—when Sir G. took it into his hands, a salute of 19 guns was fired, and in short there were many ceremonies on the occasion, too tedious to relate.—

[306] Friday, 29th (July). A play this evening. In the midst of the performance Sir G. received an express, announcing a ship in sight with *P.E.A.C. E.* at her mast head—All the audience stood up, and “Rule Britannia”, and “God save the King”, were sung. Before we got home to bed, an express from Bombay arrived, with the joyful news of the abdication of Bonaparte, and the restoration of the Bourbons.

Wednesday, 10th (August). Mr. Seton, with his two little Malay Princes, to breakfast with us. (p. 309).

Sunday, 10th (August). Mr. Monckton and young Annesley, (Lord Mountnorris's son), at dinner ; but I only joined the party at coffee. (p. 310).

Friday, 19th (August). On entering the theatre, we were greeted with every demonstration of kindness, and I am sure we ought to feel flattered, and very grateful, although it is a little awkward and distressing, at the moment.—Have the elder Malay Prince next to me ; his name is Selim, and I was much pleased, and entertained, with his remarks, for he is a most intelligent promising boy, and Mr. Seton takes the greatest pains with them both. (pp. 311-312).

Wednesday, 31st (August). The rain has been like a water spout, and everything is floating around us. (pp. 313-314).

Thursday, September 1st. To-day, I had a long discussion with Doctor Luxmore, who is desirous of establishing a lying-in hospital. I cannot agree with him, that it is at all necessary, or likely to meet with encouragement, in this country. Indeed, everything is so different from Europe, that what might be a most excellent institution there, would be totally useless here. Don't give Dr. L. any encouragement, to expect success in his plans.—(p. 314).

Wednesday, 4th (Sept.) Lady Hood soon after 8, to pass the day with me.—Sir G. not well ; so he left us to receive visitors, &c.—She smoked her hookah almost the whole morning, to my great astonishment. At 5, she went home to make her toilette. (pp. 318-319).

Friday, 30th (Sept.). Sir G. in council.—A few at dinner, at 5 o'clock, and the theatre at 7. (p. 321).

BARRACKPORE

Saturday, 15th (October, 1814). After council, made arrangements for leaving Calcutta, for a few days, and enjoying the fresher air of Barrackpore. Arrived there to dinner, before 8, after a most delightful drive.—Only Fraser of our party. (pp. 324-325).

[325] Sunday, 16th (October, 1814). Read prayers early.—A quiet morning.—In the evening some of our staff, and Mr. Monckton, to dine with us.—A delightful drive, and really enjoy beyond any thing the respite from crowd and dust.

Monday, 17th and till Monday 24th (October), giving dinners to the cantonment, driving out every evening, and seeing all that is to be seen in this place, and neighbourhood ; all of which we enjoyed exceedingly, for our dinners were late, and did not last long, and the rest of the time we had entirely to ourselves.—Barrackpore itself is a very pretty place, from the manner in which the grounds are laid out, and the beautiful reach of the river, in front of it. The opposite shore is very picturesque, and, altogether, in spite of the flat and monotonous nature of the country, it has appeared to us almost a paradise, from the change and quiet, and the comparative coolness of the atmosphere.

Tuesday, 25th. We return to Calcutta and to all our old bustles and fatigues.—(p. 325).

Thursday, 3d (November). The morning as usual.—Inspected the menagerie, for the second time. Sir G. in danger, from one of the huge ostriches. The black leopard is a frightful animal, but much admired by the gentlemen of our party. However, I have no taste for these things, and therefore, shall not attempt to describe them. (p. 329).

Saturday, 19th (November). Much bustle all day.—Much discussion, about the sailing of the fleet, the reception of the bishop, which is soon to take place, &c., and last, but not least in interest, the ball which our society of Calcutta intend to us.—A deputation of gentlemen, and fix the 15th of December for the grand fete. (p. 335).

Thursday, 24th. I have scarcely a moment for my journal, or any reading, or writing whatever, except *chits*, or notes. (p. 336).

FIRST BISHOP'S ARRIVAL

Saturday, 26th. All things arranged for the reception of the bishop, who is expected almost immediately in Calcutta.

Sunday, 27th. The archdeacon, our old friend Mr. Loring, came early this morning, to announce the near approach of the bishop. He gives a delightful account of our dear children. (pp. 336-337).

Monday, 28th. Sir G. received the bishop this morning, with all the honors of war, and I went with him to Mr. Seton's, to show all possible civility, to Mrs. Christian Bishop, and her family, in this pagan country.—In the evening, a dinner and a crowded assembly. Mrs. Middleton, and her companion, Miss Sharpe, and all the new arrivals, were of the party. (p. 337).

Tuesday, 29th. The morning, as usual.—In the evening a grand *Burrah Khaunnah*, more especially for the bishop and the principal inhabitants; but have not room for more than half who must be invited on this grand occasion.

Wednesday, 30th. In the morning much bustle.—St. Andrew's day.—In the evening a dinner of nearly the same dimensions as yesterday. The bishop and his party much pleased.—Miss Sharpe is a little ugly old maid, but I am sure, by her many enquiries about Indian marriages, &c., that she means to look out for a husband immediately. Mr. Loring agrees with me, that this is really her intention, and I dare say she may find some one, who will be glad of the *bishop's patronage*. (pp. 337-338).

[338] . . Friday, December 2d (1814). Prayers in the church, this morning. The bishop installed, or took possession of his diocese, in due form.—This is our *grand* day, of all grand days.—We drove out early, and dined in *deshabille*, as soon as we returned, and then made a smart toilette and proceeded in great state to Government House. All the world assembled. The illuminations beautiful; the whole ground about Government House being lit with torches, and coloured lamps, as well as the house itself. In short, it was quite splendid.—I opened the ball at 10, and got through all my duties very satisfactorily. Supper was served at one, it really looked beautiful. The bishop talked of fairy land, and the Arabian Tales; and indeed in no country do they understand these sort of things better, than in this,—the size and lighting of the apartments, have such a good effect, and

all the illumination is, I believe, contrived by the skill of Chinese artists.—Home soon after 4. Dead tired, but quite satisfied ; that all our guests were so, and indeed they did appear particularly well pleased. (pp. 338-339).

FAREWELL

Chapter XXIII (pp. 341-388)

Friday, 16th (December, 1814). . . First, I must remark, that, for a considerable time past, this intended ball has been the subject of much attention. Dresses, &c. were discussed by the ladies, and all suitable arrangements, for giving eclat to the fete, were made by the gentlemen. I had been very solicitous about my dress, and had many tailors and embroiderers to work for me. It was a white satin, with a gauze over it, worked in flowers and festoons, of *real* silver and spangles—in short to look as brilliant as possible. My shoes were also embroidered, and this dress, with my own hair and diamonds, was my costume.—All the morning yesterday, we had much communication, about the hour of going to the ball, the exact spot where the carriage was to stop, &c.—As Sir G. is to have a public breakfast on our departure, this entertainment was solely *mine*, so I must be an egotist, and talk of I. (p. 344).

We had a quiet dinner, at 5, and at 9 were all ready for the ball. Our staff was in full uniform, and all very smart. As the carriage, in which Sir G. and I were, reached the appointed spot, we were met by twelve gentlemen, all wearing broad crimson ribbon, upon the left shoulder, across the breast, with the word "Farewell," in large gold letters. Two of them took each one of my hands, while the others followed, and I was conducted to a little sort of a throne, a few steps above all the other seats, with a canopy over it, all of Chinese crimson satin, and gold fringe. They then arranged themselves, on each side, the band playing "God Save the King" first, and then "Farewell to Lochaber." The crowd was very great, for almost all the company had assembled before our arrival. I ought to mention, that the rooms were all fitted up with crimson silk, gold, &c., and wreaths of flowers. In short, nothing could look more gay, or wear an aspect of more real eastern magnificence. (pp. 344-345).

After curtsies, to the curtsies and bows that were made to me, and after shaking hands, and saying all the civil things I could, in reply to the kind regrets, &c. that were expressed, I began the ball, with one of the stewards. I only danced one dance, and then devoted the rest of the evening to talking to many kind excellent friends, whom alas ! most probably, I shall soon lose sight of, for ever. At last, one o'clock came, and the supper was announced.

When the doors were thrown open, the scene was brilliant indeed. At the upper end, the grand table was laid, quite across the room.—I ought to have mentioned, that in the ball room there were several emblematical transparencies, and mottos.—I was conducted to the top of the table, by two stewards. The instant I took my place, there was lighted up, directly opposite to me, an immense transparency, representing the Indiaman we are to embark in, under full sail, with "Farewell" on her colours, and *supposed* England and Westhorpe, in the distance. The unexpected sight, the crash of music, and all eyes being upon me—in short, altogether, was almost too much for me, and it was with difficulty I kept my seat, and refrained from a passion of tears. (p. 346)

After supper, our healths were drank, with a most flattering speech from the president. Then there were many good wishes, passing round the table, and the band playing a merry tune, after the cheers of three times three. After a short pause, the president proposed my health by itself, with a few kind words, about my going from the duties of public life, to fulfil those which were more congenial to a mother's heart, &c.—or something of the sort. The stewards called for *nine times nine*, and the band was ordered to march round the table, playing all the time. (p. 347)

I tried, when I curtsied and bowed, to say "Thank you," but I could only drink water, and repeat my curtsies. It was, in fact, a scene I shall never forget, for the kindness it showed ; and as long as I live I shall feel *grateful to Calcutta*. In spite of the joy I must feel, at the prospect of once more seeing my native country, and my dear friends, and of embracing my darling children, still, as the time of our departure draws nigh ; it is a most painful sensation to me, to reflect upon, that I am about

to leave this place for ever. He heart could indeed be insensible, to the great kindness we have received, and which can never be forgotten, I am sure, by us. Leaving the ball even, was painful, but we talked of meeting our kind friends, again and again, before we sailed, and at 4, we got home to our beds. (pp. 347-348)

PUBLIC BREAKFAST AT TOWN HALL

At last, we entered the carriages, and drove to the Town-Hall (on December 27, 1814). All Calcutta were out to see the procession ; and the course, as we passed through, looked beautiful, and gay, with the brightest morning sun. The troops were out, and, as we approached the Town-Hall, we were met by a number of gentlemen, both civil and military. I put down my veil, and laid back in the carriage, not wishing to speak to any one. But, although I had got clear of the procession of ladies, I could not quite avoid something of the sort from the gentlemen. After I had set Sir G. down at the Hall, where the public breakfast was to take place, many walked on each side of the carriage, as it proceeded through the line of troops, to the Ghaut, and saw me safe to my boat. There we shook hands in silence, and, when I was left to myself, I gave vent to my feelings in a flood of tears, of such a mixed nature, that I can hardly say what was the predominant feeling at the moment. While the breakfast was going on, at the Town-Hall, I had constantly servants going backwards and forwards, with various nice things for me ; and several of our poor Hindoos took advantage of this, to come and make their last salaams. (pp. 354-355).

As soon as Sir G. had taken leave of the gentlemen in the Town-Hall, or rather, as soon as breakfast was over, he came down to the boat, attended by an immense party ; the troops presenting arms, as he passed through the line. I watched all from my cabin window, and should have been glad that no one came on board ; however, several did, and it was time before the final, melancholy "Farewell" was said, and then our little fleet dropped down below Fort William, that the salutes might be fired, and all the ceremonies gone through . . .

NOTES

- 1 Sir George Nugent (10th June 1757-11th March, 1849) was Commander-in-Chief of India in 1812-1814. He married at Belfast, on 16th November 1797, Maria, seventh daughter of Cortlandt Skinner, attorney-general of New Jersey, North-America, and by her had three sons and two daughters. She died in 1834. Particulars about Sir George Nugent can be had from the *British Dictionary of National Biography*.
- 2 "The boats in general use are budgerows. They are odd picturesque looking vessels, and have commonly, from twelve to eighteen or twenty oars. They are thought better than pinnaces for rowing, but not so safe for sailing, as they draw very little water, and are easily upset. The pinnace is a very imposing looking vessel, indeed, and when our little fleet was under sail, it really had the appearance of a large East or West Indian convoy.—There are boats innumerable on a smaller scale, that serve for kitchens, larders, bakeries, &c. &c; and the stable boat, which is called a putella, is really quite a complete thing of the kind. It has a roof made of bamboos, which answers the purpose of a deck; the horses are perfectly well accommodated within; and, as the doors are the sides open, or rather lift up, at pleasure, the poor animals can walk in and out, without being tortured with slings, &c, as I have seen them in Europe" (pp. II, 371-372).

5

CALCUTTA IN 1814*

By Anonymous

[197] "Setting aside the pleasure one naturally feels at the termination of a long voyage, and on arriving at the ultimate point of destination, the stranger will have little to admire till his arrival at Fultah. From the entrance of the Hooghly to the latter place, none of those objects which usually indicate the proximity of a flourishing metropolis are to be found. No public edifices, no gay villas, no crowded wharfs are to be seen. The shores on either side are inhospitable and dreary; and, excepting a few insignificant miserable villages, not a [198] house is to be seen. At Fultah, however, a few hours may be very agreeably spent at a tavern kept by Messrs. Higginson and Baldwin, where the passenger will meet with good accommodation, and be able to recruit his spirits after his fatiguing trip.

"The near approach to Calcutta, however, amply compensates for past disappointment, and he whose eye has been hitherto fatigued with gazing on uncultivated and barren shores, is equally surprised and delighted at the luxuriancy of the scene, as he approaches this famed city. Gardens tastefully laid out, and houses more resembling the palaces of princes, than the abodes of private gentlemen certainly contribute to give the stranger a most favourable idea of the metropolis of the British empire in the East.

* From the *SKETCHES OF INDIA; or, Observations Descriptive of the Scenery, &c, in BENGAL. Written in India, in the years 1811, 12, 13, 14; Together with notes on the Cape of Good-Hope, and St. Helena, written at those Places, in Feb., March, and April, 1815* (London: Printed for Black, Parbury, and Allen, Booksellers to the Hon. East-India Company, Leadenhall Street, 1816, pages 1-261), Chapter XIII (pp. 197-214). Chapter headings (Approach to Calcutta.—Fort William.—Government House.—Course.—Society.—Theatre.—Assembly Rooms.—Supreme Court.—Asiatic Museum.—Town Hall.—Auctions.—Nautches or Dances.—College of Fort William) omitted.

"Here the windings of the river greatly tend to increase the delight which the [199] appearance of a populous town is everywhere calculated to excite, after a voyage of some months duration ; and when, by a sudden turn, the fort, the town, shipping, &c. burst, for the first time, on the sight of the enraptured stranger, the coup-d'oeil, is magnificent beyond description. The rapidity of the current causing the boat to glide on at the rate of perhaps twelve miles an hour, the quick succession with which new objects of admiration present themselves, has the effect of realizing those tales of enchantment with which our early years have been amused ; and if, among this variety, the attention should be more particularly arrested by one object, it will undoubtedly be by Fort William, of which the regular architecture and commanding position are equally conspicuous.

"This fortress completely commands the town. It is a modern work, and is deservedly considered one of the first fortresses in the world. In Europe few can be compared with it, and in the other quarters of the globe it is assuredly unequalled. It is capable of containing twenty thousand men : its defences, indeed, require ten thousand to man them completely. Provisions, equal to six months consumption, are always in store at the fort ; and supposing it possible for it to be attacked at the shortest notice, by even the most powerful enemy, it is of all stations in the world the best calculated to offer a protracted and effectual resistance."

The above is an extract from a periodical work (called "the Vakeel") published a short time since at Calcutta. The author's descriptions are at once so lively and correct, that falling accidentally into my hands, when on the point of sketching that metropolis, I thought I [201] could not do better than preface this part of my work by their introduction.

The concourse of knaves of every description who gather around new-comers, follow them through the streets, and infest their places of residence, is, to an indifferent spectator, or to one who can foil them at their own arts, highly amusing, but to the unfortunate wight, ignorant of the language, unskilled in the ways of Bengalee Circars, (or Agents) and with no friend at hand to advise or direct him, it is far otherwise. His clothes disappear first—his money goes next—he knows neither the coins of the country, nor their value—for the worth of two pounds he

is lucky if he obtains one—and so on. Without a soul on whose recommendation for servants he can rely, he beholds himself the prey of sharpers of whose villainy he is well aware, though [202] utterly at a loss how to supply their place with others in whose fidelity he has confidence. Those servants who ply at *gauts*, or landing places, are usually of the very worst description ; and it is truly to be lamented, that these men, by speaking English, become so useful to the stranger, unacquainted with a single word of Hindoostanee, that all confidence is vested in them, of which, as may be supposed, they fail not to take every advantage.

One must not expect to see in Calcutta a city laid out and proportioned with the regularity usually characteristic of such places in Europe. Chouringhee, confessedly the most finished part of it, is a range of palaces at least a mile in extent, built with little or no order, some protruding, others receding ; each house three and four stories high, with its noble porticos and open verandahs, beautiful in itself, although the whole forms a collection of [203] buildings objectionable, as to regularity, correctness and just proportions.

This is to be regretted. Had each individual on purchasing ground been restricted in the order and elevation of his structure, Chouringhee would have been noblest street in the world ; and we should not, as at present, see it disfigured by a *melange* of edifices varying in the nicest discrimination of architecture.

The government house, erected by Lord Wellesly, at an expense to the Company of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, is centrally situate, near Chouringhee, and overlooking the Esplanade, or Hygeian Walk (so called by Sir W. Jones), on the banks of the Hooghly, the fashionable promenade of Calcutta. The river and its opposite banks compose a fine prospect. It is a magnificent, though heavy fabric ; but as the palace of the Governor [204] General of India, is well adapted to the country and its climate.

THE COURSE

The Course is the only drive for carriages. Here, in the cool of the evening, all the *beau monde* of Calcutta may daily be seen taking the air ; and the variety of equipages, dresses, and com-

plexions, from the elegant chariot or landaulet down to the covered cart of the native, from the blooming belle just arrived to the tawny skin of the Indian, present to the stranger a spectacle singularly unique.

All that has been said, or written, concerning the hospitality and kindness of the residents of Calcutta, falls far, indeed very far, short of the reality. A stranger no sooner arrives, properly introduced, than the house, servants, and even funds of the resident, are at his service. Every thing that may conduce to his health or amusement is in requisition; and time, which renders novelty familiar, serves but to [205] unfold the liberal ideas and expanded mind of his entertainer.

Throughout India selfishness is unknown; or if individually it exists, it does so with the scorn and ridicule of surrounding countrymen. Disinterestedness is pre-eminent: it is a plant which has taken root, and seems peculiarly adapted to an Eastern clime; and if, as is said, the extremes of every virtue border on vice, we must associate profusion as its only counterpart in Bengal.

In Calcutta, no ungracious reserve the offspring of ignorance and pride, nor boisterous familiarity indicative of want of breeding or education, are to be met with; a fascinating polish of exterior, and elegance of manner, united with the most refined and liberal notions, are characteristics of the major part of its society.

India is not the country for public amusements: nor indeed would its climate admit of such a succession of gaieties as are common in more temperate latitudes; but the few its metropolis can boast of are supported with much spirit. A small neat theatre is constructed, and the efforts of amateurs admirably supply its want of regular performers. I regretted that my short stay did not allow of my more frequent appreciating their abilities, but, from what I saw, they all appeared above mediocrity, and many were of acknowledged dramatic excellence.

Moore's assembly rooms, open in the cold season, are well attended; indebted, perhaps, not a little, for their popularity, to the attractions of a supper. The balls are monthly, and one hundred rupees, or about twelve pounds, is, I believe, the amount of a subscription for the season. At these assemblies the observance of etiquette is strictly enforced, and seniority of ser-

vice, the general criterion of rank in India, more scrupulously insisted on than so trifling a [207] subject may seem to warrant. Splendid entertainments, on which no expense is spared, are frequent amongst individuals ; and the urbanity and good humour which preside at them serve wholly to dispel any regret which the want of almost all public amusements would perhaps otherwise excite.

The supreme court of judicature is the only European court of justice in Bengal ; and whither all natives, residing within the precincts of the Mahratta ditch, repair for the decision of their suits. This ditch, which formerly surrounded the whole city of Calcutta, but of which at present few traces remain, served at one time as a defence against the incursions of the people whose name it bears ; when the Company, restricted to their factory, little dreamed of being one day masters of an empire.

The Asiatic Museum is worth the attention of a stranger. Though but in its in- [208] fancy, I remarked its fine collection of shells with infinite satisfaction ; and the various marine and mineral productions with which it is replete must afford information to every lover and inquirer into natural history.

The town-hall of Calcutta is a handsome building*, of the Doric order ; and, together with the marble statute of Lord Cornwallis, on its basement story, reflects credit on the city. The expense attending the erection of these kind of edifices consists for the most part in the iron and ornaments it is necessary to have from Europe. The cost of these, by the time they are landed in [209] India, is prodigious, and after all, they are not unfrequently so damaged on arrival as to be in a great degree useless.

The auctions form a desirable lounge for the busy and idle of Calcutta. Speculators and spendthrifts—those anxious for good bargains, and those desirous of no bargains at all—crowd equally

* Quarries of free-stone are very rare in India ; most of the houses are therefore built of brick, and *chunammed* over, either to imitate free-stone, or the finest marble, according to the composition of the *chunam*. The most beautiful in its appearance is made at Madras, of shells, and gives the houses of that Presidency the very look of marble. (Note on page 208).

to these strange receptacles of useless or indifferent merchandize of our English markets.

To a mere spectator it would seem strange that even the daily expenses of one or two thousand catalogues could be paid by their profits, exposed, as the same articles frequently are, to the tenth or twentieth gaze of an admiring crowd. But when it is considered, that these auctions are strongly countenanced by a great majority, and that a profit of eight or nine per cent. accrues to the auctioneer on the sale of every trifling article, we shall be no [210] longer surprised at the vigour with which they are supported, or that some of the largest fortunes which have of late been made in India, have taken their rise, and been rapidly accumulated, from wielding the hammer.

NAUTCHES

During my residence in this city, I frequently visited the *nautches*, or dances, a favourite and almost the only amusement with the more wealthy natives. At the festival of Doorgah-Poojah they greatly prevail, and the frugal Hindoo, who barely allows himself the necessaries of life during the rest of the year, will profusely lavish his treasures in riot and festivity at this season of superstition. It will sound strange to an European, unacquainted with the customs of the East, to hear, that no respectable Asiatic ever dances, that the participating in such amusement is considered peculiarly disgraceful, and as derogatory [211] to all superior to prostitutes and buffoons—such are the dancing girls and boys of India.

At Rajah Raj Kissen's, an opulent and respectable Hindoo, the room was supported by twelve pillars of the Corinthian order, round which were entwined fine silk and wreaths of flowers; in the middle was spread a carpet, for the European part of the company, and on each side was ranged in rows and seated on pillows, the most respectable natives. A set of nautch-girls consists sometimes of four, and sometimes less, as is the pleasure of the entertainer, attended by two or three men playing on violins, guitars, &c. Four or five sets, which relieve each other alternately, are required for the evening's entertainment. These girls, of whom the generality are far from pretty, sing Hindoostanee and Persian songs, and dance to slow and meas-[212]ured

tunes. Their chief forte lies in attitudes, and those who have witnessed their execution in the various motions of 'Flying a kite', and 'The bearers' dance', must confess, with me, that the luxuriancy of their postures is but little favourable to virtue. A beautiful girl, and very superior singer, Neekhee, with the graceful dancer Ushoorun, were the attractions at my friend the Rajah's. Much as I had heard of them, they equalled, if not surpassed my expectations. The lovely Neekhee, more especially, deeply interested me. She was about fourteen years of age, and possessed a form and face moulded by the graces; her black eyes, full and piercing, reflected the pleasurable sensations of her heart; her mouth, around which a smile was ever playing, enclosed teeth, regular, perfect, and white as ivory; her voice was feeble; but inexpressibly sweet; and, although, generally speaking, I do not [213] consider the nautches of Calcutta, either for the beauty of the women or excellence of the singing, as at all comparable to those of the upper provinces, still, in this instance, I must own myself much gratified, and confess, that the twelve hundred rupees (one hundred and fifty pounds), and two pair of shawls of the same value, the price of Neekhee's attendance for three nights, was only commensurate with her singular accomplishments.

In taking leave of Calcutta, I cannot but remark that it must forcibly strike all who enter it as the metropolis of a great and flourishing empire. Its streets, spacious and elegant, thronged daily by a countless multitude. Its river swarming with every description of vessel, from the superior English and American merchantman to the Arab of Red Sea and the uncouth proa of the Maldives (a cluster of islands in the Bay of Bengal). The refined inventions of [214] luxury presented hourly to the sight, and the temptations which the various elegances of life, concentrated in the European and native bazars (daily markets), commonly solicit, declare it at once the dwelling of a rich and thriving community, the mart of commerce, and ahead in every way worthy the grandeur and importance of our Eastern possessions.

NOTES

The author of the *Sketches of India*, left Calcutta, on Monday, the 24th of June 1811, in a budgerow* of sixteen oars, to visit the Upper Provinces of Bengal. We follow him in his journey.

"The tide favoured at midnight, and I was soon launched on the Hooghly, a branch of the far-famed Ganges. On the morning of Tuesday, the 25th, anchored at Barrackpore, distant from Calcutta about fifteen miles, this place is deservedly held to be, as to situation, extremely pretty. It is a large military station; which circumstance, with its proximity to Calcutta, renders it gay and pleasant. A small indifferant house, with a large park attached to it, is conspicuous as the country seat of the governor-general. The house erected by Lord Wellesley exists as a mere trifle of what was intended, had he not been restricted in expense; but the park, well stocked with deer, and possessing a menagerie of wild beasts, is, for Bengal, really beautiful" (p. 2).

* * * * *

"The constant labour and fatigue the *dandies*, or rowers, of a budgerow undergo, excites, at first, pity and astonishment in the breast of a stranger. For hours together, when the wind happens to be unfavourable, they are plunged up to their necks in water, under a burning sun, dragging the boat along with ropes. On the shore, they pass, ten or twelve in a string, working like horses. For the whole day they remain thus, nor does their labour terminate until the anchor is given at sunset. With what glee do they then eat their simple meal! Every thing is forgotten, and they rise, at day-break, to a renewal of this slavery, with all the content possible. To a European, one of their days would be death. To sustain it, as these helpless creatures do, is scarcely credible" (p. 15).

CLAUDE MARTIN

The anonymous author visited Constantia on July 8, 1814 and wrote: "Constantia, a villa built by the late General Martine at a short distance from Lucknow, is a striking monument of folly. To attempt its description would be vain: it is literally indescribable. The zoology of every clime appears to have been ransacked to adorn it, and carvings in stone, of unheard-of birds, and fishes, the heterogeneous fancies of a diseased brain, with which the exterior of the building is entirely covered, have a strange and uncouth appearance. Descending a flight of steps, underneath all this waste of brick and mortar, is shown, in a small vault, the monument of this eccentric man. He preserved that uniformity of character, for which he was ever so remarkable, to the last; and, agreeable to his last request, surrounding his tomb are the figures of four grenadiers, mourning departed worth". (pp. 151-152).

* *Budgerows* are the common passage-boats of the Ganges. They are more to be preferred for accommodation than safety, being flat-bottomed and rudely steered, by the *manjee* or headman, who stands at the stern, with a long bamboo for a rudder (Note on pp. 1-2).

"The vault, when visited, is illuminated by a handsome cut glass chandelier, an inscription on a marble slab requests your prayers for his soul" (p. 152)

"The character of General Martine (See a well-written memoir of this officer in the *Asiatic Journal*, vol. II, for 1816) has been so ably traced by various pens, that I shall only here sketch his predominant characteristics. A soldier of fortune, General Martine had never experienced the advantages of education: he was ignorant of a valuable and specious knowledge, that of the world; his mind was encrusted with prejudices, and those too of the most unfortunate tendency; his sole aim was riches, and to acquire them, he little cared though the ties of friendship were violated, or those of delicacy infringed. Ever active in their pursuit, he at last succeeded in realizing a sum more enormous than his dreams of avarice had ever aspired to. Did it make him happy? Far otherwise! His liberality now became profusion, his building, madness, his rusticity, insulting, his vulgarity, conspicuous, and thus, those specks, which, but for his own inordinate desires, had lain dormant and been unnoticed, were, by his accumulation of wealth, considerably enlarged, and displayed to the world in all their native deformity. The bulk of his fortune was, I understand, bequeathed to his relations in France, and large sums to charitable institutions" (pp. 152-154).

CONCUBINAGE (Chapter X, pp. 164-171)

"Concubinage is so generally practised in India by the Europeans, and at the same time so tacitly sanctioned by married families, who scruple not to visit at the house of a bachelor that retains a native mistress (though were she an European they would avoid it as polluted), that when, setting aside the married men, I calculate three parts of those who remain as retaining concubines, I fancy I shall be only confining myself within the strictest bounds of truth and moderation. Did I again venture to hint that, on an average, half of these are fathers of two children, it would be far from an exaggeration, and a tolerably just idea may then be formed of the vast and increasing number of demi-bengalees, as the offspring of such connections are ludicrously termed, and of the danger which threatens from this intermediate tribe. (pp. 164-165).

"Characterized by all the vices and gross prejudices of the natives, but devoid of their pusillanimity; by all the faults and failings of the European character, without its candour, sincerity or probity: a heterogeneous set; some by Hindoo, others by Mahometan and Malay mothers, as wills the caprice of the father; what is not in time to be apprehended from the union of so large and discontented a body? Why may we not expect the scenes of South-America to be displayed in India? A body who have neither riches, honour, nor any advantage to sacrifice, must ever pant for a revolution. It is a theatre from which

they have everything to hope, and from which, if successful, they can but return to their original insignificance. (pp 165-166)

"The climate is undoubtedly one of the chief causes of this great propensity to sexual intercourse, the results of which prove generally so unfortunate to my countrymen. That fever of the blood, which to the frigid sons of Europe is known only by name, flows with irresistible impetuosity in the veins of Anglo-Asiatics; but more especially in those of young men, who on first entering the country are usually rioting in health and of elastic spirits. It is at this period, when 'the heart dances to the song of hope', that attachments are formed, which in a few short years entail children, debt and ruin, on the infatuated youth. The Hindoostanee women, (under this denomination I class both Hindoos and Moslems) are in general exquisitely formed, after the truest models of symmetry and beauty. Their countenances, more pleasing than handsome, are very expressive; their large black eyes in particular, full of the softest fire, convey volumes, and almost supercede the necessity of speech. They take much pride in their hair, which is usually very long and glossy, and tied simply in a knot at the back of the head. The delicacy and nice proportions of their limbs, must be seen to be admired, their finely-shaped necks, small and tapering waists, well turned ancles and infantine feet, form a cluster of delights, to the temptation of which it is not surprizing if we see men, in other respects prudent, fall the victims. Moreover, when once entangled, the native girls are so alluring in their manners, are ever so solicitous to preserve your affections, and gain, in a short time, so wonderful an ascendancy over the most determined, that a separation becomes impossible, and every such attempt, similar to those of the poor limed bird, but knits secure the fetters by which one is enthralled (pp. 166-168)

"Another circumstance, which will serve greatly to account for the prevalency of concubinage, is the difficulty of forming a desirable marriage, and the heavy expenses attendant on the matrimonial state in India. The generality of ladies who come annually from Europe, though doubtless of unsullied virtue, are by no means such as a person, at all scrupulous in the connexions he formed, would select from, for a partner for life (pp 168-169).

"This remark is more peculiarly applicable to those who, without having friends in the country, venture out in what, in India, is aptly enough termed speculation. To such misfortune I partly attribute so wide extended an evil. Our affections must be engrossed by some object, nor can it be surprizing if, in seeing his own country-women so sparingly gifted with attractions, a young man should prefer a temporary attachment, to uniting himself in the indissoluble knot of Hymen (p 169).

"All who retain mistresses have zenanas or female apartments for them in their houses. They generally consist of two or three rooms, with a walled court, in India called a *compound*, attached. Of the ex-

pences attending such appendages it is difficult to form any precise calculation, subservient, as of course they must be, to the circumstances and situation of the retainer, but commonly, I may say, they are trifling (pp 169-170)

"The Indian female dress is inelegant and unbecoming, that of a Moosulmanee or Mahometan, is as follows: loose silken trowsers (*pacejamas*) tied at the waist, by a gold or silver cord (*hijarbund*), a muslin skreen for the breast (*lungur*), above which is a kind of shirt falling to the waist, denominated a *courtee*, and over all is worn the *sheet* (*doputter*), covering the back of the head, and wound simply round the body. The Hindoo differs from this only in the point of trowsers, for which she substitutes a kind of petticoat (p 170)

"Amorous in the extreme, possessed of nice sensibility increased by the climate, and passionately devoted to a luxurious and idle life, the generality of Indians find too many resources in their zenanas to exchange them voluntarily for the cares of cutcherry, or the tumults of camp" (p 171)

MEETING WITH GEORGE FRANCIS GRAND

Our author embarked for England on the 26th of November, 1814 in the private licensed ship *Lady Campbell* and anchored in the Table-Bay, on the 10th of February, 1815

221 "In Cape-Town I met with Mr Grant, a gentleman whose life appears to have been an uninterrupted series of vicissitudes and misfortunes. In early life, he entered the military service of the Company, and acquired the approbation of Warren Hastings, transferred to the civil line, he was, for a short time, placed in some important situations by that exalted character. When Lord Cornwallis assumed the reins 222 of government in Bengal, he was expelled, to make room for some of his lordship's partizans—infamous attacks made on his character—his integrity called in question—and this without any defence being allowed to use his own words, he was prejudged and proscribed

"His domestic misfortunes commenced with the seduction of his wife (the present Madame Talleyrand), by Sir Phillip Francis, on the day of marriage, and terminated (if I may use the word) by his being deprived almost of bread by the British government at the Cape of Good-Hope. I found him the gentleman, and much esteemed"

6

CALCUTTA IN 1815*

By **Rafail Danibegashvili**

KALCADA is a very beautiful and rather magnificent town. There are many rich people in it. It is situated on the shore of the bay of the *Ganges River*. Many Armenians reside there. They live a rich and sumptuous life and pursue a thriving trade with foreigners. In addition to Indians, all of whom are generally idolaters, and Mahommedans, the natives proper, there are Englishmen, French and, most of all, Portuguese. They trade among themselves and pay nobody duty. In this city the commander-in-chief is an Englishman, whom the local inhabitants call Lart. He governs the whole of India. The English Company, which he directs, has an annual revenue of some five hundred million rupees; yet very little remains of this money because the expenditures are very great; the local troops, who are very numerous, have to be paid from this sum.

The climate is exceedingly hot, and the water is very bad. For that reason when it rains the inhabitants set out large vats to collect rain-water which they use for drinking. Perhaps the local water might have been fit for drinking; but inasmuch as the Indians have the custom of burning their dead and throwing them into the water, it has an unpleasant odour from the bodies rotting in it, and is therefore not used. The Indians and Moham-medans, the natives proper, eat only Sarachinsk millet and fish; bread is not known. Generally, their language is the same as that spoken in the town of Pankala. In India there are about one hundred and fifty thousand English troops; the local troops are called black. However, the Indian troops are as well disciplined as the English. Every white soldier receives a monthly salary of seven rupees over and above meat and wine. The same

* From the *Travels of Rafail Danibegashvili* by L.I. Maruashvili, reprinted in the "Vivekananda Kendra Patrika," vol. 5, No. 2 (August 1976 'India in the eyes of Foreigners', pp. 262-264)

amount of money is received by the black soldiers. Captains are paid 250 rupees. A colonel receives 1,500 rupees, and a Secretary 2,000. The Governor-General receives 10,000 rupees, and a Doctor 2,000. Mounted troops are paid 30 rupees per mensem, in addition to the money paid for the upkeep of the horses. A *Kalcada* rupee is equal to two rubles. On the coast this city has an old fortress*, in whose environs reside Europeans; the natives live on the southern side. The afore-mentioned *Ganges* or *Ganga* River surrounds the city on three sides. This river is full of crocodiles and turtles. The city has many buildings and men of great wealth, and the English call it a second London.

NOTES

Rafail Danibegashvili was a Georgian traveller and diplomat who lived about 150 years ago. Practically nothing is known about his life in the context of a family background. Something is known about him only from a record of his travels. It seems that he has made a number of journeys to South Asia, of which the third one is most significant in respect of time, space and intensity of observation. The book entitled *Travels* speaks of the traveller's varied experience and observations. It was published in Moscow in 1815. Danibegashvili was a sympathiser of the Indians' struggle in keeping away the invaders. He observed with contentment how on two occasions the English could not succeed in capturing a town in India. (Note by the Editor of the *Vivekananda Kendra Patrika*).

From the extracts published in the above journal, it appears that Danibegashvili travelled from Beku or Rangoon to *Kalcada* (= Calcutta).

* Old Fort William

CALCUTTA IN 1819*

By an Officer

[106] I sailed from Madras early in June 1819, for Calcutta. A fine steady breeze carried us, in four days, to the pilot station at the mouth of the Hooghly.

After an Englishman has passed a year [107] on the burning soil of India, as he again treads the deck of an English vessel, listens to, and looks upon her brave and active crew, feels her bounding over the ocean, and thinks of his home and the wooden walls which defend it, he has a throb of heartfelt delight and innocent pride, which none but a Briton can know. The sea is his element; it encircles, it guards his native land; it bears him forth, from pole to pole, to do her pleasure, to carry out the fruit of her labour, and bring her back the produce of distant lands; it bears him to protect her friends, to assail her enemies, or to do her blessed errands of charity and peace; it brings him home to her with the rich harvests of wealth and glory, or the yet richer of gratitude; and, in an English vessel, let him sail on what sea he will, the fancies of the little family circle round his fire-side at home can follow him—can see him in the little cabin they perhaps visited his ship [108] set sail, and can well remember and recall those faces round him, in which their quick affection had seen or fancied the traits of kindness or of feeling.

* From the *SKETCHES OF INDIA*, written by an Officer for *Fire-side Travellers at home* (1st edition, 1821, 329 pages, second edition, with additions, 1824), London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green; Paternoster-Row, octavo, 358 pages.

The National Library of India has the first and second editions; the second edition acquired on 25th January 1900 and the first edition gifted by Sir Jadu Nath Sircar. The pagination in these extracts follows the second edition. The Officer who wrote this *Sketches* dropped anchor in Madras Roads on July 10, 1818 after a voyage of 3 months and 10 days. His account of Calcutta begins at page 106 and ends at page 164.

On the eastern bank of the Hooghly, about one hundred miles from its mouth, stands the city of Calcutta. It is nearly six miles in length; the breadth, however, is in no part very considerable. The bold reach of the river, at the head of which Calcutta stands, is, from the villas and gardens on its banks, styled the Garden Reach, and is as truly beautiful as its name would prepare you to find it. Spacious and elegant houses, shrubberies, and lawns, give to the cheerful scene an air both of costliness and taste.

A CLOSE-BUILT CITY

As you approach Chandpal Ghaut, and see a large, regular, and handsome fortress, a palace-like looking government-house, a wide and grand esplanade many magnificent houses on one side of [109] it, and a range of stately edifices beyond it, a little above this ghaut, an anchorage crowded with shipping, and a close-built city, containing upwards of eighty thousand houses, whatever your expectations may have been, they are surpassed.

A friend sent his servant and a boat for me. Nothing, at first, can be more striking than the difference both of costume and manner between the native domestics of Calcutta and Madras. A robe fitting closely round the body, but loose and long below, wide sleeves, hanging open from the lower or fore-arm; large, full trousers; slippers, turbans sitting flat and close to the top of the head, but with several narrow projecting folds, half shading the neck and face, is the universal dress. In speaking, they join and lift the hands, bending forward with a soliciting and respectful looking. They none of them speak English; are remarkably clean in their dress and persons, and graceful in their motions.

Although Calcutta contained a home, and a very precious one, for me, I have only engaged you, reader, to accompany an unknown traveller; and shall therefore speak of Calcutta as a stranger to any other residence than a hotel. Here is my first difficulty,—in India there are some houses of public entertainment; but, to speak generally, they are not considered respectable, nor are they, except under a pressing necessity, resorted to by gentlemen. This is not so strange as it at first appears, nor does it arise from the hospitality of our countrymen in India, which,

great as it allowedly is, has much less influence over this state of things than they perhaps imagine. It is right to clear this up, because a gentleman and a traveller landing at Calcutta, without letters of introduction, would find himself much at a loss, and placed, [111] moreover, in rather a mortifying situation. Our connection with India is not a colonial one. We have settlements on the coasts; but we rule over an empire by the agency of native servants and soldiers, who are subjected to the authority and guidance of governors, generals, collectors, judges, and other officers, civil and military; *all British*, and of British appointment. It is never, therefore, that gentlemen in the service of the Company can land at any of the Presidencies without an appointed place to go to. King's officers have their barracks, merchants their correspondents, captains of ships their friends, or the purchasers of their investments, or else they hire houses, and to individuals of any of these classes, if they have private letters to a protector, his doors are thrown open here, as they would be elsewhere at a distance from the mother-country. Taverns, therefore, are principally resorted to such merchant ship-officers, of junior rank, as get a few [112] days' leave on shore, and have no other resource. The necessary consequence is, they pay extravagantly, and fare badly. A stranger is certainly much surprised, both at the number and style of the equipages he meets on the fashionable drive, at sunset. Many hundred coaches, chariots, barouches, curricles, tilburies, and humble gigs, give, by his familiarity with the sight of such conveyances, an air of England; and, by his ever associating the possession of them with rank or easy circumstances, one of splendour. But a something, in black coachmen dressed in muslins and turbans, inferior cattle, awkward driving, and harness ill put together, in spite of many handsome and some English-built carriages, tells the eye that much will long be wanting before the chariot and pair, on the Calcutta course, can vie with that of Hyde Park. The young dashers, in their tilburies, who instruct their servants in the art of cleaning and putting-to, and drive them-[113]selves, perhaps contrive a closer resemblance to English style, than the elder and more sensibly indolent residents trouble themselves to affect.

As for the number of conveyances, the European in India is carried, according to his fancy or means, wherever he has to go;

and hardly ever walks either for pleasure or business, a thousand yards.

Many of the Armenian and native merchants adopt our carriages and imitate our manners in some particulars, although retaining their own costume : so that you may see the high-pointed cap of the one, and the turban of the other, in landaus or barouches, built after the make of Long Acre. At the farthest extremity of the course you may often chance to meet a son of Tippoo's, wrapped in shawls and lolling in a phaeton ; and you see native merchants continually in gigs or on horseback.

[114] As the evening closes in, the crowds of carriages disperse ; and, about half an hour after, you see the glare of torches in all directions, lighting the coaches and palanquins, hurrying along to the splendid entertainments, of which there is a constant succession among the opulent and luxurious inhabitants of Calcutta. At twelve, you may see them returning home ; and, if the oppressive heat drives you, as it often does, to the roof or balcony of your house for air, soon after, when all is dark and silent round you, the cry of jackalls, suddenly and wildly breaking forth, then ceasing, then again nearer or close to you, may be distinctly heard. You are then reminded that this city is the quick growth of a century ; that, where they are, it is still half jungle ; that, at Chowringhee, where you now stand in a spacious verandah, supported by lofty Grecian pillars, only sixty short years ago the defenceless villagers could scarce bar out the prowling tiger ; and [115] that, were this city to become suddenly depopulated, in sixty more, these perishable palaces of timber, brick, and chunam would totally disappear, and rank vegetation conceal the very ground they stand upon. Such a fate, however, is not to be apprehended for Calcutta. Long after our interest in it, as Englishmen, may have ceased by the entire loss of our possessions as governors, it will continue a populous, powerful, and wealthy city. Although we do not admit of colonization in India, a class of natives connected with us by blood, language, habits, education, and religion, is rapidly growing into consequence, in point of numbers, possessions, awakened desires, enlarged and enlightened views. They are the small merchants, the shopkeepers, the citizens, in fact, of our Presidencies. They are shut out from the service of the company ; but that they are the subjects of the company must never be forgotten.

The British blood and the native [116] blood in their veins are alike hateful to them ; for the Englishmen and the Hindoo alike disclaim them ; but as the light of knowledge beams upon them, they see and feel that "honour and shame from no condition rise." The revolution of a few short years will fearfully increase their numbers ; and, if the moral and mental improvement of this class, now reckoning in it men of talent, integrity, and piety, keeps pace with that increase, we must not expect nor ought we to wish, that they should look upon themselves as out-casts, without a country they dare call their own ; without the common privileges of freeborn men ; without eligibility to honor, wealth, or usefulness ; or to any share in the government of themselves.

BLACK TOWN

The native or black town of Calcutta literally swarms with population. There are also strangers to be met with here from every part of Asia,—Chinese, Arabs, [117] Persians, inhabitants of the eastern isles, and many Jewish, and other merchants from the ports of the gulf, and the Red Sea. It is highly diverting to pass through the particular streets of Calcutta resorted to by these strangers, and contemplate the various groups as you recline in a slowly borne palanquin.

The palanquin is only used, however, by Europeans in Calcutta for very short distances, if their incomes are sufficiently large to admit of their keeping coach or bandy horses for change. At the hour the public offices usually open at Calcutta, you see more close carriages, chariots, and palanquin-carriages than you see on the day-time at Madras, in the course of a month's residence. Most of the native clerks have palanquins of country fashion in make and ornament, and they rarely walk if they are old or senior clerks. Indeed, the streets of Calcutta have many features, new even to the eye of an in-[118]habitant of Madras. The palanquin-bearers are, on this side, almost all from Bala-sore, or some of the northern Circars, and they are naked, bare-headed, and run silently. There are numbers of bullock, and one horse hackrees, with cotton canopies, and backs and cushions to sit on in the native fashion. There are also two or three hundred small ill-built coarse painted coaches drawn by wretched country ponies. They are more clumsily put together than

the pigeon-house jingles of Dublin ; nor are they ever used by respectable persons, European or native. But, by these, many a common sailor, who gets four-and-twenty hours' leave, is spared the trouble of staggering to look at the city, or regain his boat ; and natives of low cast, or of none, are carried as their business calls them, from suburb to suburb, or ghaut to ghaut, for a mere trifle. Lascars, or the sailors of the Indian seas, may be seen here in great numbers ; small scull-[119]caps edged only or covered with embroidery, short close vests and wide petticoat trowsers mark them in dress, and they have generally thick bushy heads of hair, a tawny complexion and stout limbs ; they spend the earnings of many months' labour with a lavishness which surprises even an Englishman ; they drink freely, and will stake their last dollar, and even clothes at play. These vices are common to the lower classes of Calcutta itself, to which they add a taste for tawdry gilt ornaments and common lace ; they also consume great quantities of opium and coarse confectionary, or preparations of sugar. It is incredible what large sums are thus expended during their great festivals.

Although these indulgent excesses are more common among the Moors than the Hindoos ; yet it is a most erroneous and mistaken notion to suppose that these last are free from the vices named.

[120] At the corner of every street you may see the Gentoo-bearers gambling over chalked out squares, with small stones for men, and with wooden dice ; or Coolies playing with cards of the palm-leaf. Nay, in a pagoda, under the very shadow of the idol, I have seen the Brahmins playing with regular packs of Chinese cards ! As for intoxication, many Hindoos, who reject arrack, drink toddy till they are scarce able to walk, and smoke opium till they can neither see or speak.

The Bengalees are, as a race of men, very inferior, I think, to those on the coast ; they are small, slightly made, and very black ; greater numbers of them go naked, and, although they are doubtless as clean as the corresponding classes at Fort St. George, yet as all their clothes are dark-coloured and unbleached, they do not appear so. Their huts too are commonly made of bamboo, matting, and thatch, and have, unless when new, a very [121] mean appearance. The servants, whom I spoke

of at landing, form in Calcutta quite a distinct class, and are generally Mahometans.

The Bengal sepoy, however, or rather the sepoy of the establishment, (natives of Bengal Proper never being admitted) are tall, stout, handsome looking men; they are generally enlisted from Bahar, Oude, and the western provinces.

PUBLIC DISPUTATION

The Bengal troops are certainly finer and larger men than those of the coast army, but are not, I think, so smart looking under arms; their clothing is seldom well fitted, and they do not either move or handle their arms with that life, and soldier-like steadiness, observable in the Madras native infantry. The body guard of Calcutta did appear to me rather inferior to that of Fort St. George. They are, however, a fine body of men, and on state occasions add greatly to the splendour of the scene; and a levee, on public day at the government-house at Calcutta, has such a court-air of show and ceremony as the seat of supreme government should present. I saw the venerable and noble governor-general preside at the college disputation for 1819. The hall of audience below is a very noble one; it is paved with dark grey marble, and supported by several handsome columns, covered with the most beautifully polished chunam. The room above, to which you ascend by a poor ill-designed staircase, is a very fine one, floored with polished wood, and ornamented with several rich glass lustres, descending from a painted ceiling.

In a state chair, covered with crimson velvet and richly gilt, with a groupe of aid-de-camps and secretaries standing behind him, sat the Marquis of Hastings. Two servants with state punkahs* of crimson silk were fanning him, and behind [123] them again were several native servants bearing silver staffs. Next him, on either side, were seated the examiners, and below them again, the most distinguished ladies of the Presidency. Next, in an open space, were two small rostrums for the disputants, and chairs for the professors; the room behind these, and fronting

* *Read Punkahs.*

the marquis, was quite filled with company, and in the rear of all, the body guard was drawn up in full uniforms of scarlet with naked sabres.

In the tall, and once athletic form, the manly brow and weather-beaten cheek of the Marquis, you can easily retrace all that he has been at the head of a company of British grenadiers ; and can well imagine him the distinguished young hero of Bunker's Hill ; while the mildness of his look, voice, and manner remind you of that hospitable nobleman, who threw wide his portals to those high-born, but destitute exiles, who, flaying [124] from the storm of blood and anarchy in France, found a refuge and a princely one in the house of Moira.

Of the disputations I shall say nothing for, conducted as they are, they are no trials of strength, but merely final and public exhibitions of such students as have passed through the college, and are reported fit for the public service. While it is highly honourable to the Company's civil service to consider how many able and eminent men have adorned it, a stranger may naturally, and without, presumption enquire, whether it is sufficiently guarded from the intrusion of the indolent and incapable, for there is evidently no competition. A young man, who is not insupportably immoral, immovably indolent, or stupid to infirmity, is, and must be, provided for. It is true, he would not be put in the highest line : but surely, the mere collectorship and magistracy of a district is [125] a post most responsible, most important ; and to such a post he would inevitably attain, to represent England and Englishmen in the eyes of foreigners and subjects. Now, the districts of the country, held on such a tenure as India is, can never be superintended too ably for the interest, the honour, and the security of our government. Nothing is more false than the notion which people in England generally form of the East Indian returning home, except it be the unsubstantial dream he himself has of what he is to do, say, and be thought of among his countrymen at home. The man who has done his public duty in India well, returns in easy circumstances, sits down quietly, followed by the regard and esteem of those who know and appreciate his worth, is soon met by a like feeling, and enjoys that consideration among the neighbouring gentlemen which he has earned by a long course of official labour abroad. The man, who has only sought [126] what is now not often to

be found, even in India, namely, money, and who returns full of the hopes and schemes of pride and distinction, in the first visit to the Opera or Hyde Park, or the first week's residence at his country-seat, discovers at once, that to enjoy even such pleasures as money places within his reach, he must be content to be nameless and unpretending. If he lives to be seen, he must be cruelly disappointed ; if he lives, on the contrary, to see, he may be comparatively happy.

In the council-chamber at Government House are the portraits of many of our Indian rulers ; that of Warren Hastings, in a plain dress, seated carelessly, and looking the English gentleman of rank and talent, draws the eye at once from the gaudy robes of Wellesley, whose government was, in truth, splendid enough to have afforded a plainer representation of himself, and an undecorated person.

[127] I drove, this same day, past the site of the too celebrated "black hole of Calcutta." It was little more than sixty years ago that one hundred and twenty of our unfortunate countrymen perished in one sad night by suffocation, while a Moorish army of 70,000 men lay encamped around the factory. Only twenty-three poor suffering wretches survived ; and, among them, one (a lady, wife, and widow) to whom, perhaps, life itself threatened the worst of deaths. How light-footed and light-hearted in the dance are many, who daily pass within a few hundred yards of this spot, ignorant that where they command the low salaam, a form as fair, a heart too as soft as theirs, has been dragged to the couch of loathing and of shame, not longer ago than when their grandmother, whose kind handsome old face, and white ruff, they love to talk of, was youthful, as they are now.

In the cabinet of a portrait-painter in [128] Calcutta, among a few valueless pictures is one, which must often, I should think, awaken a sigh in such of our fair country-women as look on it. I have little excuse for naming it here ; but it is somehow naturally associated with beauty and with sorrow. With beaver hat, and clustering ringlets, marking the costume of some forty years gone by, from a damaged canvas in a dull-worn frame, looks out upon you a face of such soft loveliness, that you feel no surprise when told it is that of a devoted and tender mistress, who left the country of which she was the flower, and came

with her protector here ; still less that she drooped, and died upon this sickly shore. On a tufted knoll (near the mouth of the river she entered only as a corpse), stands the small tomb, which love, grief, and repentance, have raised to her memory.

"Would on its stalk I'd left the rose" must often, often have been silently uttered in the bosom of the sorrowing survivor, as busy memory recalled to him the first moment when he gazed upon the beauteous bud, as it smiled in blushing innocence on its parent stem.

'Tis well.—She was early, perhaps mercifully torn from life and sin, and he, in like mercy, spared to seek forgiveness, where alone it may be found.

BOTANICAL GARDEN AND MUSEUM

A morning may be delightfully spent in a visit to the botanic garden. Here, without wandering through the pestilential forests and swampy jungles of a country lavishly adorned by profuse and brilliant vegetation, you may see in one short ramble, all the varieties of vegetable form known and admired throughout India. Large trees decked with flowers, more beautiful and fragrant than those of our plants in Europe ; all the warm aromatic shrubs which perfume the air ; all the stately and graceful trees which [130] adorn an Indian forest, and many of which yield food, and minister abundantly to all the uses and wants of man ; and endless varieties of that large family of creeping and climbing plants, which clothe the earth, and the naked trunks of decaying trees, the rocks and ruins, which would otherwise encumber and disfigure it, with beauty. A magnificent temple is this world of ours, could we but look on it as we ought ; could we but delight to see, and trace that hand which openeth itself, and filleth all things with goodness.

There is a museum in Calcutta in the house of the Asiatic Society. Here you will find fragments of sculpture, vases, tablets, coins, arms, and natural curiosities from every part of India ;—canoes and models, swords, clubs, spears, creeses, war-dresses, and fabrics from all the islands in the Indian Archipelago.

[131] The nutmeg, the clove, and those precious spices which have never been transplanted with success to the continent of

Asia, may here be seen preserved in glass jars, fresh as they were gathered in small branches from the parent plants in the favoured isles where they grow. Above the hall is a library, or rather a small collection of books, in a very large noble room, where the members hold their meetings; the great and celebrated men, who were the able founders and zealous supporters of this institution, have, for the most part, disappeared, and the spirit of it is much on the decline.

There are two establishments for the education of natives, under the protection and patronage of the government,—one a college for Mahometan, the other for Hindoo youth; where they are instructed by moonshees and pundits in their respective learning and laws, that they may be qualified to fill petty offices in the [132] courts of justice, or cutcherrys when of an age to serve the Company.

I visited both. There was a something in the venerable Mahometan teachers, and in the good-looking, graceful, and intelligent young scholars, far more interesting and pleasing than the Hindoo college,* with its dull brain-encumbered pundits, and their plodding students, could present. There is a dignity in the very sound of the Arabic language, and a mellow richness in the Persian, which command the attention, and charm the ear of a person unacquainted with their import. Their Koran, their historians, their Sadi, their Hafiz, do not seem, nor are they removed so immeasurably from our way of thinking, as the sacred commentaries and fabulous histories of Hindoo authors.

[133] There are also in Calcutta many institutions for charitable purposes, and for the support and education of poor unfriended youth, European and half-cast. And this city is, moreover, distinguished by a liberal and Christian spirit, to reform the system of education in native schools, wherever our influence extends. Not only are there many entirely under the superintendence of the regular clergy of the establishment, or missionary Christian ministers of other denominations, but the wealthy and public-spirited natives themselves, adopt and en-

* There are two Hindoo colleges. I speak of the old establishment. The modern is smaller, for teaching English principally, and has an English director.

courage the use of our school-books in the innumerable native schools over which they exercise a control we could not attempt. It is true, they will only admit such small tracts of elementary knowledge, as set forth the plain truths in geography, natural philosophy, and the sciences ; also our abridgments of history, and beauties of morality. But if they will so teach them while children, [134] can they prevent them, when men, from casting off the delusions and errors of past ages? Can they, when, by teaching them plain truths, they have undermined the clumsy fabric of that idolatry on which they leaned, when they only learned the fables and falsehoods connected with it? Can they prevent them, I ask, from eagerly and earnestly enquiring "who will show us any good?" And can they prevent the ministers of the Gospel from showing them Christ crucified for the sins of an apostate and rebellious world, and inviting them to drink freely at the wells of salvation?

The adamant chain of cast is that obstacle to the spread of Gospel truth, on which many sincere and devout men, whose hearts overflow with Christian love to mankind, look with a sort of hopeless despondency as impassable,—as never to be broken down by human efforts : now, it is to burst open this barrier [135] that I would see human means courageously applied ; nor are they, under the Divine blessing, inadequate to the task. A general use of printed (I do not mean religious) tracts in their schools, and a general dissemination of them among the people, will, in fifty years, do much towards confounding of these base and cruel distinctions, if it be aided by a government which has hitherto showed as great a deference for all the privileges of cast, as if it were fettered by prejudice or fear, and has long shared with the Brahmins the enormous profits arising from the customary offerings at those pagodas, or sacred spots of superstitious resort, whither devout multitudes crowd on pilgrimage, or for some high festival, more or less frequently during their lives, according to the distance and sanctity of the spot, the nature of their vows, or the extent of their means.

[136] I am aware that I have only stated one of many measures which should be adopted with it ; nor am I able, or dare I presume to pursue so deep a subject farther ; but I may be permitted to remind both the believing Christian, and the reasoning philosopher, that the formidable chain of cast is as one of cob-

web compared to that chain by which high and low, wise and simple, Englishmen and Hindoo, are alike bound, till it pleaseth All-powerful and Pitiful Mercy to set us free.

I was present at the examination of many hundred native boys, selected from different schools, entirely under the superintendence, patronage, and control of natives.

It was held at the house of a Brahmin of great wealth and influence. In a quadrangular court, surrounded by piazzas, were assembled about five hundred [137] children of all casts; and these were introduced, by classes, into a large upper room open to the court, supported by numerous pillars after the Hindoo fashion, and furnished half in English. half in Asiatic taste.

Many of the senior civil servants of the establishment were present; among them the chief secretary to the government. The boys were examined in reading, writing, arithmetic, and repetition; and they all received as prize-books, such as are translated by us, printed in our presses, and used in our schools. The masters, who were all Brahmins, were rewarded with sums of money, according to the proficiency of the scholar selected from their respective schools for the occasion. A pretty little boy, habited in fine figured muslin, with a row of valuable pearls about his neck, and other rich jewels, probably the ornaments of his doating mother, took his [138] stand and chance in the class of naked little fellows with whom he had been instructed; and was examined, side by side, with many inferior cast. I found that he was the son of the very Brahmin at whose house this gratifying and interesting exhibition took place. Thus, thus it is, that the shackled Soodra will be lifted up, and learn to feel himself a man!

ARMENIAN CHURCH & JEWISH SYNAGOGUE

At an early hour one morning, I went to the Armenian church to look upon a form of Christian worship, known to me only by report. The church was old and small. but a pretty building in a quiet taste. The court was paved with grave stones of black marble, or granite; and the inscriptions and ornamental figuring on all of them (although many were 150 years old) seemed plain and perfect. The church, in the inside, was divided in the middle by a blue iron railing with gilt heads. The men of the

congregation [139] place themselves in front of this ; the women behind, and farthest from the altar ; just below the steps of which sits the patriarch on his carpet, in the eastern fashion. A veil of embroidery hangs down before the altar, and paintings adorn all the chapel walls. When the veil is lifted up, you see priests in gorgeous robes, and servitors with bells ; staves having thin round laminae of gold at the top, and censers of incense. The altar is highly ornamented, has a scripture piece painted over it, and the whole scene has an air, though solemn, yet theatrically solemn, and not suited to a temple.

In the course of the worship they carry a painting of the crucifixion round the church in procession. When they administer the sacrament, they give small portions of the element of bread to all the congregation, who receive it with great reverence, taste, then wrap it up in linen, and carry it away with them [140] after service. The patriarch always first blesses the elements. The service closes by the officiating priest reading a lesson from the Gospel. The book, which is a small volume with covers of solid silver, wrapped in a napkin of gold tissue, is brought forth with much ceremony, and placed on a portable stand in the body of the church. When the priest has concluded, all the men and women draw near in succession, kiss the book with great devotion, and decently withdraw.

Throughout the whole service, the silence, the fixed attention, pious looks, and low prostrations of all surprise you. In few Roman Catholic chapels have I seen such reverential worship as in this Armenian one. The absence of images, the distribution of the element of bread, and the reading of the Scriptures, are the features which particularly mark the distinction in the daily service of these two churches.

[141] The costume of the Armenian women, which I had never before seen, I very greatly admire.

Over a small tiara-formed cap, with a jewelled front, they wear fine shawls, which, falling in large and not ungraceful folds, cover and conceal their forms. Their complexions are pale, almost to sickness ; but their eyes are full, black, and expressive ; and their countenances, in general, pensive and interesting. In the midst of the service, came in a rude hardy-looking man, who bowed his knee with little appearance of awe, and gazed round him with a fearless curiosity. His bare head, with a profusion

of brown suntinged hair, naked throat, brown jacket, with full short trowsers of the same, gathered just below the knee, and red sash, marked him an Armenian sailor from some port in the Red Sea, or Persian Gulf.

[142] From this chapel scene I was led by my conductor, the very same morning, to one greatly and most affectingly contrasted with it.

I followed him down a narrow back street, through a dark and dirty entrance, and up a stair-case, the lower half of worn brick, that above of broken ladder-like wooden steps, into an anti-chamber filled with slippers; from whence, after rapping at a half-closed door, we were admitted into a dismal-looking room, where such daylight as found its way, was broken and obscured by the dull and feeble light of several mean lamps of oil.

Round this chamber, sat about fifty venerable-looking figures, in large robes of white with turbans, out of the centre of whose muslin folds the short top of a crimson cap was just visible.

[143] One of them stood up at a raised reading-table near the entrance; and opposite him was fixed against the wall, a sort of plain wooden press, looking like a half book-case.

Of those seated round the room, some were aged, with long silver beards, some middle-aged, with beards black or red, and curling or bushy; their complexions differed from olive even to fresh, and they were in general very handsome. Although their dress and style of sitting, save that they used a broad raised bench, was Asiatic, still they appeared totally unlike not only the Mahometans of India, but also those from Asia Minor, who visit our Indian ports. At the sounding of a small bell, he at the table began reading to them from an ancient manuscript volume and the eye of every one was immediately riveted on small written or printed books with which each, even a boy among them, was provided.

[144] Here, without temple, and without altar, giving mournful evidence of the truth of those very prophecies, the Divine Interpreter of which their fathers rejected, and the past accomplishment of which they still deny, here was a stray flock of the lost sheep of Israel.—Unhappy race! Cursed be the man who, believing your origin and history, should in a bigot's zeal look on you with that insulting pity which partakes of scorn. Ye were,

ye are, our elder brethren. We know that arm, which scattered you with fury, will gather you with great mercy!

Is this mean chamber your temple? Do these dull lamps supply the mystic branches of your golden candlestick. Your tabernacle and ark of the covenant, is it thus poorly you possess them? The altar of incense, the mercy-seat, are they gone? And do ye, whose forefathers went up, in open state, through the gate Beautiful, into that temple so familiar to [145] you by description, so clear in cherished recollections of it,—do ye steal through yon dark entrance to your degraded worship? Dry up your tears; still press the law and the prophets to your bosoms. Seventy years before the destruction of your second temple, the foundation-stone of your third was laid; was laid in the sepulchre of a crucified Saviour: Here too is the key-stone of its loftiest arch, where He sitteth on high, a King of Glory, triumphant over sin and death; a Prince of Peace, making intercession for you; a God of Mercy waiting to be gracious!

If my reader thinks these, and like reflections, too solemn for introduction on the pages of a light trifling sketch like this, I beg him to remember that I cannot feel, among these Indians, as other than an Englishman and a Christian; and to confess, that, if in this heathen land the history of God's dealings with mankind first ceased to wear, for me, the [146] dress of clouded tradition, it is a natural, as well as pleasing duty, to offer such grateful testimony of my rejoicing, as the subjects I am writing on so frequently call forth.

On the same day, in the morning of which I had been present in the Armenian church, and the Jewish synagogue, I visited the Caliaighaut pagoda, the Hindoo temple most resorted to in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. It is a poor trumpery building, as on this side of India they all are. I found it filled with worshippers, sitting down, with their offerings of plantains, rice, sugar, &c. in the neat brazen vessels used for this sacred purpose.

I went round to, and ascended that higher part near the shrine of the idol; and got up by the side of a large group of Brahmins. They bade me take off my shoes; but I refused, telling them, that [147] uncovering the head meant with us, as they well knew, the corresponding compliment. I was quiet, and grave, and they were satisfied and civil. They spoke English; chattered with me about the southern pagodas, of which they

evidently knew little ; and showed a childish curiosity at my description of one. They made some poor worshippers stand out of the way, that I might look at the hideous black idol, with its *gilt ornaments, and mother-of-pearl eyes* ; and, at last, asked me for money for their god. I replied that he was not mine ; and that it was useless to ask me to do what I should consider sinful. But, said I, a minute afterwards, as I saw them consecrating to, and putting on the god a chaplet of sacred flowers, “the scent of those flowers is agreeable to me ; I will, if you please, give a rupee for those”. It was immediately stripped from the idol for me, and I bore it off in triumph to my palanquin.

[148] I saw, as I passed out of Calighaut, a shed with many hundred like kids, which are sold there for sacrifice* ; and, in my way back I was carried through a street of idol-makers, who make all those small ones which the Hindoos buy for the inside of their houses, and for public festivals. They ran by my palanquin, offering them for sale with this strange recommendation, —“Baba ko waste, Sahib,” (for the children, master.)

I am sick of relating these puerilities of Paganism ; but, in them I seem plainly [149] to discover an internal principle of decay ; and I think the idolatry of India is declining in its baleful influence in the sight of, and with the consent of the natives themselves.

At Barrackpore, about fifteen miles from Calcutta, the Governor-general has a country residence, delightfully situated in a park of uncommon beauty. A more agreeable retreat from the scene of enslaving ceremony, and official labour, which a government-house naturally presents, could not be desired. The park, though small, has advantages which are rarely seen combined. On one side of it flows the Hooghly, along which you may ride for upwards of a mile, enjoying a fine view of a noble reach, extending

* Here again I may be told that I am mistaken, if I suppose that Brahmins themselves officiate at the sacrifice of animals. *Certain I am that they enjoin them.* It is true that blood offerings are not made in the body of any of the large pagodas, but in the small swamey houses near them. I have the authority of Buchanan (not the clergyman) for saying that the Brahmins in parts of the South of India have been known to contribute for such sacrifices to avert the wrath of the Sacti, who is supposed to preside over the small-pox. (Note on page 148).

in one direction about four miles. The opposite bank is here adorned with a thick robe of drooping bamboos, overtopped by the stately palm, and feathery coco-nut : there open with a lawn, or garden [150] laid out round some dwellings ; and immediately in front of that part where the house is situated, rises the beautifully clean, and quiet-looking town of Serampore, a Danish settlement, and the chief seat of that baptist mission,¹ over which the venerable, pious, and devoted Carey presides. How great, and how blessed have been the labours of himself and his able brethren, will appear, when I state that upwards of one hundred schools are under its fostering care ; and that, in its ever-busy presses, the Scriptures entire, or separate gospels are printing off into sixteen of the languages or dialects of India. The Marquis of Hastings, whose eye, from his chamber at Barrackpore, rests every morning on the building and gardens of that establishment must, derive great inward peace from the con-[151]sciousness of having always respected and encouraged its holy object.

The park-grounds are about four miles in circumference ; and many a spot, viewed detachedly, will remind you by large noble trees, pieces of water, and winding roads, of park-scenery at home. Here is an aviary in one corner, built after the model of a Gothic chapel : it is prettily executed, but, I think, a poor conceit ; and must be an unaccountable fancy in the eyes of our Moorish and Hindoo subjects. The collection of birds, with the exception of a few rare specimens from the eastward, is not at all remarkable. Neither is the menagerie near it such a large or fine one as you naturally look for in the East. The black panther, the wild Cape dog, and the Java pig, with its curious snout protruding like the proboscis of the elephant, and used in like manner, are the only rare animals. It must be owned, how-[152]ever, that no menagerie could show, in one cage, a more noble sight than the three full-grown royal tigers, of enormous size, were grouped together. To watch them as they slumbered, or indolently played with each other, like our domestic cats in a cottage window, was a favourite amusement with me while I resided close to this park. I confess, the childishness of my taste was no

1. There is now, I rejoice to say, in British India, a college at Calcutta having the same high objects in view (at least I hope so), under episcopal protection.

less gratified, as, in the evening, I used to see the Howdah elephants of the Governor-general carrying out his domestic-looking select party for the evening-air. A little above the park is a cantonment for five thousand sepoy, with several streets of neat pretty-looking bungalows for the officers. The communication with Calcutta is easy and constant. You have your choice of a fine, level, well-kept road, or the bosom of a noble stream down which you drop easily in two hours.

(Description of Chandernagore, Chinsurah and Bandel, pp. 152-pp. 152-159, omitted). [159] . . . On the east side of Calcutta, at the distance of about four miles is a large salt-water lake, on the far-side of which are several passages of varying width, which traverse the Sunderbunds, an immense woody tract forming part of the Delta of the Ganges, and so overspread by waters disposed in lakes, rivers, channels, and creeks, as to admit of a complete inland navigation to and beyond Dacca, being a passage of near two hundred miles. The lonely region of forest and water, is without village or inhabitant. A few temporary sheds for wood-cutters, or salt-makers, may be occasionally met with, though these are regularly watched and guarded. To sleep out of their boats is, otherwise, attended with great danger; [160] but large and constant fires, and other precautions, render such spots secure from the numerous savage beasts who range these wilds.

Of the commerce of Calcutta I cannot speak further than that the mercantile and agency-houses are numerous; some on a large scale, and apparently flourishing. That there are numbers of Armenian merchants, who conduct the trade to China, to the eastward and also to the Gulf of Persia, and the Red Sea. Innumerable Indian merchants carry on trade with the interior by large fleets of boats, as well as by land-carriage; and also with the coast of Coromandel, and Maldives, by donies.¹ Perhaps about eight hundred ships and vessels, exclusive of the coast-craft under Indian colours, may enter, and depart from the [161] port of Calcutta, in the course of one year.

About the middle of September, I left the presidency for Benares, by water. The river was in high beauty; its waters full, and just beginning to run off, and a favourable time of the year for the wind in going up.

1. The donie is a small coasting vessel, of Indian construction.

The boat in common use with travellers, is the budgerow ; it is a clumsy concern, flat-bottomed, with a lofty poop running forward two-thirds of its entire length, while crowded on a low deck just before the mast are the oars.

They vary in size, from eighteen to twelve oared, can only sail before the wind ; and against the stream are usually tracked by the crew. Perhaps, however, no boat could be substituted for it, containing half so much accommodation and comfort. Beneath the poop are two large, [162] airy, cheerful cabins, with green Venetians on both sides ; you have thus good and separate apartments for sleeping and sitting. A baggage and cook boat sail with you, and you are free from all incumbrances ; they sail up alongside and come on board regularly with your breakfast and tiffin as on shore. If you are taking horses up the country, you have also a large boat for them. Every evening at sunset your budgerow is moored for the night, and at peep of day she is again under way.

Thus, as it were, without stirring out of a parlour, except for exercise, morning and evening, on foot, horseback, or with your gun, you may be transported from the ship's side, in which you enter the Hooghly, to Agra, or even Delhi. This, however, would be very tedious ; indeed, above Cawnpore, few, if any, travellers proceed by water.

[163] Great as were the varieties of scenery between Calcutta and Berhampore, I have not the power of description where a character of general resemblance compels a notice of the same objects, and a use of the same epithets. The river Hooghly has its banks most beautifully clothed with tree and shrub ; and the number and size of the bamboos, which, delicate and tender at the head, bend over the water, with a drooping grace, form a marked feature in the many pleasing views, by which the eye is constantly refreshed. It is moreover adorned with villages, and large cultivated tracts : here again it will break out into broad reaches so flooded above its banks, as to look like spacious lakes ; and further on, perhaps, will show large islands of waste land, covered with straw-coloured glossy-headed reeds, looking like ripe barley-fields at home. Such were the materials, which, assuming at every change of light and position different appearances, gave [164] me an exhaustless variety of beautiful scenery.

Each rising, each setting of the sun had colours and charms peculiarly its own.

SNAKE BOATS : [166] . . . (Moorshedabad) . . . In the evenings, several of them go upon the water, in boats kept for pleasure, called snake-boats, from their length and their quick darting motion. They are very narrow, and have large crews, who use short, broad [167] paddles, with which they strike the water in a quick-measured cadence, which tells loudly, as it falls on the boat's gunwale. Here the owners are seated on cloths or carpets, with, or often without awnings ; have their hookahs, and sherbet ; a musician or two, or a story-teller : and the crews, too, sing accustomed airs with a wild chorus, led by their coxswain, who stands at the very stern, in a bold graceful attitude, as their boat darts on the bosom of the stream with fearful velocity.

CALCUTTA IN 1820*

By **Walter Hamilton**

[48] CALCUTTA (*Calicata*). This city is situated about 100 miles from the sea, on the east side of the western branch of the Ganges, named by Europeans the Hooghly, or Calcutta river, but by the natives, the Bhagirathi, or true Ganges, and considered by them peculiarly holy. Fort William, its citadel, stands in lat. 22° 23' N. long. 88° 28' E.

The locality of this capital is not fortunate, for it has extensive muddy lakes, and an immense forest close to it, and was at first deemed scarcely less [49] unhealthy than Batavia, which it resembled in being placed in a flat and marshy country. The English, it has been remarked, have been more inattentive to the local advantages of situation than the French, who have always in India selected better stations for founding their foreign settlements. The jungle has since been cleared away to a certain distance, the streets properly drained, and the ponds filled up, by which a vast surface of stagnant water has been removed, but the air of the town is still much affected by the vicinity of the Sunderbunds. At high water, the river is here a full mile in breadth, but during ebb tide, the opposite shore exposes a long range of dry sand banks. On approaching Calcutta from the sea, a stranger is much struck with its magnificent appearance; the elegant villas on each side of the river, the Company's botanic gardens, the spires of the churches, temples, and minarets, and the strong and regular citadel of Fort William. It exhibited a very different appearance in 1717, of which the following is a correct description.

The present town was then a village, appertaining to the district of Nuddea, the houses of which were scattered about in

*From *A Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Description of Hindoostan and The Adjacent Countries* (in two volumes) by Walter Hamilton, London, 1820, vol. I, pp. 48-61.

clusters of 10 or 12 each, and the inhabitants chiefly husbandmen. A forest existed in the south of Chandpaul Ghaut, which was afterwards by degrees removed. Between Kidderpore and the forest, were two villages, whose inhabitants were invited to settle in Calcutta by the ancient family of the Seats, who were at that time merchants of great note, and very instrumental in bringing Calcutta into the form of a town. Fort William and the esplanade were the site where this forest, and the two villages above mentioned formerly stood. In 1810, there were still inhabitants alive, who could recollect a creek, which extended from Chandpaul Ghaut to Balliaghaut; and who said, that the drain before the government house is where it took its course. To the south of the Beytakhana there is still a ditch, which shews evident traces of the continuation of this creek.¹ In 1717, there was a small village, consisting of straggling houses, surrounded by puddles of water, where now stand the elegant houses at Chowringhee; and Calcutta may, at this period be described as extending to Chitpore bridge, but the intervening space consisted of ground covered with jungle. In 1742, a ditch was dug round a considerable portion of the boundaries of Calcutta, to prevent the incursions of the Mahrattas; and it appears from Orme's History of the War in Bengal, that at the time of its capture in 1756, there were about 70 houses in the town belonging to the English. What are now called the esplanade, the site of Fort William and Chowringhee, were, so late as 1756, a complete jungle, interspersed with huts, and small pieces of grazing and arable land.

In 1752, the town of Calcutta (as described by Mr. Holwell) was divided into four principal districts, under the denominations of Dee Calcutta, Govindpore, [50] Sootanutty, and Bazar Calcutta, to each of which, and to the great bazar a distinct cutcherry was appropriated. These four districts comprehended 7,200 begahs of land, and contained (exclusive of mosques, temples, &c. &c.) 9,451 houses. Within the Company's bounds, there was also land then possessed by independent proprietors amounting to 3,050 begahs and containing 5,267 houses; which, added to those under the Company's protection, made the whole amount to 14,718 houses, on 10,255 begahs (at 30 begahs to 11 acres) equal to 3,790 English acres. For the sake of distinction, Mr. Holwell calls the proprietors of the above 14,718

houses, principal tenants, or holders of leases, who had their lodgers or under tenants within their respective limits, estimated in the ratio of five under tenants to each principal lease holder, who possessed one begah of land. If, therefore, 8,522, the exact number of begahs paying rent be multiplied by 6, the number of houses then in Calcutta would be 51,132, which sum being multiplied by 8 inhabitants for each house (which Mr. Holwell calls a moderate number), the result would give a total of 409,056 constant inhabitants, without reckoning the multitude that were daily coming and going.²

The modern town of Calcutta extends along the east side of the river above six miles, but the breadth varies very much at different places. The esplanade between the town and Fort William leaves a grand opening, along the edge of which is placed the new government house, erected by the Marquis Wellesley, and continued on in a line with this edifice, is a range of magnificent houses ornamented with spacious verandahs. Chouringhee, formerly a collection of native huts, is now an entire village of palaces, and extends for a considerable distance into the country. The architecture of the houses is Grecian, which does not appear the best adapted for the country or climate, as the pillars of the verandahs are too much elevated, to keep out the sun during the morning, and evening; although at both these times, especially the latter, the heat is excessive; and in the wet season it is deluged by the rain. Perhaps a more confined Hindoo style of building, although less ornamental, might be found of more practical comfort. The principal square extends about 500 yards each way, and contains in the centre an extensive tank, surrounded by a handsome wall and railing, and having a gradation of steps to the bottom, which is 60 feet from the top of its banks. A range of indifferent looking houses, known by the name of the writers buildings, occupies the side of the square, and near to it on the site of the old fort, taken by Seraje-ud-Dowlah, in 1757, is a custom house, and several other handsome buildings. The black hole³ is now part of the warehouse, and filled with merchandize. A monument is erected facing the gate, to commemorate the unfortunate persons who there perished; but it has been [51] struck by lightening, and is itself going fast to decay. A quay has been erected in front of the custom house, which promises

to be a great convenience, and it would be a still greater were the embankment extended along the whole face of the town next the river. In 1818, to make room for some improvements in the neighbourhood of the Tank Square, the remaining portion of the wall of the old fort was removed, on which occasion its solid and substantial fabric, both as to brick and mortar, indicated a falling off in the art of building in India.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS

The government house is the most remarkable public edifice in Calcutta. The lower story forms a rustic basement, with arcades to the building, which is Ionic. On the north side there is a flight of steps, under which carriages drive to the entrance; and, on the south there is a circular colonnade, with a dome. The four wings, one at each corner of the building, are connected with it by circular passages, so long as to secure their enjoying the air all round, from whichever quarter the wind blows. These wings contain all the private apartments; and in the north-east corner is the council-room, decorated like other public rooms with portraits. The centre of the building contains two uncommonly fine rooms: the lowest is paved with dark grey marble, and supported by doric columns, chunamed, resembling marble. Above this hall is the ball-room, floored with dark polished wood, and supported by Ionic pillars. Both rooms are lighted by a profusion of cut glass lustres, suspended from the painted ceiling, where an excellent taste is displayed in the decorations.

Besides the government house, the other public buildings are a town house, the court of justice, and two churches of the established religion, one of which makes a very handsome appearance, but the other is a plain building. There are also churches for the Portuguese Catholics, another of the Greek persuasion, an Armenian church, and many small Hindoo temples, and Mahommedan mosques. The hospital and jail are to the south of the town. The botanic garden is beautifully situated on the west bank of the river, and gives the name of Garden Reach to a bend of the Hooghly. Above the garden there is an extensive teak plantation, which is not a native of this part of India, but which thrives well here. There is a private

dock yard opposite to Fort William, and another one mile below it, on the same side of the river.

BLACK TOWN

The black town extends along the river to the north, and exhibits a remarkable contrast to the part inhabited by Europeans. Persons who have only seen the latter (which is probably the case of a great many individuals) have little conception of the remainder of the city; but those, who have been led there by their public or private avocations, will bear testimony to the wretched condition of at least six in eight parts of this externally magnificent city. The streets here are narrow, dirty, and unpaved; the houses of two stories are of brick, with [52] flat terraced roofs; but the great majority are mud cottages, covered with small tiles, with side walls of mats, bamboos, and other combustible materials, the whole within and without swarming with population. Fires, as may be inferred from the construction, are of frequent occurrence; but do not in the least affect the European quarter, which, from the mode of building, is quite incombustible. In this division the houses stand detached from each other, within a space enclosed by walls, the general approach being by a flight of steps under a large verandah, their whole appearance being uncommonly elegant and respectable. Although brick, mortar, and wood, are not scarce in Calcutta, yet the money sunk in building a house is very considerable; and being a perishable commodity, requiring constant repair, house rent is proportionally high. The white ants are also so destructive and rapid in their operations, that sometimes every beam in a house may be completely excavated internally, while outwardly it appears perfectly sound.

In Calcutta, the greater number of the bazars are the property of individuals, who pay a certain assessment to government, fixed in perpetuity, or for a long period of years. The total number of this description is 13, and their collective assessment 10,050 rupees. Three of them, denominated from the persons who established them, Tiretta's bazar, Sherburne's bazar, and Short's bazar, are held under grants from government for 99 years; the two former assessed with 500 rupees per annum; the last with 832 rupees. These grants were made to encourage

the construction of substantial buildings, adapted for the convenience of the market dealers in the different parts of the town. Six other bazars, erected on ground belonging to the government, are let in farm.⁴

FORT WILLIAM

Fort William stands a quarter of a mile below the town, and is superior in strength and regularity, to any fortress in India. It is of an octagon form, five of the faces being regular, while the forms of the other three next the river, are according to the local circumstances. As no approach by land is to be apprehended on this side, the river coming up to the glacis, it was merely necessary to guard against attack by water, by providing a great superiority of fire, which purpose has been attained by giving the citadel towards the water the form of a large salient angle, the faces of which enfilade the course of the river. From these faces the guns continue to bear upon the objects, till they approach very near to the city, when they would receive the fire of the batteries parallel to the river. This part is likewise defended by adjoining bastions, and a counterguard which covers them.

The five regular sides are towards the land; the bastions have all very salient orillons, behind which are retired circular flanks, extremely spacious, and an inverse double flank at the height of the berme. This double flank would be an [53] excellent defence, and would serve to retard the passages of the ditch, as from its form it cannot be enfiladed. The orillon preserves it from the effect of ricochet shot, and it is not to be seen from any parallel. The berme, opposite to the curtain, serves as a road to it, and contributes to the defence of the ditch like a *fausse-bray*.

The ditch is dry, with a cunette in the middle, which receives the water of the river by means of two sluices that are commanded by the fort. The counterscarp and covered-way are excellent, every curtain is covered with a large half moon, without flanks, bonnet, or redoubt, but the faces mount 13 pieces of heavy artillery each; thus giving to the defence of these ravelins, a fire of 26 guns. The demi-bastions which terminate the five regular fronts on each side, are covered by a counter-

guard, of which the faces, like the half moons, are pierced with 13 embrasures. These counterguards are connected with two redoubts, constructed in the place of arms of the adjacent re-entering angles ; the whole is faced and palisadoed with care, kept in admirable condition, and capable of making a vigorous defence against any army, however formidable. The advanced works are executed on an extensive scale ; and the angles of the half moons being extremely acute, project a great way, so as to be in view of each other beyond the flanked angle of the polygon, and capable of taking the trenches in the rear at an early period of the approach.

This citadel was commenced by Lord Clive soon after the battle of Plassey, and was intended by him to be complete in every respect, but it has since been discovered, that it is erected on too extensive a scale to answer the purpose for which it was intended, that of a tenable post in case of extremity, as the number of troops required to garrison it properly, would be able to keep the field. It is capable of containing 15,000 men, and the works are so extensive, that 10,000 would be required to defend them efficiently ; and from first to last have cost the East India Company two millions sterling. The works are scarcely at all raised above the level of the surrounding country, of course do not make an imposing appearance from without, nor are they perceptible until closely approached. This excites great surprise in the natives coming from the interior, who always connect the idea of great strength with great elevation, and usually mistake the barracks for the fort ; which, however, only contain such buildings as are absolutely necessary, such as the residence of the commandant, quarters for the officers and troops, and the arsenal. These barracks make a very handsome appearance and afford excellent accommodation both to the privates and officers. The interior of the fort is perfectly open, presenting to the view large grass plots and gravel walks, kept cool by rows of trees, and in the finest order, intermixed with piles of balls, bomb shells, and cannon. Each gate has a house over it [54] destined for the residence of a major. Between the fort and town an extensive level space intervenes, called the explanade.

The garrison is usually composed of two or three European regiments, one of artillery, with artificers and workmen for the

arsenals. The native corps, amounting to about 4,000 men, are generally cantoned at Barrackpore, fifteen miles higher up the river, and supply about 1,200 monthly, to perform the duty of the fort. The wells in the different out-works of Fort William, some of which are 500 yards from the river, during the hot season become so brackish, as to be unfit either for culinary purposes, or for washing. Government has in consequence formed an immense reservoir, occupying one of the bastions, to be filled, when required, with rain water.

Until 1814, it has always been a commonly received opinion that the soil in the vicinity of Calcutta was particularly moist and full of springs, but the reverse was proved in that year, as after boring to the depth of 140 feet, no springs of any description were perceptible. While deepening, in 1813, the great tank at the beginning of the Chowringhee road, a quantity of decayed wood was found at the depth of 35 feet below the surface, which was imagined at that time to be an accidental circumstance ; but in 1814, when Sir Edward Hyde East bored in search of springs, rotten wood in a stratum of blue clay was perforated, at the distance of half a mile from the tank above mentioned, which renders probable the supposition, that the debris of an ancient forest forms a substratum to a considerable extent, at that distance from the surface. The acknowledged improvement of the climate in and about Calcutta of late years, is to be ascribed to the attention paid by the police to a general system of drainage, and to the cutting of broad straight roads through the contiguous woods, in the direction of the prevailing winds. If some less swampy production could be substituted for rice in its neighbourhood, perhaps a still greater degree of salubrity might be attained. The rainy season at Calcutta usually begins about the 12th of June, and is accompanied by much thunder, and ends about the 14th of October.⁵

Calcutta possesses the advantage of an excellent inland navigation, foreign imports being transported with great facility on the Ganges and its subsidiary streams, to the northern nations of Hindostan, while the valuable productions of the interior are received by the same channels. There are seldom less than one million sterling in cloths belonging to native merchants deposited in Calcutta for sale, and every other species of merchandise in an equal proportion. The total capital belonging to native

monied and commercial interests was estimated in 1807, to exceed 16,000,000 sterling, and has certainly since that time been greatly augmented. This amount is employed by them in the government funds, loans to individuals, internal and external trade, and in various other transactions⁶. The formerly timid Hindoo now lends money on respondentia, on distant voyages, engages in speculations to remote parts of the world, ensures as an underwriter, and erects indigo works in different parts of the provinces. He has the advantage of trading on his own capital with much greater frugality than a European, and exclusive of the security of his property, enjoys the most perfect toleration of his religion. In September, 1808, the Calcutta government bank was established, with a capital of 50 lacks of rupees, of which government have 10 lacks, and individuals the remainder. The notes issued are not for less than 10 rupees, or more than 10,000.⁷

POPULATION

There have been various opinions as to the population of Calcutta, but it does not appear that any very correct census has ever been taken.⁸ In 1802, the police magistrates reckoned the population at 600,000 ; about 1810, Sir Henry Russel, the chief judge, computed the population of the town and its environs at one million ; and General Kyd the population of the city alone at between 4 and 500,000 inhabitants. Probably half a million will be a tolerably correct approximation of the real number. The adjacent country is also so thickly inhabited, that in 1802 the police magistrates were of opinion that Calcutta, with a circuit of 20 miles, comprehended 2,225,000 souls. In 1798, the number of houses, shops, and other habitations in the town of Calcutta, belonging to individuals, was as follows⁹ :

British subjects	..	..	4,300
Armenians	..	..	640
Portuguese and other Christian inhabitants	..	..	2,650
Hindoos	..	..	56,460
Mahomedans	..	..	14,700
Chinese	..	..	10
Total houses			<hr/> 78,760 <hr/>

The above statement does not include the new and old forts, and many houses the property of the East India Company.¹⁰

	Rupees
In the official year, ¹¹ 1813-14, the house tax collected amounted to	186,053
The disbursements for salaries, collectors, commission, scavengers, town watch and river watch (62,000 rupees), carts, labourers, &c. &c. &c. amounted to	178,266
Surplus	7,787

[56] The following are the sums collected in different branches of the public town revenue within Calcutta in the official year 1813-14. The tax for licences on the sale of spirits produced 150,948 rupees; the duty on the fermented juice of the toddy tree 26,997 rupees; the tax on European distilleries 72,162; the duty on Ganja, or intoxicating drugs, 9,004 rupees; the market duties 12,205; fees and fines, 9,868. The receipt of tolls on the canals was as follows:—

	Rupees	Charges	Net receipts
Tolley's Canal—Produce of tolls, in 1813-14	62,885	4,482	58,403
New Canal - ditto -	11,435	2,111	9,334
Banka Canal - ditto -	6,906	2,264	4,642
Canals joining the Issamutty and other rivers in the Nuddea district: Collections in 1813-14	23,105	11,750	11,355

Though these canals, and along the various streams of flowing water, innumerable small craft arrive from the interior and upper provinces, loaded with the produce and manufactures of their respective countries, while the shipping collected opposite to the town presents a magnificent spectacle. The river in many places reaches almost to the basis of the houses, and the people descend by flights of steps built of brick masonry. Owing to the custom of throwing dead bodies into it, the water is sufficiently dirty, yet is resorted to in crowds by the natives for the purposes of ablution. The rapidity of the tides up and down causes a

constant circulation both of air and water, and tends to prevent the deleterious effects which would otherwise result from a body of water containing such putrid infusions, were it in the slightest degree stagnant, or even torpid in its motions. The following statement will shew the amount of foreign shipping in the river Hooghly on the 1st of February, 1819 :—

		Tons
East India Company's ships	1	818
Free traders	24	11,174
Country ships employed	29	10,516
Ditto laid up for sale or freight	32	13,015
American vessels	6	1,966
French vessels	7	2,958
Spanish vessels	—	—
Portuguese vessels	5	1,473
Danish vessels	—	—
Arab vessels	—	—
		<hr/>
Total		41,920
		<hr/>

SOCIAL LIFE

The European society in Calcutta is numerous, gay, and convivial, and the [57] fetes given by the Governors General. splendid and well arranged. Each of the principal officers of government have their public days for the reception of their friends, independent of which not a day passes, particularly during the cold season, without several large dinner parties being formed of from 30 to 40. A subscription assembly also subsists, but it is unfashionable, although it is the only place of public amusement, the society being much subdivided into parties.^{11a}

It is usual to rise early, in order to enjoy the cool air of the morning, which is particularly pleasant before sunrise. Betwixt one and two a meal is taken, which is called tiffin, after which many retire to bed for two or three hours. The dinner is commonly after sunset, which necessarily keeps the guests up until midnight. The viands are excellent and served in great profusion; and as the heat of the climate does not admit of their

being kept, great part are at last thrown out to the pariah dogs, and birds of prey. The lower orders of Portuguese, to whom alone they could be serviceable, cannot consume the whole; and the religious prejudices of the native servants, prevent their tasting any food prepared by persons not of their caste or religion. To this circumstance is to be attributed the amazing flocks of crows, kites, and vultures, which, undisturbed by man, live together in amicable society, and almost cover the houses and gardens. In their profession of scavengers, the kites and crows are assisted during the day by the voracious adjutant stork, and after sunset by pariah dogs, foxes, and jackals, which then emerge from the neighbouring jungles, and with their howls make night hideous.

The wines chiefly drunk are Madeira and claret; the former, which is excellent, during the meal, the latter afterwards. The claret being medicated for the voyage, is by some considered too strong, and both sorts of wine incur great danger from the musk rats, which, though small, have so strong a smell, that if one of them gets into a chest of wine, every bottle of wine it passes over, smells so disagreeably; and acquires so disgusting a flavour that it is not drinkable.

The Calcutta market supplies a great variety of game, such as snipes, wild ducks, partridges, and different species of the ortolan tribe; the whole comparatively cheap. The wild venison is much inferior to that of Britain, but the park or stall fed is equally good. The hare is a very poor creature, and differs in many qualities from that of Britain, being deficient in size, strength and swiftness, which observation also applies to the Bengal fox, which is a very contemptible animal. The tables of the gentlemen in Calcutta are distinguished by a vast profusion of most beautiful fruits, procured at a very moderate expense, such as pine apples, plantains, mangoes, pomeloes or shaddocks, melons of all sorts, oranges, custard apples, guavas, peaches, and an endless variety of other orchard fruits. But the great luxury of Calcutta is the mangoe fish (so named [58] from its appearing during the mangoe season), the taste and flavour of which can never be sufficiently extolled. By the natives they are named the Tapaswi (penitent) fish, (abbreviated by Europeans to Topsy), from their resembling a class of religious penitents, who ought never to shave.

The usual mode of visiting is in palanquins, but many gentlemen have carriages adapted to the climate, and the breed of horses has lately been greatly improved. It is universally the practice to drive out between sunset and dinner, and as it becomes dark, servants with torches go out and meet their masters, and run before the carriages with an astonishing rapidity, and for a wonderful length of time. It was formerly the fashion, and it is still adhered to up the country, for gentlemen to dress in white cotton jackets on all occasions, being well suited to the climate, but being thought too much of an undress for public occasions, they are now laid aside for coats of English cloth.

The British inhabitants stationary in Calcutta, and scattered through the provinces, are generally hospitable in the highest degree, and most liberal where their assistance is wanted. When an officer of respectability dies, in either service, leaving a widow or children, a subscription is immediately commenced, which in every instance has proved generous, and not unfrequently has conferred on the parties a degree of affluence, that the life of the husband or parent could not for many years have accomplished.¹² The Asiatic Society was planned by Sir William Jones on the outward voyage from England, and formed into a regular institution on the 15th January, 1814.¹³ Its principal object is to concentrate in one focus the valuable knowledge that may be occasionally attained of Asia, or at least to preserve many little tracts and essays, the writers of which might not think them of sufficient importance for separate publication. From this period may be dated the commencement of all accurate information regarding India in general, and Hindostan in particular, which even at the present day is but very imperfectly known.¹⁴

CIVIL SERVANTS, MERCHANTS AND COMMUNITIES

The Company grant a princely allowance to their civil servants, but large as it is, it does not always suffice for the expenses of the juniors, many of whom, on their arrival, set up an extravagant establishment of horses, carriages, and servants and thereby involve themselves in embarrassments, at a very early period of their lives. To support this profuse mode of living they are obliged to borrow from their dewan, who is generally a monied

native of rank, who supplies their extravagance, and encourages their dissipation until their difficulties are almost inextricable. While the young civilian remains in an inferior situation, the debt to the dewan continues to accumulate ; and when higher appointments are at length attained, it requires years to clear off the embarrassments of his juvenile thoughtlessness.¹⁵ Instances of this description are now rare compared with what [59] they were at an earlier period of the Company's acquisitions ; and, notwithstanding the multiplied temptations, a very great majority of those who reach the higher stations wholly escape their influence, and are distinguished for the most unsullied integrity of character. Whenever a deviation has occurred, it could invariably be traced to the imprudence of the young man on his first arrival, and his subsequent dependence on his dewan.

The British merchants of Calcutta are a numerous and respectable body of men, many of whom have acquired large fortunes by their industry and enterprising spirit, and conduce essentially to the prosperity of the province. Here they display a liberality in their manner of living, seldom equalled in other parts of the world ; and their acts of charity and munificence to persons in distress have never been surpassed by any similar number of individuals of any rank whatever.

The Armenians are a respectable, and probably the most numerous body of foreign merchants at the presidency. They carry on an extensive trade to China and the eastward, and to the west as far as the Arabian Gulf, or Red Sea. Some of the superior class are usually invited to the public balls and entertainments. The number of Greek merchants in Calcutta is not considerable. They maintain one clergyman who performs religious worship according to their rites. The Portuguese houses of agency are, in point of number, next to those of the English. A very considerable number of the progeny of that nation reside in Calcutta and the environs, and have approximated very closely to the natives in appearance and manners. Among the various classes of mercantile community no mention is made of Jews. Few of that nation have settled in Hindostan, and Calcutta is probably the only very opulent town that is wholly free from them. Their practices and occupations are engrossed by the native sirkars, banyans, and writers ; most of whom are quite a match for any Jew. The shops of these petty traffickers,

although better than their houses, are mean and disagreeable. The European shops are singularly splendid. Some of these native traders have accumulated enormous fortunes, and the public apartments of a few are fitted up after the European fashion with elegant chandeliers, pier glasses, couches, chests of drawers, desks, and two or three hundred chairs; while in other rooms the images of their gods are seen decorated with jewels. Some have taken to the drinking of tea, some keep English coaches and equipages; and one in particular had an English coachman.

Without being attached to some department of the service, or trained up to some mechanical trade, there is hardly any hope of prosperity to a young man migrating on chance from Europe. Here all the inferior situations of clerks, overseers, &c. are necessarily occupied by the natives, and it is by these gradations [60] in Europe, that young men rise to opulence in the commercial world. It is scarcely in the power, even of a governor general, to assist a person of respectable connexions, who does not belong to one of the liberal professions; and although the general climate of the province is not essentially improved, Europeans are now much better acquainted with the means of counteracting its effects than formerly, and deaths are far from being so frequent. Regularity of living, avoiding too much exposure to the sun, and all extremes (even of abstinence) are much more practised by the modern inhabitants, than they were in the early adventurers; vacancies, consequently, in any line or trade are of much rarer occurrence. The maintenance and education, of children, the offspring of Europeans in India, have, on account of their number, become objects of great importance. The institutions for this purpose have been formed, one for the education of officers' children, and the other for those of private soldiers. To these charitable foundations may be added a free school and native hospital.

SUPREME COURT

It is in Calcutta, that the effect of the intercourse between Europeans and natives is in any degree visible, as there alone, an indistinct sort of link may be discerned between the rulers

and the people. The lowest and poorest Europeans, and the native born Christians and Portuguese, do, in some slight degree, mix with the natives in their ordinary concerns and amusements, just sufficient to produce a very inconsiderable change in their manners and character. The establishment of the supreme court, and the intercourse between the natives and the lowest officers of that court, must be considered another cause of the same nature; but by these causes their morals have not been in the slightest degree improved. On the contrary they have learned all the mean arts of chicanery, imposture, and litigiousness, to which they are by nature sufficiently prone; without acquiring a particle of plain dealing, firmness, independence of the spirit, or useful knowledge. They appear to imbibe only those principles of the European character which tend to impair the mildness and simplicity of their own; and whenever in the behaviour of the natives insolence, ill nature, coarseness, brutality or drunkenness, qualities hostile to their national character, are observed, the change may be invariably traced to their intercourse with low Europeans.

The supreme court of judicature at Calcutta consists of a chief justice and two puisne judges, nominated to their situations in India by the king. Its cognizance extends to all British subjects, that is, natives or descendants of the natives of Great Britain in India, and to all the inhabitants within the parochial limits of Calcutta, as enclosed by the Mahratta ditch; but this court is allowed no cognizance over the land revenue. In suits to which the natives are parties, the judges are enjoined, by act of parliament, to respect the usages of [61] the country. In matters of inheritance or contract, the rule of decision is to be the law acknowledged by the litigant parties. Should only one of the parties be a Mahomedan or Hindoo, it is to be the law acknowledged by the defendant. Criminal offences are tried by a jury consisting, exclusively, of British subjects; in trials of a civil nature the judges decide both on the law and on the fact. The supreme court also tries criminal charges against the Company's servants, and civil suits in which the Company or the Company's servants are concerned. The law practitioners attached to the court are 14 attorneys and 6 barristers.

Little morality is learned in a court of justice, and notwithstanding the severity of the police, and of the English laws, it

appears probable that the morals of the native inhabitants are worse in Calcutta, than in the provincial districts. This is not to be attributed solely to the size, population, and indiscriminate society of the capital, but in part to the supreme court; every native connected with which appearing to have his morals contaminated by the intimacy. In mentioning this evil, it is not intended in the most remote degree, to attribute it to any individual, or body of men, or to speak with disrespect of the institution itself; but merely to mention a fact, which has probably been remarked by every judge who ever sat on the bench. Within these few years the natives have attained a sort of legal knowledge, as it is usually denominated. This consists of a skill in the arts of collusion, intrigue, subordination, and perjury, which enables them to perplex and baffle the magistrate with infinite facility.

Notwithstanding the temptations to which the natives are exposed, it is surprising how seldom thefts or burglaries are committed on the property of Europeans in Bengal, who scarcely take any precautions towards their prevention. In some families 30 or 40 domestics, many of them natives of distant provinces, sleep during the night within the enclosure, or in the passages and verandahs of the house, when every door is open, and detection almost impossible. Owing to their extreme timidity they seldom venture to rob openly, or on a large scale, but prefer a more indirect and complicated system of small pilfering and cheating.

Besides the supreme court, Calcutta is the headquarters of appeal, and circuit, which comprehends the following subdivisions. 1. Burdwan; 2. Jungle Mahals; 3. Midnapoor; 4. Cuttack; 5. Jessore; 6. Nuddea; 7. Hooghly; 8. The 24 Pargannahs.—(*Public documents, manuscript and printed, Lord Valentia, Tennant, Sir H. Strachey, Milburn, Harrington, M. Graham, Rennel, &c. &c. &c.*).

* * *

Barnagore (Varanagara): This small town stands on the east side of the Hooghly river, about three miles above Calcutta. It was originally a Portuguese settlement, but afterwards came into the possession of the Dutch; and by the earlier British authorities is described as being the Paphos of Calcutta. Here the coarsest sort of blue handkerchiefs are manufactured (p. 64).

Bankybazar : A small town on the east side of the Hooghly river, 13 miles north from Calcutta. The Dutch had formerly a factory here from which they were expelled by Aliverdi Khan. Latitude $22^{\circ} 46' N$, longitude $38^{\circ} 28' E$. (I. 64).

Barrackpoor : This may be designated as a British settlement, situated on the east side of the river Hooghly, about 16 miles above Calcutta. Here are the unfinished arches of a house begun by the Marquis Wellesley, but discontinued by the frugality of the Court of Directors. In the park there is a menagerie, but it contains few animals of any sort. Horse races are run here in the cold season, government having discouraged those at Calcutta—(*M. Graham &c.* I. 64).

Balliaghaut : This is now properly a part of Calcutta, being its port for the eastern inland navigation ; although within the memory of inhabitants still alive, a jungle intervened two miles in extent, infested by tigers and other ferocious animals, by which several natives were annually devoured. A remarkable change has since taken place, there being an avenue of handsome houses and gardens the whole way. It is situated at the western extremity of two shallow, muddy, salt lakes, which at low ebb are nearly empty, but which when full, admit of being passed by boats and craft of considerable burthen. Some old inhabitants resident in Calcutta, recollect a creek which ran from Chandpaul Ghaut to Balliaghaut. They say that the drain from the government house is where it took its course, and there is ditch to the south of the Beytakhana, which shews evident traces of the continuance of the creek (Fifth Report, &c. I, 64-65).

Writers : The body of servants who fill the commercial, political, financial and judicial offices in Bengal, are supplied by annual recruits of young officers under the appellation of writers, who generally leave England for India about the age of 18—when they have completed three years residence in the country they are eligible to an office of £ 500 per annum emolument, upwards ; after six years to £ 1500 per annum, upwards ; after nine to £ 3,000, upwards ; and after twelve years to £ 4000 per annum, or upwards. The directors of the Company generally appoint annually about 30 writers for the civil service at the three presidencies. In 1811, the number of civil servants

in Bengal was 391 ; under the Madras presidency 206, and under that of Bombay 74 ; in all 671 (I. 93).

Bangalow : "The genuine Bengalese towns are not arranged into streets, but into divisions of east, west, north, south, and centre. In one part the Hindoos reside in another the Mahomedans, and in another the native Portugueze. The Hindoo portion is farther subdivided into the quarters of the Brahmins, scribes, weavers, oil makers, washermen, barbers, cultivators, potters, &c. ; but this distribution is not always strictly observed. The style of house peculiar to Bengal consists of a hut with a pent roof constructed of two sloping sides, which meet in a ridge forming the segment of a circle, so that it has the resemblance of a boat overturned. This kind of hut is called by the natives *banggala*, a name which has been altered by Europeans to *bungalow*, and applied by them to all their buildings in the cottage style, although many of them are excellent brick houses, adorned with the forms of Grecian architecture (I. 97-98).

Diamond Harbour : A harbour in the river Hooghly, about 34 miles below Calcutta in a straight line, but much more by the windings of the river. This place and anchorage are singularly unhealthy, especially in the months of July, August and September, during and after the periodical rains. This is partly owing to the proximity of low swampy shores, where a number of sluggish currents open into the stream of the Hooghly, floating down a quantity of vegetable and animal substances, which emit the most offensive vapours. To these natural evils, are super-added many artificial ones, all contributing to the destruction of the seamen. The great precautions, taken from the best motives, to prevent their procuring wholesome spirits, drives them to the use of the most deleterious species of Bengal arrack, which no vigilance on the part of their officers could prevent. Their food consists of half ripe, half rotten fruit, stale eggs, and over-driven beaf, and their drink on shore most execrable water, generally procured from a filthy puddle. Add to this the society of loathsome prostitutes, excessive labour in the sun, want of manly recreation during their leisure hours, and the absence of the requisite medical assistance, and the combined effect will account for the mortality of the ships' crews, while lying at Diamond Harbour. In 1814, the Bengal government set about seriously to endeavour to remedy these evils ; but if practicable,

it would be preferable to abandon this place of skulls, and resort solely to Sagor island.

At Diamond Harbour the Company's ships usually unload their outward, and receive on board the greater part of their homeward cargoes, from whence they proceed to Sagor roads, where the remainder is shipped. The government ground here consists of about 800 begahs, enclosed by an embankment raised to prevent inundation, and containing the Company's warehouses for ships' stores, rigging, &c. ; the provisions and refreshments, such as they are, are purchased at the neighbouring villages. The adjacent country is in a high state of cultivation, and yields plentiful crops, although strongly impregnated with salt, occasioned by the inundation which occurs towards the autumnal equinox. (*John Elliott, &c. &c. &c.* I. 141-142).

Bazar. "In Bengal, a bazar is a daily market where things in common use are regularly sold, and it is not unusual to have them in a haut, where a number of petty venders, besides the established shop-keepers frequent them. In gunges, or bunders, the chief commodities sold are grain and the necessaries of life, and they often include bazars and hauts, where the articles are sold by retail, and in great variety (I. 38).

In Calcutta *cowries* are reckoned thus :—

4 cowries	—1 gunda.	(I. 41)
20 gundas	—1 pon,	
32 pons	—1 current rupee 2s. (2,560 cowries)	

Haut : A market which in Bengal is held on certain days only, and resorted to by petty venders and traders. They are established in open plains where a flag is erected on the day and at the place of purchase and sale (II. Glossary, p. 823).

NOTES

Walter Hamilton, in his *East India Gazetteer* ("The East-India Gazetteer ; containing particular descriptions of the Empires, Kingdoms, Principalities, Provinces, Cities, Towns, Districts, Fortresses, Harbours, Rivers, Lakes, &c. of Hindostan, and the Adjacent countries, India, Beyond the Ganges, and the Eastern Archipelago ; together with sketches of the manners, customs, institutions, agriculture, commerce, manufactures revenues, population, castes, religion, history, &c. of their various inhabitants" second edition in two volumes, published in 1828, by Parbury, Allen & Co., Leadenhall Street London. For Calcutta, see vol. I, pp. 315-325) has given an updated version of his account of Calcutta

reproduced here from his *Geographical &c. Description of Hindostan*. We reproduce here the additional information in the *East India Gazetteer*, ignoring, at the same time, verbal changes made here and there.

1. These two sentences ("In 1810 course & To the creek") have been omitted.
2. This paragraph ("In 1752 going") omitted.
3. The lines beginning from "The black hole" have been recast as thus : "The famous black hole no longer exists, it having been taken down in 1818 with all that remained of the old fort, to make room for some new improvements, when its substantial solidity was particularly remarked ; but this consolidation is probably the usual effect of time, being generally apparent in all old buildings of long duration. (pp. 316-317).
4. This para ("In Calcutta farm") has been omitted.
5. This para ("Until 1814 October") has been recast thus : "Until 1814, it had always been a commonly received opinion, that the soil in the vicinity of Calcutta was particularly moist and full of springs ; but the reverse was proved in that year, as after boring to the depth of 140 feet, no springs of any description were perceptible. In 1817, while deepening a tank facing the corner of Esplanade Row, numerous massy trunks of trees were discovered, about sixty feet under the surface, standing in an erect position, with the roots and branches diverging ; and similar phenomena occurred in 1822, while deepening the great tank on the Chowringhee road. During the boring operations above-mentioned, a thin stratum of coal and blue clay was reached, fifty-three feet below the surface, facts all tending to prove a great accumulation of alluvial soil." (p. 319).
6. These two sentences ("There are transactions") have been amended thus : "The quantity of merchandize at all times deposited in Calcutta is enormous, and the amount of native capital employed in the government funds, loans to individuals, internal and external trade is very large". (p. 319).
7. These three lines ("In September 10,000) have been changed thus and a new paragraph added :
 "Besides the government bank there are also three private banks established in Calcutta which circulate to a considerable amount ; and one of these has branches in the Rajeshahy district, with offices at Bauleah, Moorshedabad, and Nattore. It may be computed that the paper circulation in Bengal, from these different sources, exceeds a crore of rupees, or one million sterling". (p. 319).
 "There are three artificial canals in the vicinity of Calcutta, and it is highly desirable that the water communication with the upper provinces should be uninterrupted, without passing through the unhealthy and dangerous channels of the Sunderbunds ; but, owing to the difficulties that beset hydraulic operations in Bengal, no feasible plan has as yet been devised to keep it permanently open.

Through these canals, and along the various streams of flowing water, innumerable small craft daily arrive from the interior, loaded with the produce and manufactures of their respective countries, while the shipping collected opposite to the town presents a magnificent spectacle. The river in many places reaches almost to the base of the houses, and the people descend by flights of steps built of brick masonry. Owing to the custom of throwing dead bodies into it, the water is sufficiently dirty; yet it is resorted to in crowds by the natives for the purposes of ablution. The rapidity of the tides up and down causes a constant circulation both of air and water, and tends to prevent the deleterious effects which would otherwise result from a body of water containing such putrid infusions, were it in the slightest degree stagnant, or even torpid in its motions. In 1826, besides the government steam-vessel the *Enterprize*, there was the *Diana*, and the *Comet* of twenty-four horse power, fitted up as packets to proceed up and down the river with passengers, effecting in three weeks what used to occupy as many months. Besides these were two armed government steam-boats getting ready, and one for deepening the river (pp. 319-320).

8. Addition here: "In 1752 Mr. Holwell estimated the number of houses within the Company's bounds at 51,132 and the constant inhabitants at 409,056 persons, without reckoning the multitude daily coming and going." (p. 320).

9. This data has been updated thus:

"In 1819 the School Society estimated the native population of Calcutta at 750,000: yet in 1822 we have the following details.

The returns of the population given for the four divisions are: Christians 13,138; Mahomedans 48,162; Hindoos 118,203; Chinese 414—total 179,917. It has been ascertained that the extent of Calcutta from the Maharatta ditch at the northern extremity, to the circular road at the southern circuit of Chowringhee, is not more than four miles and a-half, and that its average breadth is only one mile and a-half. The lower or south division of the town, which comprizes Chowringhee, is but thinly populated, the European houses being widely dispersed; but the portion named Colingah is chiefly inhabited by natives. The divisions between Durrantollah and the Bhow bazar has a denser population, as it comprehends the most thickly inhabited European quarter, besides a great many Creole christians. The northern section between the Bhow and Mutchua bazars certainly swarms with population, but the upper division to the north of the Mutchua Bazar is comparatively thinly covered with houses, presenting towards the north and east extensive gardens, large tanks, and ruinous habitations. The number of persons entering the town daily from the suburbs and across the river, has been estimated by stationary peons and sircars placed to count them, at 100,000. Upon the whole, therefore, in June 1822, it appeared to be the opinion of

the magistrates from the returns laid before them, that taking the resident population at about 200,000 persons, and those entering the town daily at 100,000, the sum total (300,000) would give a tolerably accurate approximation to the real number. By some strange arrangement in the above calculation, the population of the suburbs of Calcutta appears to be excluded and separated from that of the town, a process which, if adopted in England, would reduce London to a very moderate number; nor was the simple expedient of counting the houses resorted to. So long ago as 1798 these amounted by enumeration to 78,760, and there is no reason to suppose they have since decreased. A great number of the adult sojourners in Calcutta leave their families in the adjacent villages, so that the proportion of children within the body of the town is remarkably small." (p. 320).

- 10 This sentence is omitted in the Gazetteer.
11. This part, beginning from "In the official year" and ending with the statistics relating to shipping has been omitted in the Gazetteer.
- 11a. The sentence, "A subscription.....parties" has been deleted and the following new matter inserted there: "Besides the public subscription assemblies, there are select evening meetings at regular intervals, under the name of conversaziones, accompanied by music, dancing, cards, and other amusements. There is likewise a handsome new theatre, supported principally by amateurs; but although the performances only take place once a fortnight, they are often but thinly attended. Public concerts have also of late been very much in vogue, and, like the theatre, are partly supported by amateur talent." (p. 321).
12. There is this addition in the Gazetteer: "Their zeal for the promotion of religion, science, and literature, will be best estimated, after perusal of the following list of learned and benevolent institutions established by them and the government in Calcutta and the upper province, within the last half century. (p. 322).
13. The correct year (i.e. 1784) has been given in the Gazetteer.
14. This sentence has been recast thus: "From this period may be dated the commencement of all accurate information regarding India in general, and Hindostan in particular, which even at the present day is but imperfectly understood by European readers." (p. 322). Additional data inserted here:

"Recently a medical and phrenological society have been established, which publish their works periodically: the other learned and benevolent institutions are so numerous in Calcutta and the provinces that nothing more than their names can be given (p. 322).

"The college of Fort William, for finishing the education of the civil servants commenced at Haileybury, the Government Sanskrit College, the Madrisa or Government Mahomedan College, the Vidyalaya or Anglo-Indian College, the Benares College, the Agra College, the

Government schools at Chinsura and Benares, the free school at Cawnpoor, the school at Ajmeer, the Boglipoor School, the Calcutta Grammar School, the Armenian Academy, the Benevolent Institution, the Parental Academic Institution, the School for Trades, the Committee of Public Instruction, the School-Book Society, the Female Juvenile Society, the Ladies' Society for Native Female Education, the Institution for the Instruction of Indigent Children at Serampoor, the United Charity and Free School.

"The religious and charitable institutions are : The Auxiliary Bible Society, the Bible Association, the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Association, the Diocesan Committee for promoting Christian knowledge, the Auxiliary Missionary Society, the Bishop's College, the Bethel Union, the Seaman's Friend Society, the Military Orphan Society, the Military Widows' Fund, Lord Clive's Fund, the King's Military Fund, the Marine Pension Fund, the Civil Fund, the Mariners' and General Widows' Fund, the Presidency General Hospital, the Native Hospital, the Hospital for Native Lunatics, the Government Establishment for Vaccination, the School for Native Doctors, the Charitable Fund for the Relief of Distressed Europeans, the European Female Orphan Society. (p. 322).

"In 1825 the following newspapers were published in Calcutta, viz., "The John Bull," "the Bengal Harcarrah and Scotsman," daily papers; "the Government Gazette" and "the India Gazette," twice a week, and "the Bengal Weekly Messenger," published on Sunday. The native newspapers then were "the Merat ul Akbar," the "Jami Jehan Nama," "the Sungbaud Cowmuddy," and "the Sumochar Chundrica", all weekly; the first two in Persian, and the two last in Bengalese. In 1826, two additional Bengalese weekly newspapers were added to those before existing." (pp. 322-323).

15. The last three sentences of this paragraph have been rewritten thus, besides inserting a new para :

"Of late these responsible situations have been rendered of still more difficult attainment, by the determination of government to regard extravagance as an essential drawback from the claims of all candidates for offices of trust. Those who are incapable of exercising self-denial at the commencement of their career, have only themselves to blame if they are denied that confidence in the strength and integrity of their characters, which every one seeking important public trusts ought to possess; nor can the government sacrifice the duty it owes to the people, through any consideration for the interest of incautious servants. Instances of this species of insanity (for it deserves no other name) are now rare, compared with what they were at an earlier period of the British acquisitions; and, notwithstanding the multiplied temptations, a very great majority of those who arrive at the higher stations wholly escape the contagion, and are distinguished by the most unsullied

integrity of character. Whenever a deviation has occurred, it may invariably be traced to the imprudence of the young man on his first arrival, and his subsequent slavery to his dewan." (p. 323).

"Calcutta is in every point of view a new city, almost as much so with regard to its native gentry as to its European population. The great native families, who now contribute to its splendour, are of very recent origin; indeed, scarcely ten could be named who possessed wealth before the rise of the English power, it having been accumulated under our sovereignty, chiefly in our service, and entirely through our protection". (p. 323).

9

CALCUTTA IN 1822*

By Fanny Parks¹

[19] 1822, November 7th. We fell in with the Pilot Schooner, off the Sand-heads, the pilot came on board, bringing Indian newspapers and fresh news.

10th. We anchored at Saugor.—Here we bade adieu to our fellow-passengers, and the old 'Marchioness of Ely': perhaps a more agreeable voyage was never made, in spite of its duration, nearly five months.

Our neighbours in the stern cabin, very excellent people, and ourselves, no less worthy, hired a decked vessel, and proceeded up the Hoogly; that night we anchored off Fulta, and enjoyed fine fresh new milk, &c.; the next tide took us to Budge-Budge by night, and the following morning we landed at Chandpaul Ghat, Calcutta.

The Hooghly is a fine river, but the banks are very low; the most beautiful part, Garden Reach, we passed during the night. The first sight of the native fishermen in their little dinghees is very remarkable. In the cold of the early morning, they wrap themselves up in folds of linen, and have the appearance of men risen from the dead. Many boats passed us which looked as if—

"By skeleton forms the sails were furled,
And the hand that steered was not of this world".

13th.—In the course of a few hours, after our arrival, a good house was taken for us, which being sufficiently large to accommodate our companions, we set up our standards together in Park-street, Chowringhee, and thus opened our Indian campaign.

* From the *"Wanderings of a Pilgrim, in search of the Picturesque, during four-and-twenty years in the East, with revelations of life in the Zenana, illustrated with sketches from Nature"*, (two volumes, London, Pelham Richardson, front., plates, maps.) vols. I & II.

LIFE IN CALCUTTA

"I have seen Bengal : There the Teeth are red and the mouth is Black".²

(Chapter III. 1822 *November*—Calcutta—First Impressions—Style of Indian Houses—Furniture—Mats—Arabs—Departure of the Marquis of Hastings—Fogs—Christmas-Day—Indian Servants—The Sircar—Thieves—The Hot Winds—Pankhas—Fire-flies—North-Westerns—The Foliage—Mosquitoes—Elephantiasis—Insects—The Churuk Pooja—Religious Mendicants—pp. 20-28).

[20] The four troops of the 16th Lancers, from the 'Ely', disembarked, and encamped on the glacis of Fort William ; the 'General Hewitt', with the remainder of the regiment, did not arrive until six weeks afterwards, having watered at the Cape.

Calcutta has been styled the City of Palaces, and it well deserves the name. The Government House stands on the Maidan, near the river ; the city, and St. Andrew's Church, lie behind it ; to the left is that part called Chowringhee, filled with beautiful detached houses, surrounded by gardens ; the verandahs, which generally rise from the basement to the highest story, give, with their pillars, an air of lightness and beauty to the buildings, and protecting the dwellings from the sun, render them agreeable for exercise in the rainy season.

The houses are all stuccoed on the outside, and seem as if built of stone. The rent of unfurnished houses in Chowringhee is very high ; we gave 325 rupees a month for ours, the larger ones are from 4 to 500 per month.

[21] The style of an Indian house differs altogether from that of one in England.

The floors are entirely covered with Indian matting, than which nothing can be cooler or more agreeable. For a few weeks, in the cold season, fine Persian carpets or carpets from Mirzapore are used. The windows and doors are many ; the windows are to the ground, like the French ; and, on the outside, they are also protected by Venetian windows of the same description. The rooms are large and lofty, and to every sleeping-apartment a bathing-room is attached. All the rooms open into one another, with folding-doors, and pankhas are used during the hot weather. The most beautiful French furniture was to be bought in Calcutta of M. de Bast, at whose shop marble tables, fine mirrors, and luxurious couches were in abundance. Very excellent

furniture was also to be had at the Europe shops, made by native workmen under the superintendence of European cabinet and furniture makers ; and furniture of an inferior description in the native bazaars.

On arriving in Calcutta, I was charmed with the climate ; the weather was delicious ; and nothing could exceed the kindness we experienced from our friends. I thought India a most delightful country, and could I have gathered around me the dear ones I had left in England, my happiness would have been complete. The number of servants necessary to an establishment in India, is most surprising to a person fresh from Europe : it appeared the commencement of ruin. Their wages are not high, and they find themselves in food ; nevertheless, from their number, the expense is very great.

THE SIRCAR

A very useful but expensive person in an establishment is a sircar ; the man attends every morning early to receive orders, he then proceeds to the bazaars, or to the Europe shops, and brings back for inspection and approval, furniture, books, dresses, or whatever may have been ordered : his profit is a heavy percentage on all he purchases for the family.

One morning our sircar, in answer to my having observed that [22] the articles purchased were highly priced, said, "You are my father and my mother, and I am your poor little child. I have only taken two annas in the rupee, dustoorie."

This man's language was a strong specimen of Eastern hyperbole : one day he said to me : "You are my mother, and my father, and my God !" With great disgust, I reproved him severely for using such terms, when he explained, "you are my protector and my support, therefore you are to me as my God." The offence was never repeated. The sketch of "the sircar" is an excellent representation of one in Calcutta : they dress themselves with the utmost care and most scrupulous neatness in white muslin, which is worn exactly as represented ; and the turban often consists of twenty-one yards of fine Indian muslin, by fourteen inches in breadth, most carefully folded and arranged in small plaits ; his reed pen is behind his ear, and the roll of

paper in his hand is in readiness for the orders of the sahib. The shoes are of common leather ; sometimes they wear them most elaborately embroidered in gold and silver thread and coloured beads. All men in India wear mustachoes ; they look on the bare faces of the English with amazement and contempt. The sircar is an Hindoo, as shown by the opening of the vest on *the right* side, and the white dot, the mark of his caste, between his eyes.

Dustoorie is an absolute tax. The durwan will turn from the gate the boxwallas, people who bring articles for sale in boxes, unless he gets dustoorie for admittance. If the sahib buy any article, his sirdar-bearer will demand dustoorie. If the mem sahiba purchase finery, the ayha must have her dustoorie—which, of course, is added by the boxwalla to the price the gentleman is compelled to pay.

Dustoorie is from two to four pice in the rupee ; one anna, or one sixteenth of the rupee is, I imagine, generally taken. But all these contending interests are abolished, if the sircar purchase the article : he takes the lion's share. The servants hold him in great respect, as he is generally the person who answers for their characters, and places them in service.

It appeared curious to be surrounded by servants who, with [23] the exception of the tailor, could not speak one word of English ; and I was forced to learn to speak Hindostanee.

To a griffin, as a new comer is called for the first year, India is a most interesting country ; every thing appears on so vast a scale, and the novelty is so great.

In *December*, the climate was so delightful, it rendered the country preferable to any place under the sun ; could it always have continued the same, I should have advised all people to flee into the East.

My husband gave me a beautiful Arab, Azor by name, but as the Sais (groom) always persisted in calling him Aurora, or a Roarer, we were obliged to change his name to Rajah. I felt very happy cantering my beautiful high-caste Arab on the race-course at 6 A.M., or, in the evening, on the well-watered drive in front of the Government House. Large birds, called adjutants, stalk about the Maidan in numbers ; and on the heads of the lions that crown the entrance arches to the Government House, you are sure to see this bird (the hargilla or gigantic crane) in the

most picturesque attitudes, looking as if a part of the building itself.

The arrival of the 16th Lancers, and the approaching departure of the Governor-General, rendered Calcutta extremely gay. Dinner parties and fancy balls were numerous ; at the latter, the costumes were excellent and superb.

Dec. 16th.—The Marquis of Hastings gave a ball at the Government-House, to the gentlemen of the Civil and Military Services, and the inhabitants of Calcutta ; the variety of costume displayed by Nawabs, Rajahs, Mahrattas, Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Mussulmans, and Hindoos, and the gay attire of the military, rendered it a very interesting spectacle. Going to the ball was a service of danger, on account of the thickness of one of those remarkable fogs so common an annoyance during the cold season at the Presidency. It was impossible to see the road, although the carriage had lights, and two mashalchees, with torches in their hands, preceded the horses ; but the glare of the mashals, and the shouts of the men, prevented the meeting with any accident in the dense cloud by which we were surrounded.

[24] Palanquins were novel objects ; the bearers go at a good rate ; the pace is neither walking nor running, it is the amble of the biped, in the style of the amble taught the native horses, accompanied by a grunting noise that enables them to keep time. Well-trained bearers do not shake the palkee. Bilees, hackeries, and khraunchies, came in also for their share of wonder.

So few of the gentry in England can afford to keep riding-horses for their wives and daughters, that I was surprised, on my arrival in Calcutta, to see almost every lady on horseback ; and that not on hired hacks, but on their own good steeds. My astonishment was great one morning, on beholding a lady galloping away, on a fiery horse, only three weeks after her confinement. What nerves the woman must have had !

Dec. 16th.—The Civil Service, the military, and the inhabitants of Calcutta, gave a farewell ball to the Marquis and Marchioness of Hastings, after which the Governor-General quitted India.

On Christmas-day the servants adorned the gate-ways with hars, i.e., chaplets, and garlands of fresh flowers. The bearers and dhobeas brought in trays of fruit, cakes, and sweetmeats,

with garlands of flowers upon them, and requested bakhshish, probably the origin of our Christmas-boxes. We accepted the sweetmeats, and gave some rupees in return.

They say, that, next to the Chinese, the people of India are the most dexterous thieves in the world ; we kept a durwan, or porter at the gate, two chaukidars (watchmen), and the compound (ground surrounding the house) was encompassed by a high wall.

1823. *Jan. 12th.*—There was so much talking below amongst the bearers ; during the night the shout of the chaukidars was frequent, to show they were on the alert ; nevertheless, the next morning a friend, who was staying with us, found that his desk with gold mohurs and valuables in it, had been carried off from his room, together with some clothes and his military cloak. We could not prove the theft, but had reason to believe it was perpetrated by a khansaman (head table servant) whom we had discharged, connived at by the durwan and chaukidars.

[25] *March 20th.*—I have now been four months in India, and my idea of the climate has altered considerably ; the hot winds are blowing : it is very oppressive ; if you go out during the day, I can compare it to nothing but the hot blast you would receive in your face, were you suddenly to open the door of an oven.

The evenings are cool and refreshing ; we drive out late ; and the moonlight evenings at present are beautiful ; when darkness comes on, the fire-flies illuminate the trees, which appear full of fitting sparks of fire ; these little insects are in swarms ; they are very small and ugly, with a light like the glowworm's in the tail, which, as they fly, appears and suddenly disappears ; how beautifully the trees in the adjoining grounds are illuminated at night, by these little dazzling sparks of fire !

The first sight of a punkha is a novelty to a griffin. It is a monstrous fan, a wooden frame covered with cloth, some ten, twenty, thirty, or more feet long, suspended from the ceiling of a room, and moved to and fro by a man outside by means of a rope and pullies, and a hole in the wall through which the rope passess ; the invention is a native one ; they are the greatest luxuries, and are also handsome, some being painted and gilt, the ropes covered with silk, and so shaped or scooped, as to admit their vibratory motion without touching the chandeliers, suspended in the

same line with the pankha, and when at rest, occupying the space scooped out. In the up country, the pankha is always pulled during the night over the charpai or bed.

The weather is very uncertain ; sometimes very hot, then suddenly comes a north-wester. blowing open every door in the house, attended with a deluge of heavy rain, falling straight down in immense drops : the other evening it was dark as night, the lightning blazed for a second or two, with the blue sulphureous light you see represented on the stage ; the effect was beautiful ; the forked lightning was remarkably strong ; I did not envy the ships in the bay.

The foliage of the trees, so luxuriously beautiful and so novel, is to me a source of constant admiration. When we girls used to laugh at the odd trees on the screens, we wronged the Chinese in imagining they were the productions of fancy : the whole [26] nation was never before accused of having had a fanciful idea, and those trees were copied from nature, as I have found from seeing the same in my drives and rides around Calcutta. The country is quite flat, but the foliage very fine and rich. The idleness of the natives is excessive ; for instance, my ayha will dress me, after which she will go to her house, eat her dinner, and then returning, will sleep in one corner of my room on the floor for the whole day. The bearers also do nothing but eat and sleep, when they are not pulling the pankhas.

Some of the natives are remarkably handsome, but appear far from being strong men. It is *impossible* to do with a few servants, you must *have* many ; their customs and prejudices are inviolable ; a servant will do such and such things, and nothing more. They are great plagues ; much more troublesome than English servants. I knew not before the oppressive power of the hot winds, and find myself as listless as any Indian lady is universally considered to be ; I can now excuse, what I before condemned an indolence and want of energy—so much for experience. The greatest annoyance are the musquito bites ; it is almost impossible not to scratch them, which causes them to inflame, and they are then often very difficult to cure ; they are to me much worse than the heat itself ; my irritable constitution cannot endure them.

The elephantiasis is very common amongst the natives, it causes one or both legs to swell to an enormous size, making the

leg at the ankle as large as it is above the knee ; there are some deplorable objects of this sort, with legs like those of the elephant—whence the name. Leprosy is very common ; we see lepers continually. The insects are of monstrous growth, such spiders ! and the small-lizards are numerous on the walls of the rooms, darting out from behind pictures, &c. Curtains are not used in Calcutta, they would harbour mosquitoes, scorpions, and lizards.

THE CHARAK PUJA

The other day, hearing it was a Burra Din, (day of festival in honour of the goddess Kallee, whose temple is about a mile and a [27] half from Calcutta,) I drove down in the evening to Kallee Ghaut, where, had not the novelty of the scene excited my curiosity, disgust would have made me sick. Thousands of people were on the road, dressed in all their gayest attire, to do honour to the festival of the Churuk Pooja, the swinging by hooks. Amongst the crowd, the most remarkable objects were several Voiragee mendicants ; their bodies were covered with ashes, their hair clotted with mud and twisted round their heads : they were naked all but a shred of cloth. One man had held up both arms over his head until they had withered and were immovable, the nails of the clenched fists had penetrated through the back of the hands, and came out on the other side like the claws of a bird. To fulfil some vow to Vishnoo this agony is endured, not as a penance for sin, but as an act of extraordinary merit. At first the pain must be great, but it ceases as the arms become benumbed. A man of this description is reckoned remarkably holy, having perfect dependence upon God for support, being unable, his arms having become immovable, to carry food to his mouth or assist himself. Two or three other mendicants who were present had only one withered arm raised above their heads. Some Hindoos of low caste, either for their sins or for money, had cut three or four gashes in the muscular part of the arm, and through these gashes they kept running a sword, dancing violently all the time to hideous music ; others ran bamboos as thick as three fingers through the holes in the arm, dancing in the same manner. One man passed a spit up and

down through the holes, another a dagger, and a third has skewer through his tongue.

A little further on were three swinging posts erected in the fashion; a post some thirty feet in height was crossed the top by a horizontal bamboo, from one end of which a man was swinging, suspended by a rope, from the other end another rope was fastened to a horizontal pole below, which was turned by men running round like horses in a mill. The man swung in a circle of perhaps thirty feet diameter, supported by four iron hooks, two through the flesh of his back and two in that of his chest, by which, and a small bit of cloth across the breast, he was entirely supported: he carried a bowl in one hand, from which he threw sweetmeats and flowers to the populace below. Some men swing with four books on the back and four on the chest without any cloth, eight hooks being considered sufficient to support the body. The man I saw swinging looked very wild, from the quantity of opium and bhang he had taken to deaden the sense of pain. Bhang is an intoxicating liquor, which is prepared with the leaves of the Ganja plant (*Cannabis Indica*).

Hindoos of the lower castes are very fond of this amusement; accidental deaths occasioned by it are reckoned about three per cent. Sometimes four men swing together for half an hour; some in penance for their own sins; some for those of others, rich men, who reward their deputies and thus do penance by proxy.

Kraunchies full of nach girls were there in all their gaily coloured dresses and ornaments, as well as a number of respectable men of good caste.

I was much disgusted, but greatly interested.

Sentries from the Calcutta militia were stationed round the swings to keep off the crowd.

The men on the mound at the foot of the second swing run round with the bamboo frame which is connected with the pole at the summit of which are the cross bamboos. As they proceed the four men above swing merrily on their hooks, scattering flowers and sweetmeats on the people, and repeating verses and portions of the shastras.

Chapter IV. (pp. 29-36)

RESIDENCE IN CALCUTTA

"Debt is a man's husband".³

1823.—Baboo Ramohun Roy—Nach girls—Children in India—Sickness in the Fort—The Rains—Vessels for a Voyage on the Ganges—Indian Fever—Arrival of Lord Amherst—Introduction of Steam-boats on the Hoogly—Interest of Money in Calcutta—Robberies—Jamh o Deen, Prince of Mysore—The Doorga Pooja—Images of Clay—The Races—Chinese screens—The Dog Crab

[29] 1823, *May*.—The other evening we went to a party given by Ramohun Roy⁴, a rich Bengallee Baboo; the grounds, which are extensive, were well illuminated, and excellent fire works displayed.

In various rooms of the house nach girls were dancing and singing. They wear a petticoat measuring, on dit, one hundred yards in width, of fine white or coloured muslin, trimmed with deep borders of gold and silver; full satin trousers cover the feet; the doputta, or large veil, highly embroidered, is worn over the head, and various ornaments of native jewellery adorn the person.

They dance, or rather move in a circle, attitudinizing and making the small brass bells fastened to their ankles sound in unison with their movements. Several men attended the women, playing on divers curiously-shaped native instruments.

[30] The style of singing was curious; at times the tunes proceeded finely from their noses; some of the airs were very pretty; one of the women was Nickee, the Catalani of the East.⁵ Indian jugglers were introduced after supper, who played various tricks, swallowed swords, and breathed out fire and smoke. [One man stood on his right foot, and putting his left leg behind his back, hooked his left foot on the top of his right shoulder; just try the attitude *pour passer le temps*. The house was very handsomely furnished, everything in European style, with the exception of the owner.

The children of Europeans in India have a pale sickly hue, even when they are in the best of health; very different from the chubby brats of England.

All the Indian fruits appear very large, and a new comer thinks them inferior in point of flavour to the European ; as for the far-famed mangoes, I was disgusted with them, all those to be had at that time in Calcutta being stringy, with a strong taste of turpentine.

The fort is spacious and handsome, but very hot from the ramparts that surround it. The 44th Queen's have lost three officers by death, nine more have returned to England on sick certificate, and three hundred of the privates are in hospital ; this in six months ! The mortality amongst the privates has been dreadful, owing, I believe, to the cheapness of spirituous liquors, and exposure to the sun.

Port or sherry is seldom seen on table, during the hot weather ; Madeira is not much used ; Burgundy, Claret, and light French wines are very rationally preferred.⁶

Where the climate is so oppressive, what are luxuries indeed at home, are here necessary to health and existence ; to walk is impossible, even the most petty Europe shop-keeper in Calcutta has his buggy, to enable him to drive out in the cool of the evening.

June 1st.—This is the first day of the month ; the morning has been *very* hot, but at this moment the rain is descending, as if the windows of heaven were again opened to deluge the earth ; the thunder rolls awfully, and the forked lightning [31] is very vivid. I never heard such peals of thunder in Europe. No one here appears to think about it ; all the houses have conductors, and as the storm cools the air, it is always welcomed with pleasure by those on shore.

Our friends who are going to Lucnow have hired their boats, an absolute fleet ! I must describe the vessels.

1st. A very fine sixteen-oared pinnace, containing two excellent cabins, fitted up with glazed and Venetian windows, pan-khas, and two shower-baths. In this vessel our friend, his lady, and their infant, will be accommodated.

2ndly. A dinghee for the cook, and provisions.

3rdly. An immense baggage boat, containing all their furniture.

4thly. A vessel for the washerman, his wife, and the dogs.

5thly. A large boat with horses. 6thly. A ditto. What a number of boats for one family ! The hire of the pinnace is twenty rupees a-day, about 2*l.* ; the other boats are also very

expensive. They will be three or four months before they arrive at Lucnow; they quitted us the 12th of June.

I have now become acquainted with the three seasons in India; the cold weather, the hot winds, and the rains. The last have set in; it is quite warm; nevertheless, the rains descend in torrents for some hours daily: pankhas are still necessary.

The natives are curious people; my ayha was very ill yesterday, and in great pain, she would take no medicine unless from a doctor of her own caste; brandy was prescribed; she would not take it, said it was very wicked to drink it, that she would sooner die; therefore I was obliged to leave her to her fate, and sent her home to her friends; she is a good and honest servant.

In July, my husband was seized with one of those terrific Indian fevers, which confined him to his bed about fourteen days; he got up looking very transparent and ghostlike, and in a state of great debility, from which he was sometime in recovering. Happily, he was saved from a premature epitaph.

[32] I had great trouble with the servants, with the exception of five of them; a speech made by the ayha is worthy of record:—"It would be a great pity if the sahib should die, for then—we should all lose our places!"—symptoms of fine feelings!

Lord Amherst arrived and we attended a party given to those over whom he had come to reign.

There is much talk here of a passage to India by steam. "*Coelum ipsum petimus stultitia*," which means, "*On veut prendre la lune par les cornes*". Heaven forefend that I should find myself in a steam-boat, in a fine rolling sea and a brisk gale, off the Cape. I should not hesitate to give the preference to the twelve hundred ton ship. Some of the old rich Indians, as they are called at home, will have full opportunity to try its safety before my time is come. We have, however, established a steam-boat upon the Hoogly, which goes about four knots against tide; something prodigious in a river where the tide runs like lightning, and with tremendous force.

At this time we became anxious for an appointment up the country, at a cooler and healthier station than Calcutta, far removed from the damp, low, swampy country of Bengal Proper.

August 29th.—The Governor-general and Lady Amherst are great favourites in Calcutta; the latter renders herself particularly agreeable to her guests at the Government-house. The new governor-general is so economical he has discharged a number of servants, quenched a number of lamps; on dit, he intends to plant potatoes in the park at Barrackpore, people are so unaccustomed to anything of the sort in India, that all this European economy produces considerable surprise.

It happens that in India, as in other places, they have an absurd custom of demanding a certain portion of the precious metals in exchange for the necessities and luxuries of life, to procure which, if you have them not, you are forced to borrow from agents, the richest dogs in Calcutta: and why? Because, forsooth, they merely require *now* eight per cent, (formerly ten) added to which, after your debt reaches a certain [33] amount, they oblige you to ensure your life, and in this ticklish country the rate of insurance is very high.

In the third place, which to us is the *argumentum ad hominem*, many and many are the lives that have been sacrificed, because poor miserable invalids have been unable from their debts to leave India. Interest—horrible interest—soon doubles the original sum, and a man is thus obliged to pay the debt three or four times over, and *after that he may* put by a fortune to support him in his native land.

Do not suppose I am *painting*; this is the plain fact, of which almost every month furnishes an example.

A man on first arrival (a griffin) cannot or will not comprehend that "one and one makes eleven".⁷

Sept. 7th. Since our arrival we have been annoyed with constant robbery in the house. Seventy rupees were stolen one day, and now they have carried off about eighteen silver covers that are used to put over tumblers and wine-glasses to keep out the flies; in consequence we have discharged our Ooriah bearers, who we suspect are the thieves, and have taken a set-up country men.

Oct. 1st.—We have had a singular visitor, Shahzadah Zahan-geer Zaman Jamh o Deen Mahomud, Prince of Mysore, the son of Tippoo Sahib, and one of the two hostages.

He resides in a house near us, and sent us word he would honour us with a visit. The next morning he called, and sat two hours. He had studied English for twelve months. Seeing a bird in a cage, he said, "Pretty bird that, little yellow bird, what you call?"—"A canary bird". "Yes, canary bird, pretty bird, make fine noise, they not *grow here*". In this style we conversed, and I thought my visitor would never depart. I was ignorant of the oriental saying, "Coming is voluntary, but departing depends upon permission⁸;" his *politeness* made him remain awaiting my permission for his departure, whilst I was doubting if the visit would ever terminate. At last he arose, saying, "I take leave now, come *gen soon*". The next day he sent [34] three decanters full of sweetmeats, very like the hats and caps that used to be given me in my childish days, mixed with caraway comfits, and accompanied by this note :—

"Some sweetmeats for Missess—with respectful thanks of P. Jamh o Deen⁹." I suppose my visitor Prince Jamh O Deen did not understand the difference between compliments and thanks. I did not comprehend why the sweetmeats had been sent, until I was informed it was the custom of the natives to send some little valueless offering after paying a visit, and that it would be considered an insult to refuse it.

DOORGA POOJA

13th. We went to a nach at the house of a wealthy Baboo during the festival of the Doorga Pooja or Dasera, held in honour of the goddess Doorga. The house was a four-sided building, leaving an area in the middle; on one side of the area was the image of the goddess raised on a throne, and some Brahmins were in attendance on the steps of the platform. This image has ten arms, in one of her right hands is a spear with which she pierced a giant, with one of the left she holds the tail of a serpent, and the hair of the giant, whose breast the serpent is biting; her other hands are all stretched behind her head, and are filled with different instruments of war. Against her right leg leans a lion, and against her left leg the above giant. In the rooms on one side of the area handsome supper was laid out, in the European style, supplied by Messrs. Gunter and Hooper, where ices and French wines were in plenty for the

European guests. In the rooms on the other sides of the square, and in the area, were groups of nach women dancing and singing, and crowds of European and native gentlemen sitting on sofas or on chairs listening Hindostanee airs. "The bright half of of the month Aswina, the first of the *Hindu* lunar year, is peculiarly devoted to Doorga. The first nine nights are allotted to her decoration; on the sixth she is awakened; on the seventh she is invited to a bower formed of the leaves of nine plants, of which the Bilwa¹⁰ is the chief. The seventh, eighth and ninth are the great days, on the last of which the victims are immolated to her honour, and [35] must be killed by one blow only of a sharp sword or axe. The next day the goddess is reverently dismissed, and her image is cast into the river, which finishes the festival of the Dasera.

"On the fifteenth day, that of the full moon, her devotees pass the night in sports and merriment, and games of various sorts: it is unlucky to sleep; for on this night the fiend Nicumbha led his army against Doorga, and Lakshmi, the goddess of prosperity, descended, promising wealth to those who were awake" (Moor's Hindoo Pantheon).

A short time before this festival, the Sircars employed in Calcutta generally return home to enjoy a holiday of some weeks.

Immense sums are expended by the wealthy Baboos during the Doorga Pooja.

Dec. 2nd.—Would you believe that we sit at this time of the year without pankhas with closed windows, and our floors carpeted! In some houses, fires are adopted. We have not yet come to this, though I occasionally have found it cold enough to desire one. The mornings are delightful, and the nights so cold, I sleep under a silk counterpane quilted with cotton called a Rezai.

The natives form images in clay; the countenances are excellent; the eyes, eyelids, and lips move remarkably well; they are very brittle; they represent servants, fakirs, and natives of all castes: the best, perhaps, are to be procured in or near Calcutta; they are attired according to the fashion of the country, and cost from eight annas to one rupee each.

We are in the midst of our gaieties, balls, plays, and parties agreeably varied. Our first meeting (the races) is held during this month; for we have our Derby, and Oaks, and Riddles-

worth. The Riddlesworth is with us a very interesting race, all the riders being gentlemen, and sometimes ten or twelve horses starting. From the stand, of a clear morning, there is a good view of the horses during the whole of their course.

We have just received from China two magnificent screens, of eight panels each; they are exceedingly handsome, and keep [36] out the glare by day and the air by night: I think I may say they are magnificent.

Amongst the ornaments of the household, let Crab the torrier be also mentioned; he is much like unto a tinker's dog, but is humorous and good-tempered, plays about, chases cats, and kills rats, not only in the stable, but house, and serves us in a place of a parvulus Aeneas.

Chapter V. (pp. 37-49)

RESIDENCE IN CALCUTTA

1824—Advantages and Disadvantages—Interest never sleeps—Barrackpore—Cairipoor—The Fakir—The Menagerie—Hyena—Change of residence to Chowringhee road—Mouse and spotted Deer—Bengallee Goats—Lotteries—Trial by Rice—The Toolsee—Epidemic Fever—Burmese War—Major Sale—Haileybury—The Hooqu—Dr. Kitchener—Death of Lord Byron—Early Marriages—Pleasures of the Cold Season—Indian Hospitality—Knack of Fortune-making lost.

[37] *January, 1824.*—The advantages of a residence in Calcutta are these: you are under the eye of the Government, not likely to be overlooked, and are ready for any appointment falling vacant; you get the latest news from England, and have the best medical attendance. On the other hand, you have to pay high house-rent, the necessary expenses are great; and the temptations to squander away money in gratifying your fancies more numerous than in the Mofussil.

A friend, now high in the Civil Service, contracted, on his arrival here about eighteen years ago, a debt of 15,000 rupees, about 1500 *l.* or 1800 *l.* Interest was then at twelve per cent. To give security, he insured his life, which, with his agent's commission of one per cent, made the sum total of interest sixteen per cent. After paying the original debt five times, he hoped

his agents upon the last payment would not suffer the interest to continue accumulating. He received for answer, "that interest never slept, it was awake night and day;" and he is now employed in saving enough to settle the balance.

I wish much that those who exclaim against our extravagances here, knew how essential to a man's comfort, to his [38] quiet, and to his health it is, to have every thing good about him—a good house, good furniture, good carriages, good horses, good wine for his friends, good humour, good servants and a good quantity of them, good credit, and a good appointment: they would then be less virulent in their philippics against oriental extravagance.

15th.—The Governor-general has a country residence, with a fine park, at Barrackpore; during the races the Calcutta world assemble there: we went over for a week; it was delightful to be again in the country. Lady Amherst rendered the Government-house gay with quadrilles and displays of fire-works; but I most enjoyed a party we made to see the ruins of an ancient fort, near Cairipoor, belonging to the Rajah of Burdwan, about five miles from Barrackpore, and thought them beautiful.

The road was very bad, therefore I quitted the buggy and mounted an elephant for the first time, feeling half-frightened but very much pleased. I ascended by a ladder placed against the side of the kneeling elephant; when he rose up, it was like a house making unto itself legs and walking therewith.

We went straight across the country, over hedges and ditches, and through the cultivated fields, the elephant with his great feet crushing down the corn, which certainly did not "rise elastic from his airy tread". The fields are divided by ridges of earth like those in salterns at home; these ridges are narrow, and in general, to prevent injury to the crops, the mahout guides the elephant along the ridge: it is curious to observe how firmly he treads on the narrow raised path.

By the side of the road was a remarkable object:—"The appearance of a fakir is his petition in itself",¹¹ In a small hole in the earth lay a fakir, or religious mendicant; the fragment of a straw mat was over him, and a bit of cloth covered his loins. He was very ill and quite helpless, the most worn emaciated being I ever beheld; he had lain in that hole day and night for five years, and refused to live in a village; his only comfort, a

small fire of charcoal, was kindled near [39] his head during the night. Having been forcibly deprived of the property he possessed in the upper provinces, he came to Calcutta to seek redress, but being unsuccessful, he had, in despair, betaken himself to that hole in the earth. An old woman was kindling the fire ; it is a marvel the jackals do not put an end to his misery. The natives say, "It is his pleasure to be there, what can we do ?" and they pass on with their usual indifference : the hole was just big enough for his body, in a cold swampy soil.

There is a menagerie in the park at Barrackpore, in which are some remarkably fine tigers and cheetahs. My ayha requested to be allowed to go with me, particularly wishing to see an hyena. While she was looking at the beast, I said, "Why did you wish to see an hyena?" Laughing and crying hysterically, she answered, "My husband and I were asleep, our child was between us, an hyena stole the child, and ran off with it to the jungle ; we roused the villagers, who pursued the beast ; when they returned, they brought me half the mangled body of my infant daughter,—that is why I wished to see an hyena."

Before we quitted Calcutta, we placed the plate in a large iron treasure chest. A friend, during his absence from home, having left his plate in a large oaken chest, clamped with iron, found on his return, that the bearers had set fire to the chest to get at the plate, being unable to open it, and had melted the greater part of the silver !

It appears as if the plan of communicating with India by steam-boats will not end in smoke : a very large bonus has been voted to the first *regular company* who bring it about, and the sum is so considerable, that I have no doubt some will be bold enough to attempt it.

In Calcutta, as in every place, it is difficult to suit yourself with a residence. Our first house was very ill defended from the hot winds ; the situation of the second we thought low and swampy, and the cause of fever in our household. My husband having quitted college, was gazetted to an appointment in Calcutta, and we again changed our residence for one in Chowringhee road.

[40] Prince Jamh o Deen, hearing me express a wish to see what was considered a good nach, invited me to one. I could

not, however, admire the dancing ; some of the airs the women sang were very pretty.

Calcutta was gay in those days, parties numerous at the Government-house, and dinners and fancy balls amongst the inhabitants.

A friend sent me a mouse deer, which I keep in a cage in the verandah ; it is a curious and most delicate little animal, but not so pretty as the young pet fawns running about the compound (grounds) with the spotted deer. The cows' milk generally sold in Calcutta is poor, that of goats is principally used : a good Bengallee goat, when in full milk, will give a quart every morning ; they are small-sized, short-legged, and well-bred. The servants milk the goats near the window of the morning room, and bring the bowl full and foaming to the breakfast-table.

Feb. 27th.—My husband put into one of the smaller lotteries¹² in Calcutta, and won thirteen and a half tickets, each worth 100 rupees : he sent them to his agents, with the exception of one, which he presented to me. My ticket came up a prize of 5000 rupees. The next day we bought a fine high caste grey Arab, whom we called Orelia, and a pair of grey Persian horses.

Feb. 28.—**TRIAL BY RICE.**—The other day some friends dined with us : my husband left his watch on the drawing-room table when we went to dinner : the watch was stolen, the theft was immediately discovered, and we sent to the police. The moonshee assembled all who were present, took down their names, and appointed that day seven days for a trial by rice, unless, during the time, the watch should be restored, stolen property being often replaced from the dread the natives entertain of the ordeal by rice. On the appointed day the police moonshee returned, and the servants, whom he had ordered to appear fasting, were summoned before him, and by his desire were seated on the ground in a row.

The natives have great faith in the square akbarabadee rupee, which they prefer to, and use on such occasion in lieu of, the [41] circular rupee. In the plate entitled "superstitions of the Natives," No. 5, is a representation of this coin.

The moonshee, having soaked 2 lbs. weight of rice in cold water, carefully dried it in the sun : he then weighed rice equal to the weight of the square rupee in a pair of scales, and, calling

one of the servants to him, made him take a solemn oath that he had not taken the watch, did not know who had taken it, where it was, or any thing about it or the person who stole it. When the oath had been taken, the moonshee put the weighed rice into the man's hand to hold during the time every servant in the room was served in like manner. There were thirty-five present. When each had taken the oath, and received the rice in his hand, they all sat down on the ground, and a bit of plain-tain leaf was placed before each person. The moonshee then said,—

"Some person or persons amongst you have taken a false oath ; God is in the midst of us ; let every man put his portion of rice into his mouth, and having chewed it, let him spit it out upon the plantain leaf before him ; he who is the thief, or knows ought concerning the theft, from his mouth it shall come forth as dry as it was put in ; from the mouths of those who are innocent, it will come forth wet and well chewed".

Every man chewed his rice, and spat it out like so much milk and water, with the exception of three persons, from whose mouths it came forth as *dry* and as fine as powder. Of these men, one had secreted two-thirds of the rice, hoping to chew the smaller quantity, but all to no purpose ; it came *perfectly dry* from his mouth, from the effect of fear, although it was ground to dust. The moonshee said, "Those are the guilty men, one of them will probably inform against the others ;" and he carried them off to the police. It is a fact, that a person under great alarm will find it utterly impossible to chew and put forth rice in a moistened state, whilst one who fears not will find it as impossible to chew and to spit it out perfectly dry and ground to dust. An harkara, in the service of one of our guests, was one of the men whom the monshee pronounced guilty ; about a fortnight before, a silver saucepan had been stolen from his master's house, by one of his own servants. [42] Against another, one of our own men, we have gained some very suspicious intelligence, and although we never expect the watch to be restored, we shall get rid of the thieves. So much for the ordeal by rice, in which I have firm faith.

May, 4th.—The weather is tremendously hot. A gentleman came in yesterday, and said, "this room is delightful, it is cold

as well ;" we have discovered, however, that it is infested below with rats and musk rats, three or four of which my little Scotch terrier kills daily ; the latter make him foam at the mouth with disgust. My little dog Crab, you are the most delightful Scotch terrier that ever came to seek his fortune in the East !

Some friends have sent to us for garden-seeds. But oh ! observe how nature is degenerated in this country—they have sent alone for vegetable-seeds—the feast of roses being here thought inferior to the feast of marrowfat peas !

THE TOOLSEE

An European in Calcutta sees very little of the religious ceremonies of the Hindoos. Among the most remarkable is the worship of the toolsee, in honour of a religious female, who requested Vishnoo to allow her to become his wife. Lakshmee, the goddess of beauty, and wife of Vishnoo, cursed the woman on account of the pious request she had preferred to her lord, and changed her into a toolsee plant. Vishnoo, influenced by his own feelings, and in consideration of the religious austerities long practised by the enamoured devotee, made her a promise that he would assume the form of the shalgramu, and always continue with her. The Hindoos, therefore, keep one leaf of the toolsee under and another upon the shalgramu.—See Fig. 5, in the plate entitled "The Thug's Dice".

"The sweet basil is known by its two leaves".¹³ Throughout a certain month they suspend a lota (earthen vessel) over the toolsee filled with water, and let the water drop upon it through a small hole. The Hindoo, in the sketch "Pooja of [43] the Toolsee," is engaged in this worship, perhaps reading the Purana, in which a fable relates the metamorphosis of the nymph Toolsee into the shrub which has since borne her name. The whole plant has a purplish hue approaching to *black*, and thence, perhaps, like a large *black bee* of this country, it is held sacred to Krishna, in whose person Vishnoo himself appeared on earth.

"The Hindoos venerate three kinds of toolsee—the *kala* (*ocimum sanctum*), purple-stalked basil ; the small-leaved toolsee ; and the suffiaid toolsee, white basil or Indian tea. The leaves of the latter are used by those in India who cannot afford the tea of China ; they are highly aromatic. The Hindoos have faith in

their power to cure diseases, and use them with incantations to dispel the poison of serpents.

"This plant is held in estimation by the Mussulmans as well as the Hindoos. It is recorded of the prophet that he said : "Hasan and Husain are the best young princes of paradise. Verily, Hasan and Husain are my two sweet basils in the world."

At Benares I saw, on the side of the Ganges, a number of pillars hollowed at the top, in which the Hindoos had deposited earth and had planted the toolsee, some devotees were walking round these pillars, pouring water on the sacred plant and making salam. My bearers at Pra(ya)g had a toolsee in front of their house, under a peepul tree ; I have seen them continually make the altar of earth in which it was placed perfectly clean around it with water and cow-dung ; and of an evening they lighted a little chirag (small lamp) before it. If one of these sacred plants die, it is committed in due form to Gunga-jee : and when a person is brought to die by the side of the sacred river, a branch of the toolsee, the shrub goddess, is planted near the dying man's head.

The shalgramu is black, hollow, and nearly round ; it is found in the Gunduk river, and is considered a representation of Vishnoo ; each should have twenty-one marks upon it, similar to those on his body. The shalgramu is the only stone which is naturally divine ; all the other stones worshipped are rendered sacred by incantations.

[44] A pan of water is suspended over this stone during the hottest month in the year, exactly in the same manner as over the toolsee in the sketch ; and during the same month another pan is placed under the stone, in which the water is caught, and drunk in the evening as sanctified.

Ward mentions that some persons, when ill, employ a Brahmin to present single leaves of the toolsee sprinkled with red powder to the shalgramu, repeating incantations.¹⁴ A hundred thousand leaves are sometime presented. It is said that the sick gradually recover as each additional leaf is offered. When a Hindoo is at the point of death, a Brahmin shows him the marks of the shalgramu, of which the sight is supposed to insure the soul a safe passage to the heaven of Vishnoo. When an Hindoo takes an oath, he places a sprig of toolsee on a brass lota, filled with the sacred water of the Ganges, and swears by Ganga-jee. (See

Sketch, "The Thug's Dice" No. 4). If a small part of the pebble god be broken, it is committed to the river. I bought several of these stones from a Brahmin at the great Mela at Prag. I gave two old Delhi gold mohurs to a native jeweller, to make into an ornament for the forehead after a native pattern. My jemmadar took the mohurs, and, rubbing them on a shalgramu, gave it to me to keep, in order to compare the purity of the gold on its return when fashioned, with that of the red gold I had given the man to melt. In making fine jewellery the natives put one-fourth alloy; they cannot work gold so impure as that used by English jewellers, and contemptuously compare it to copper.

In the plate entitled "The Thug's Dice", Fig. 6 represents the shalgramu, shalgram, or shalgrama; it is a small heavy black circular stone, rather flattened on one side, with the *Cornu Ammonis* strongly marked upon it.

Fig. 5 is one covered by the leaves of the kala toolsee, purple-stalked basil.

No. 7 is still heavier, perfectly black and smooth, without any marks. This was the touchstone. and a little gold still remaining upon it.

[45] "Gold is known by the touchstone, and a man by living with him".¹⁵

"Some salagramas are perforated in one or more places by worms, or, as the Hindoos believe, by VISHNU in the shape of a reptile; some are supposed to represent his gracious incarnation, but when they border a little in colour on the violet they denote a vindictive *avatar*, such as *Narsinga*, when no man of ordinary nerve dares keep them in his house. The possessor of a salagrama preserves it in cloth; it is frequently perfumed and bathed; and the water thereby acquiring virtue, is drunk, and prized for its sin-exPELLing property."

The shalgrams, which are in my possession, are of exactly the shape and size represented in the sketch.

July 17th.—On this day, having discovered a young friend ill in the Writer's Buildings, we brought him to our house. Two days afterwards, I was seized with the fever, from which I did not recover for thirteen days. My husband nursed me with great care, until he fell ill himself, and eleven of our servants were laid up with the same disorder.

The people in Calcutta have all had it ; I suppose, out of the whole population, European and native, not two hundred persons have escaped ; and what is singular, it has not occasioned one death amongst the adult. I was so well and strong—over night we were talking of the best means of escaping the epidemic—in the morning it came and remained thirty-six hours, then quitted me ; a strong eruption came out, like the measles, and left me weak and thin. My husband's fever left him in thirty-six hours, but he was unable to quit the house for nine days : the rash was the same. Some faces were covered with spots like those on a leopard's skin. It was so prevalent, that the Courts of Justice, the Custom House, the Lottery Office, and almost every public department in Calcutta, were closed in consequence of the sickness. In the course of three days, three different physicians attended me, one after the other having fallen ill. It is wonderful, that a fever producing so much pain in the head and limbs, leaving the patient [46] weak, reduced, and covered with a violent eruption, should have been so harmless ; after three weeks, nobody appeared to have suffered, with the exception of two or three children, whom it attacked more violently than it did grown-up people, and carried them off.

The politicians at home have anticipated us in reckoning upon the probability of a Burmese war. We have hitherto been altogether successful. I saw yesterday a gold and silver sword, and a very murderous looking weapon resembling a butcher's knife, but on a larger scale. A necklace (so called from its circling the neck, for it was composed of plates of gold hammered on a silken string), and some little squab images, gods, perhaps, taken from a chief, whom Major Sale of H.M. 13th, dispatched in an attack upon a stockade, leaving the chief in exchange part of the blade of his own sword, which was broken in his skull by the force of the blow that felled him.

It is an unlucky business : the Company do not require at present more territory on that side India, and the expense to which Government is put by this elegant little mill, as Pierce Egan might call it, is more than the worthies in Leadenhall-street suppose.

I see Lord Hastings is made Civil Governor of Malta ! "To what base uses we may return !" I observe the motion to prevent the necessity of parents sending their sons to Haileybury¹⁶

has been lost. The grand object of the students should be the acquisition of the oriental languages ; here nothing else tells.

If a young man gets out of college in three or four months after his arrival, which, if he crams at college in England, he may easily effect, he is considered forthwith as a brilliant character, and is sealed with the seal of genius. Likewise pockets medals and money, and this he may do without knowing any thing else.

To a person fresh from England, the number of servants attending at table is remarkable. We had only a small party of eight to dinner yesterday, including ourselves ; three-and-twenty servants were in attendance ! Each gentleman takes his own [47] servant or servants, in number from one to six, and each lady her attendant or attendants, as it pleases her fancy. The Hooqu was very commonly smoked at that time in Calcutta : before dinner was finished, every man's pipe was behind his chair. The tobacco was generally so well prepared, that the odour was not unpleasant, unless by chance you sat next to a man from the Mofussil, when the fume of the spices used by the up country Hooqu Bardars in preparing the tobacco, rendered it oppressive and disagreeable.¹⁷

Sept. 1st.—The fever has quitted Calcutta, and travelled up the country stage by stage. It was amusing to see, upon your return to the Course, the whole of the company stamped, like yourself, with the marks of the leech upon the temples. Its origin has been attributed to many causes, and it has been called by many names. The gentlemen of the lancet are greatly divided in their opinions ; some attribute it to the want of rain, others to the scarcity of thunder and lightning this season. There was an instance of the same general fever prevailing in the time of Warren Hastings. Not a single instance has been heard of its having proved mortal to adults.

Extract from a homeward-bound epistle.

"The cold season is fast approaching, when every one becomes *per force*, most amiable. Indeed we are all creatures of a different order during this delightful time. You in England cannot fancy the sensible feeling of actual enjoyment our bodies and minds experience from this exhilarating change. We live

upon the thought of it for months; it must beat the snake casting its skin. I feel quite invigorated even at *describing* its effects.

"We both continue excellently well, and persist in defying the foul cholera and all other tropical maladies. The hot season has passed, and the rains are setting in, rendering the air more temperate. We now occasionally enjoy a cool fresh breeze. A few days since I felt gay enough to fetch a walk in the evening, and got well ducked for my reward; also an appetite for dinner. *Apropos*, I rejoice to see that feeding is assuming the high place among the sciences which was always its legitimate right.

[48] 'Oh Dick! you may talk of your writing and reading,
Your logic and Greek, but there's nothing like feeding'

Dr. Kitchener has borrowed the most erudite and savoury parts of his two books from the '*Almanach des Gourmands*', a work well worthy of being placed in the hands of the rising generation as a standard book; I am sure it would be a perfect Kuran for an English lady. But, alas! in this savage place, *dindon aux truffes*, *omlette soufflee*, *vol au vent a la financiere*, *coquille de volaille*, *pate de Strasbourg*, exist but in name. The thousand temptations which fascinate the eye and distract the choice in a French *carte a diner*, rarely, very rarely appear. The beef of to-day succeeds to the mutton of yesterday; none of those 'coruscations of genius, breaking like lightning from a cloud', which must now so frequently illumine the horizon of the London mahogany. But all is tame and unvaried, and man remains here comparatively dead to one of the noblest ends of his creation. I endeavour to struggle against this lifeless life by anticipating the time when I shall return to Europe, at the proper gourmand age of forty-five, with a state corrected by experience, and a mouth open as day to melting delicacies.

"*Oct.*—We have heard with sorrow of the death of Lord Byron; the other evening, as we were driving past a Greek chapel on the banks of the Hoogly, prayers were being offered for the repose of the soul of the departed. We cannot join with the yelpers who cry him down on the score of his immorality; the seed he sowed must have fallen upon a soil villainously bad to have brought forth nothing but an unprofitable harvest. Mr. Hunt is publishing a translation of a work capable of producing more

evil than any of his lordship's—Voltaire's 'Dictionaire Philosophique' to wit. What is the correct story about the Memoirs? Are we to believe the papers?

"The cold weather has now begun. We have weddings and rumours of weddings. The precipitate manner in which young people woo and wed is almost ridiculous; the whole affair, in many cases, taking less than a month. Many young gentlemen become papas before they have *lawfully* passed their years [49] of infancy. Marrying and giving in marriage is, in this country, sharp, short, and decisive; and where our habits are necessarily so domestic, it is wonderful how happily the people live together afterwards.

"*Dec.*—The races are beginning, the theatre in high force, fancy-dress balls and dinner parties on the tapis, water-parties to the botanical gardens, and I know not what. My beautiful Arab carries me delightfully; dove-like, but full of fire.

"We shake off dull sloth, rise early, and defy the foul fiend. Many a nail is extracted, by this delightful weather, from our coffins. Calcutta opens her palaces, and displays hospitality, after a fashion which far outdoes that of you cold calculating islanders. And there is such a variety in our pastimes, and the season is so short,—about four months,—that we have no time to 'fall asleep in the sameness of splendour'.

"We were glad to hear our friend would not come to India. It is a pity that men like him should be sacrificed—and for what? To procure a bare subsistence; for the knack of fortune-getting has been long since lost. Show me the man in these latter days who has made one,—always provided he be no auctioneer, agent, or other species of leech,—and we will sit down and soberly endeavour to make one for ourselves.

"A merry Christmas to you, dear friends; may you find it as great a restorer as we favourites of the sun and minions of the tropics!"

Chapter VI (pp. 50-57)

RESIDENCE IN CALCUTTA

1825.—A Day in March—The Furlough and Pension Funds—Bandicote Rats—The Strand—The Cutting System—Harrow-on-the-Hill—Sickness in Arracan—The Golden Feet—Arrival of

Lord Combermere—Bhurtpore—La Pucelle—Marsh Fever—
Change of Residence to Middleton Row, Chowringhee—Fogs up
to the Second Story—Burra Bazar—Seed Pearl.

[50] *January, 1825.*—The cold weather is delightful, and a Persian carpet pleasant over the Indian matting, but a fire is not required—indeed, few houses in Calcutta have a fire-place. Ice is sent from Hoogly, and is procurable in the bazaar during the cold weather; it is preserved in pits for the hot season.

March 3rd.—I will describe a day at this time of the year. At 6 A.M. it is so cold that a good gallop in a cloth habit will just keep you warm. At 9 A.M.—a fine breeze—very pleasant—windows open—no pankha.

3 P.M.—Blue linen blinds lowered to keep off the glare of the sunshine, which is distressing to the eyes; every Venetian shut, the pankha in full swing, the very mosquitoes asleep on the walls, yourself asleep on a sofa, not a breath of air—a dead silence around you.

4 P.M.—A heavy thunder-storm, with the rain descending in torrents; you stop the pankha, rejoice in the *traicheur*, and are only prevented from taking a walk in the grounds by the falling rain.

5 P.M.—You mount your Arab, and enjoy the coolness for the remainder of the day;—such is to-day.

April 11th.—The hot winds are blowing for the first time in this year.

[51] We understand that after twenty-five years' service, and *twenty-two* of actual residence in India, we of the Civil Service are to retire upon an annuity of 1000 *l.* a year, for which we are to pay 50,000 rupees, or about 5000 *l.* This, on first appearance, looks well for us and generous in the Company; but I should like first to know, how many will be able to serve their full time of bondage? secondly, what the life of a man, an annuitant, is then worth, who has lingered two and twenty years in a tropical climate?

May 9th.—The heat is intense—very oppressive. I dare not go to church for fear of its bringing on fits, which might disturb the congregation; you have little idea of the heat of a collection of many assembled in such a climate—even at home, with all appliances and means to boot for reducing the temperature, the

heat is sickening. You in England imagine a lady in India has nothing to do. For myself, I superintend the household, and find it difficult at times to write even letters, there is so much to which it is necessary to attend. At this moment I would willingly be quiet, but am continually interrupted. The coachman, making his salam, "Mem sahiba, Atlas is very ill, I cannot wait for the sahib's return; I have brought the horse to the door, will you give your orders?" The durwan (gate-keeper), "Mem sahiba, the deer have jumped over the wall, and have run away". The sirdar-bearer, "Mem sahiba, will you advance me some rupees to make a great feast? My wife is dead." The mate-bearer then presented his petition, "Will the mem sahiba give me a plaister? the rats have gnawed my fingers and toes". It is a fact that the lower part of the house is overrun with enormous rats, they bite the fingers and feet of the men when they are asleep on the ground.

The other evening I was with my beautiful and charming friend, Mrs. F—, she had put her infant on a mat, where it was quietly sleeping in the room where we were sitting. The evening darkened, a sharp cry from the child startled us—a bandicote rat had bitten one of its little feet!

It is reported the Burmese war is nearly finished, I hope it may be true, it is a horrible sacrifice of human life, a war in [52] such a climate? I hear much of all the hardship of fighting against the climate endured the military, from friends who return to Calcutta on sick leave.

When we arrived in Calcutta the only drive was on the Course, which was well-watered; a fine broad road has been made along the side of the river, about two miles in length; it is a delightful drive in the evening, close to the ships.

The Course is deserted for the Strand.

June 25th.—The Furlough and Pension Fund for the Civil Service has been established; we subscribe four per cent. from our salary, for which we are allowed by Government six per cent. interest, towards the purchase of an annuity of 1000 l. after twenty-five years service. A very strong inducement this to economy—yet human nature is very contrary.

*"J'avois jure detre sage,
Mais avant peu j'en fus las.*

Ah ! raison, c'est bien dommage,
Que l'ennui suive tes pas."

Nevertheless, we will return home as soon as we can.

Our friend Mr. C—is going down to Bulloah, a savage spot, where he is to make salt ; he takes down three couple of hounds to assist him in his labours.

Provided there is a good bulky dividend at the end of the year upon India Stock, the holders think the country flourishing in the greatest security. Every governor who is sent out is told that the principal thing to be considered is economy. Lord Moira, who had a becoming horror of such *petitesses*, and who saw the political danger of carrying the cutting system into practice, in several instances refused to adopt the measures he was intrusted to execute. Yet India was never in a more flourishing state ; dividends on India Stock never *looked up* more cheerfully. Lord Amherst has applied the paring-knife, and much good it has done ;—the military ran riot,¹⁸ the civilians were inclined to grow rusty, and India Bonds were very dismal and *looking down*.

[53] A letter appeared in the Gazette the other day, in which the Harrow boys were spoken of in an irreverend manner, which elicited the following answer from the *sahib*¹⁹ :—

"To the Editor of the Government Gazette.

"Sir,

"June, 1825.

"In one of your late papers I was much amused by a report of the proceedings of a 'Morning at Bow Street', during which the behaviour of the Harrow boys was brought to the notice of that worthy magistrate, Sir R. Birnie. To suppose that these young gentlemen are accustomed to parade the streets with sticks charged with lead, searching for snobs with heads to correspond, and carrying pistols loaded with the same metal in their pockets to confer the *coup-de-grace* upon these unfortunates, would be to believe, what

'Nec pueri credant, nisi qui nondum aere lavantur.'

Excuse the Latin, the English proverb is somewhat coarse.

"I recollect the operative artisan Jones : he succeeded an excellent farrier, who emigrated with Sir Bellingham Graham, one of our worthies. Unless Jones had in the first instance made

himself obnoxious to the boys, which from W.L.'s account is more than possible, they would not have interfered with him. The whole account I know to be sadly exaggerated; you are, perhaps, an advocate for the publicity of these reports, so should I be, were they not for the most part so outrageously *surcharges*. The 'Gentlemen of the Press' think truth needs the aid of foreign ornament, for in this particular instance, neither pistols nor sticks, loaded or unloaded, were seen or afterwards discovered to have been in the possession of the boys, but were gratuitously conferred upon them by the reports.

"Shall such fellows as these be allowed to bespatter an institution which reckons Sir William Jones, Lord Byron, Parr, and others 'dear to memory and to fame', among her mighty dead—and Lord Teignmouth, the Marquis of Hastings, Messrs. Peel, Barry Cornwall, and myself, among her mighty living²⁰?

[54] "You will, I know, excuse me. I am by nature modest, even as an American, but having been hitherto particular as to my society, if I am to be damned to everlasting fame, it must be in good company!

"We are so few and far between in this country, that we cannot form a corpse to show our *esprit*, yet even in this wilderness will I upraise my solitary voice in praise of Harrow-on-the-Hill—*Floreat in oeternum*!—Hoping that I have said enough 'to Harrow up your soul,'

"I am, your's,

'Jungle Mehals'.

"ONE OF THE OLD SCHOOL".

August 6th.—The natives, especially the Hindus, are dying by hundreds daily in the damp and marshy part of Calcutta; 410 died in one night of cholera and fever, both of which are raging fearfully. They sleep in much swampy places, in the open air, it is only surprising they are not all carried off. Last month a fever amongst the Europeans was universal, many died of it; it has disappeared, and Calcutta is tolerably healthy; the cholera has not attacked the Europeans.

September 18th.—We now consider ourselves fairly fixed in Calcutta; the climate agrees with us; and though we hold exist-

ence upon a frailer tenure than those in England, we still hope to see many happy years.

" 'Tis in vain to complain, in a melancholy strain,
Of the money we have spent, which will never come again."

Furlough and the pension must make amends.

The cold season is the only time in which we live, and breathe, and have our being, the rest of the year is mere "leather and prunella," and one "groan and sweat under a weary life."

But then in Calcutta, we do not die of the blue devils, *ennui*, or from want of medical attendance, as those do who are far removed; and even the *maladie du pays* is relieved by the constant letters and news we receive from our native land.

The Burmese seem to have adopted the plan of the Russians, [55] and left their infernal climate to fight their battles; it has done it most woefully—fever has killed more men than the sword. Our troops are now waiting for the breaking up of the rains, to recommence operations. It is supposed that they will meet with little difficulty in making their way to Amrapura, the capital; but if they do, it seems that the king and his court will not wait for their arrival, but start with their valuables to the mountains. There has been a sad waste of life and money. Commissioners have now been appointed. Report says that Sir Archibald Campbell's spirit is too bellicose; and the deputation (civil) to Rangoon is to check his warlike excesses. The company profess that they do not wish for an extent of territory; so that the present war has been entered into solely for the purpose of avenging the insults that have been offered to their arms. I wish most sincerely that they had been contended with holding what they had, instead of proclaiming war; and probably they may be of the same opinion. The papers say that a truce has been entered into with the Burmese, for the purposes of negotiation. Within these few days we have heard that it has been prolonged, in order that our terms might be submitted to the Golden Feet. It is to be hoped that they will not trample upon them, and that this most detestable war, which has cost so many lives and so much money, may be honourably concluded.

Lord Combermere has determined to proceed immediately to the Upper Provinces, and to have a fling at Bhurtpore. There is no doubt as to the event being successful, but the natives have

a great conceit about it ; it is another Pucelle, as it has never yet been taken. In Lord Lake's time, our troops were three times repulsed ; but that is a tale of the times of old, when these matters were conducted on too small a scale. Now there is to be a fine park of artillery, fully capable of making an impression on the heart of this obdurate maiden. It will do much service in taking the conceit out of the people. They have songs, and even caricatures, in which Europeans are drawn as craving for mercy under their victorious swords, to the number of three or four to one Mahratta horseman. It is an old grudge, and our *sipahis* fancy the affair hugely. We took Bhurtpore [56] last night over the whist-table, by a *coup de main* ; I trust we shall be able to play our cards as well when before it. This will be of a different nature altogether from the vile Burmese war. Those who fall will die nobly in battle, not by the host of diseases by which our poor fellows have been sacrificed at Rangoon and Arracan.

The early marriages which take place in India were brought under my eye this morning. My ayha being ill, sent another to act for her during her absence ; she is a pretty little woman, aged twenty-five, and has been married fourteen years !

The sickness in Arracan is dreadful ; shiploads of officers and men are arriving daily, with shaved heads and white faces, bearing testimony of the marsh fever, considering themselves most fortunate in having quitted the country alive.

Imagine living in a straw-shed, exposed to the burning sun and the torrents of rain that fall in this country ; the nights cold, raw and wet ; the fog arising from the marshes spreading fever in every direction. Where the sword kills one, the climate carries off an hundred.

Oct.—Lord Combermere intends to render the cold weather gay with balls and dinner parties. His staff are quite a relief to the eye, looking so well dressed, so fresh and European. They express themselves horrified at beholding the fishy hue of the faces on the Course ; wonder how they are to stay at home during the heat of the day, and sigh for gaiety and variety. Speaking of the ladies in the East, one of them said, "Amongst the womankind, there are some few worth the trouble of running away with ; but then the exertion would be too much for the

hot season ; and in the cold, we shall have something else to think about !”

Dec. 1st.—We changed our residence for one in Middleton-row, Chowringhee, having taken a dislike to the house in which we were residing, from its vicinity to tanks and native huts.

The house has a good ground floor and two stories above, with verandahs to each ; the rent 325 rupees per month ; the third story consists of bed-rooms. The deep fogs in Calcutta rise thick and heavy as high as the first floor ; from the [57] verandah of the second you may look down on the white fog below your feet, whilst the stars are bright above, and the atmosphere clear around you. The spotted deer play about the compound, and the mouse deer runs about my dressing-room, doing infinite mischief.

The Bara Bazar, the great mart where shawls are bought, is worth visiting. It is also interesting to watch the dexterity with which seed pearls are bored by the natives. This operation being one of difficulty, they tell me seed pearls are sent from England to be pierced in Calcutta.

Chapter VII

DEPARTURE FROM THE PRESIDENCY

1826.—[58] Lady Amherst is on horseback at gun-fire ; few young women could endure the exercise she takes. She is an admirable equestrian, and possesses all the fondness of an Archer for horses. Her ladyship has won my heart by expressing her admiration of my beautiful Arab. His name originally was Orelia ; but having become such a frisky fool, he has been re-christened ‘Scamp’.

On the death of Lord Archer, in 1778, she “who knew and loved his virtues,” inscribed the following sentence on his tomb : “He was the last male descendant of an ancient and honourable family that came over with William the Conqueror, and settled in the county of Warwick in the reign of King Henry the Second, from whom his ancestors obtained the grants of land in the said county.”

When it was recorded on his monument at Tanworth that Lord Archer was the last of the male branch of the Archers

who came with the Conqueror, little did Lady Amherst (then the Hon. Miss Archer) imagine that, in her future Indian career, she would cross the path of the poor Pilgrim, the child of one of the noblest and best of men, who through Humphrey [59] Archer, deceased 1562, is a direct descendant, in the male line, from our common ancestor, Fulbertus Sagittarius.

March.—Lord Amherst has been recalled, a circumstance we regret. He has had great difficulties to contend with since his arrival; and now, just at the moment his troubles are nearly ended, he has been recalled. I believe his lordship signified to the Home Government his wish to resign.

In a climate so oppressive as this, billiards are a great resource in a private house; the table keeps one from going to sleep during the heat of the day, or from visiting Europe shops.

April 17th.—The perusal of Lady Mary Wortley Montague's work has rendered me very anxious to visit a *zenana*, and to become acquainted with the ladies of the East. I have now been nearly four years in India, and have never beheld any women but those in attendance as servants in European families, the low caste wives of petty shopkeepers, and *nach* women.

I was invited to a *nach* at the house of an opulent Hindu in Calcutta, and was much amused with an excellent set of jugglers; their feats with swords were curious: at the conclusion, the baboo asked me if I should like to visit his wives and female relatives. He led me before a large curtain, which having passed I found myself in almost utter darkness: two females took hold of my hands and led me up a long flight of stairs to a well-lighted room, where I was received by the wives and relatives. Two of the ladies were pretty; on beholding their attire I was no longer surprised that no other men than their husbands were permitted to enter the *zenana*. The dress consisted of one long strip of Benares gauze of thin texture, with a gold border, passing twice round the limbs, with the end thrown over the shoulder. The dress was rather transparent, almost useless as a veil: their necks and arms were covered with jewels. The complexion of some of the ladies was of a pale mahogany, and some of the female attendants were of a very dark colour, almost black. Passing from the lighted room, we entered a dark balcony, in front of which were fine bamboo [60] screens, impervious to the

eye from without, but from the interior we could look down upon the guests in the hall below, and distinguish perfectly all that passed. The ladies of the zenana appeared to know all the gentlemen by sight, and told me their names. They were very inquisitive ; requested me to point out my husband, inquired how many children I had, and asked a thousand questions. I was glad to have seen a zenana, but much disappointed : the women were not ladylike ; but, be it remembered, it was only at the house of a rich Calcutta native gentleman. I soon quitted the apartments and the natch.

The sketch of "a Bengali woman" represents the style of attire worn by the ladies of the baboo's zenana, with this difference, that the dress of the woman called a *sari* is of muslin, edged with a bright blue border ; it is passed several times round the figure, but the form of the limbs and the tint of the skin is traced through it : no other attire is worn beneath the *sari* ; it forms, although in one long piece, a complete dress, and is a remarkably graceful one. Her nose-ring, ear-rings, and necklaces are of gold ; her armlet of silver ; the anklets of the same metal. A set of *churis* (bracelets) adorn her arms, below which is a row of coral, or of cornelian beads. Silver chains are around her waist ; her hands and feet are stained with *hinna*. She is returning to her home from the river, with her *gagri*, a brass vessel filled with water ; her attitude may appear peculiar, but it is natural ; by throwing out one *hip*, a woman can carry a heavy water-jar with ease. A child is often carried astride the hip in the same manner ; hence the proverb, speaking of a vicious child, says, "Perched on your hip, he will peck your eyes out". The dark line of *surma* is distinctly seen around her eyes, and a black dot between the eyebrows.

April.—We heard, with sorrow, the death of Bishop Heber, from my sister at Cuddalore, whose house he had just quitted for Trichinopoly ; after preaching twice in one day, he went into a bath, and was there found dead. It was supposed, that bathing, after the fatigue he had undergone, sent the blood to the head and occasioned apoplexy.

[61] May 18th.—Killed a scorpion in my bathing-room, a good fat old fellow ; prepared him with arsenical soap, and added him to the collection of curiosities in my museum.

My Italian master praises me for application ; he says, the heat is killing him, and complains greatly of the want of rain. When I told him we had had a little during the last two days, he replied, "You are the favoured of God in Chowringhee, we have had none in Calcutta". The natives suffer dreadfully. Cholera and the heat are carrying off three and sometimes five hundred a day.

An eclipse has produced a change in the weather, and the sickness has ceased in the bazars.

August.—A gloom has been thrown over Calcutta ; and Lord Amherst's family are in the deepest affliction, caused by the death of Captain Amherst, which took place a short time ago. His lordship, his son, and his nephew were seized with fever at the same time ; Captain Amherst's became typhus, and carried him off. The family have proceeded up the country. All those who have the pleasure of their acquaintance, sympathize most deeply in their affliction ; they are much respected.

Oct. 18th.—My husband having received an acting appointment in Allahabad, we prepared to quit Calcutta. The distance by the river being eight hundred miles, and by land five hundred, we determined to march up stage by stage, sending the heavy luggage by water.

On quitting the Presidency, a great part of our furniture, horses, &c. were sold. I had refused 2000 rupees for my beautiful Arab ; but determined, as economy was the order of the day, to fix his price at 2500. The pair of greys, Atlas and Mercury, carriage-horses, sold for 2200 rupees, 300 less than they cost ; they, as well as Scamp, were too valuable to march up the country. This will give you some idea of the price of good horses in Calcutta. One morning a note was sent, which I opened (having received instructions to that effect), requesting to know if the grey Arab was for sale. I answered it, and mentioned the price. The gentleman enclosed the amount, 2500 rupees, about 250 £, in a note to me, requesting me [62] to keep and ride the horse during the remainder of my stay in Calcutta, and on my departure to send him to his stables. For this charming proof of Indian *politesse*, I returned thanks, but declined the offer. I felt so sorry to part with my beautiful horse, I could not bear the sight of him when he was no longer

my own : it was my own act ; my husband blamed me for having sold a creature in which I took so much delight, and was not satisfied until he had replaced him by a milk-white Arab, with a silken mane and long tail. Mootee, the name of my new acquisition, was very gay at first, not comprehending the petticoat, but on becoming used to it, carried me most agreeably. A fine Scotch terrier was given me to bear me company in the journey, but he was stolen from us ere we quitted Calcutta . . .

Nov. 22nd.—We quitted Calcutta, crossed the river to the bungalow, on the New Road, stayed there one day to muster our forces, and commenced our journey next.

COMING OF THE ICE

[82] Calcutta was supplied, in 1833, with fine clear ice from America, sent in enormous blocks, which sold at two annas a seer, about twopence per pound : this ice is greatly superior to that made in India, which is beaten up when collected into a mass, and dissolves more rapidly than the block ice. It is not as an article of luxury only that ice is delightful in this climate, medically it is of great use : there is much virtue in an iced night-cap to a feverish head. The American ice has not yet penetrated to the Up Country ; we shall have ice from Calcutta when the rail-roads are established. No climate under the sun can be more delightful than this during the cold weather, at which time we enjoy fires very much, and burn excellent coal, which is brought by water from Calcutta. The coal mines are at Burdwan, 100 miles from the presidency. In Calcutta it costs eight annas a mann ; here, if procurable, it is one rupee : this year we had fires until the 29th February. . . .

Oct. 1st (1828). The first steamer arrived at Allahabad in twenty-six days from Calcutta : the natives came down in crowds to view it from the banks of the Jumna ; it was to them a cause of great astonishment. (p. 86).

"A darzee (tailor) is an Indian luxury : they work beautifully—as strongly and finely as the French milliners ; they have great patience—because they are paid by the month, and not by the piece. In Calcutta I found my tailors great thieves—knives, scissors, seals—they would steal anything. One man

carried off a present I had just received, a necklace and bracelets of a very curious pattern, and box full of polished pebbles, in sets, from the Soane river" (I. p. 141).

"Bishop Heber who did not understand native character, and possessed much simplicity, was surprised when the upcountry natives thus addressed him : 'Defender of the poor, peace be unto you ! Refuge of the distressed, salamut !' and imagined it was from respect to his holy office." (I. p. 141).

"What happy wretches the natives are ! A man who gets two annas a day (four pence), can find himself in food, clothing, house, silver finery for his person, and support his wife and children also. My ayha in Calcutta, who received eleven rupees a month, refused any longer to dine with her dear friend the durwan, as she expressed it, he was so extravagant and such a glutton he would eat as much as one rupee and a half or two rupees a month ; and, as she herself never ate more than one rupee per month, she would no longer go shares in his expenses." (I. pp. 142-143).

"In Calcutta, the tank water being unwholesome to drink, it is necessary to catch rain water, and preserve it in great jars ; sixty jars full will last a year in our family. It is purified with alum, and a heated iron is put into it." (I. p. 143).

"In India wax candles are always burned. A bearer will not touch a mould because they say it is made of pig's fat. We burn spermaceti generally. The first time the bearers saw them, they would not touch the spermaceti, and I had great difficulty in persuading them the candles were made from the fat of a great fish. Some bearers in Calcutta will not snuff a candle if it be on the dinner-table, but a khidmatgar having put it on the ground, the bearer will snuff it, when the other man replaces it. In the upper provinces they are not so particular". (I. p. 144).

"It is said, the Earl of C.—lost 65,000 rupees a short time ago, by forgeries committed in Calcutta : the person at the head of the forgeries was Rajah Budhinath Roy, a native prince in high favour with Lord Amherst ; and I rather imagine his lordship has suffered also by the Rajah's forged bills. *On dit*, he used to talk about Christianity as if *in time* he might be converted ; he subscribed to schools and missionary societies, and distributed Bibles—the bait took—in return he was allowed such and such honorary attendance, as by the Company's regulations

a native may not have without permission. This flattered his pride, and his seemingly religious disposition secured him from suspicion falling upon him as a forger, especially of passing forged bills on the Governor-General. The case is now being tried in Court." (I. p. 145).

"People think of nothing but converting the Hindoos ; and religion is often used as a cloak by the greatest schemers after good appointments. Religious meetings are held continually in Calcutta, frequented by people to pray themselves into high salaries, who never thought of praying before.

"In India we use no bells to call servants ; but as the chaprasis are always in attendance just without the door, if you want one, you say 'Qui hy?', i.e., 'is there any one?'—or 'Kon hy?'—'who is there?' when a servant appears. For this reason old Indians are called Qui hys." (I. p. 145).

KALIGHAT TEMPLE

"The goddess Kallee, to whom this festival is dedicated, is the black goddess to whom human sacrifices are offered . . . I have seen no temples dedicated to her up the country. Her celebrated shrine is at Kali Ghat, near Calcutta. A Hindoo often makes a vow, generally to Kallee, that if she will grant his prayer, he will not cut off a particular lock of his hair for so many years ; at the end of that time he goes to the shrine, makes pooja, and shaves the lock : at particular times of the year, they say, piles of hair are shaved off at Kallee Ghat.

"When we were residing in Chowringhee we heard of the body of a man, who had been sacrificed to the goddess, having been found before the image at Kallee Ghat. It was supposed he was some poor wanderer or devotee, possessing no friends to make inquiries concerning his fate. When a victim is sacrificed, it is considered necessary to cut off the head at one blow with a broad heavy axe". (I. pp. 163-164).

CLAUDE MARTIN

(January 21, 1831). "We visited Constantia, a beautiful and most singular house, built by General Martine, it would take pages to describe it ; the house is constructed to suit the climate ;

ventilation is carried up through the walls from the ground-floor to the top of the building, and the marble hall is a luxurious apartment. The king having refused to give General Martine the price he asked for Constantia, the latter declared his tomb should be handsomer than any palace in his Majesty's dominions. He therefore built a vault for himself under the house, and there he lies buried ; this has desecrated the place, no Mussulman can inhabit a tomb. (I. pp. 178-179).

"The monument stands in the vault : a bust of the general adorns it. Lights are constantly burned before the tomb. The figures of four sipahis large as life, with their arms reversed, stand in niches at the sides of the monument. In the centre of the vault, on a long plain slab, is this inscription :

"Here lies Major-Genenal Claude Martine, born at Lyons, 1735 ; arrived in India a common soldier, and died at Lucknow, the 13th December, 1800. PRAY FOR HIS SOUL".

"Claude Martine was a native of the City of Lyons. He was originally a common soldier, and fought under Count Lally ; he afterwards entered the service of the East India Company, and rose to the rank of a Major-general. He died possessed of enormous wealth, and endowed a noble charity in Calcutta, called La Martiniere.

"The house is a large and very singular building ; a motto fronts the whole, "Labore et Constantia,"—hence the name of the house". (I. p. 179).

THERMANTIDOTE

"We hope to feel cool by the aid of a thermantidote, for which we are building a terrace and verandah.

"The thermantidote is a structure awful to behold ; but we shall benefit from its good effect ; and, like a steam-boat, shall be able to do without wind, which, with the tattis commonly in use, is the *sine qua non* for *fraicheur*.

"A thermantidote is an enormous machine for forcing cool air into the house ; it is made of amra (mango wood), or of sakoo (*aborea robusta*) ; the wheels and axle are of iron. In height, it is about seven feet, in breadth four or five, and some nine or ten or twelve feet in length.

"There is a little machine sold in England, under the name of a fire-blower, which is on the same principle, and is almost a miniature thermantidote. It also resembles in some respects a machine for winnowing corn, but on a larger scale.

"The thermantidote, which is hollow, and of circular form, has a projecting funnel, which is put through and fixed into a window of the house, from the machine which stands in the verandah.

"In the interior, four large fans are affixed to an iron axle, which, passing through the centre of the machine, is turned round by two men on the outside ; by which means the fans revolve, and force the air out of the thermantidote through the funnel into the house.

"To render the outer air cool, which is thus driven into the house, a circle of about four feet in diameter is cut out in the planks which form the two broad sides of the thermantidote ; and beyond these circles *khas-khas* tattis are affixed ; so that the vacuum produced by forcing the air out of the machine is supplied by air passing through the tattis.

"On each side of the thermantidote, on the outside at the top, a long trough is fixed, perforated with small holes in its bottom. [200] Water is constantly poured into these troughs, which, dropping through the holes upon the tattis placed below them, keeps them constantly wetted. The water is received below in two similar troughs, and passing through a little spout at the side, is collected in tubs, or in large high earthen pans. Coolies are constantly employed in handing up this water, in *thilias* (earthen water pots), to other coolies on the top of the thermantidote, whose business it is to keep the tattis constantly dripping wet. By this means, all the air that passes into the body of the machine through the wetted *khas-khas* is rendered cool, and fit to be forced into the house by the action of the fans in their circular course. (I. pp. 199-200).

"The thermantidote stands upon four small wheels, which facilitate the movement of so cumbersome and ponderous a machine.

"*Khas-khas* was put on the thermantidote to-day ; you have no idea how fragrant, delicious, and refreshing is the scent of the fresh *khas khas*, which is the root of a high jungle grass, called *gandar* (*andropogon muricatum*). These fibrous roots are

thinly worked into bamboo frames, which fit exactly into the thermantidote, or into windows. These frames are kept constantly watered, for the purpose of cooling the hot wind ; which, passing through the wetted roots, is lowered many degrees in temperature, owing to the evaporation that is produced". (I. p. 200).

Oct. 18th (1831).—"The thermantidote has been put up in our verandah. The rooms are ten degrees cooler than when we had only tattis. For the first time I have been laid up with a strong attack of rheumatism and lumbago. My medical man says. "The thermantidote pours forth such a volume of cold air, that if you have fallen asleep near it, it has caused all these aches and pains. 'Nulla rosa senza spine'!" (I. p. 204).

A LIST OF SERVANTS IN A PRIVATE FAMILY

No	(Vol. I., pp. 209-210)	Wages	
		Rupees per month	
1	A khansaman, or head man : a Musalman servant who purchases the provisions, makes the confectionary, and superintends the table	12	
2	The abdar, or water-cooler ; cools the water, ices the wines, and attends with them at table	8	
3.	The head khidmatgar ; he takes charge of the plate-chest, and waits at table	7	
4	A second khidmatgar, who waits at table	6	
5	A bawarchi, or cook	12	
6.	Mate bawarchi	4	
7	Mashalchi ; dish-washer and torch-bearer	4	
8.	Dhobee, or washerman	8	
9.	Istree wala, washerman for ironing	8	
10.	A darzee, or tailor	8	
11.	A second tailor	6	
12.	An ayha, or lady's maid	10	
13.	An under woman	6	
14.	A doriya ; a sweeper, who also attends to the dogs	4	

15. Sirdar-bearer, an Hindoo servant, the head of the bearers, and the keeper of the sahib's wardrobe; the keys of which are always carried in his kamarband, the folds of cloth around his waist	8
16. The mate-bearer: assists as valet, and attends to the lamps	6
22. Six bearers to pull the pankhas, and dust the the furniture, &c.	24
23. A gwala, or cowherd	4
24. A bher-i-wala, or shepherd	5
25. A murgh-i-wala, to take care of the fowls, wild ducks, quails, rabbits, guinea-fowls, and pigeons	4
26. A malee, or gardener	5
27. A mate, do „	3
28. Another mate, or a cooly	2
29. A gram-grinder, generally a woman who grinds the chana for the horses	2
30. A coachman	10
38. Eight saises, or (grooms) at five rupees each, for eight horses	40
46. Eight grass-cutters, at three rupees each, for the above	24
47. A bihishti, or water-carrier	5
48. A mate bihishti	4
49. A Barhai mistree, a carpenter	8
50. Another carpenter	7
52. Two coolies, to throw water on the tattis	4
54. Two chaukidars, or watchmen	8
55. A durwan, or gate-keeper	4
57. Two chaprasis, or running footmen, to carry notes, and be in attendance in the verandah	10
— 57 total	— 290
—	—

or about 290 l per annum.

"During the hot winds, a number of extra coolies, twelve or fourteen, are necessary, if you have more than one thermantidote, or if you keep it going all night as well as during the day ; these men, as well as an extra bihishti, are discharged when the rains set in. (I. p. 210).

"We, as quiet people, find these servants necessary. Some gentlemen for state add an assa burdar, the bearer of a long silver staff, and a sonta burdar, or chob-dar, who carries a silver club, with a grim head on the top of it. The business of these people is to announce the arrival of company. (I. p. 210).

"If many dogs are kept, an extra doriya will be required.

"The above is a list of our own domestics, and the rate of their wages. (I. 210).

"The heat of the climate, added to the customs and prejudices of the natives, oblige you to keep a number of servants ; but you do not find them in food as in England. One man will not do the work of another, but says, 'I shall lose caste,' which caste, by the bye, may be regained by the expenditure of a few rupees in a dinner to their friends and relatives. The Mohammadan servants pretend they shall lose caste ; but, in fact, they have none : the term is only applicable to the Hindoos. (I. pp. 210-211).

"If your Khansaman and sirdar-bearer are good and honest servants, you have little or no trouble with an Indian household ; but, unless you are fortunate with your head servants, there is great trouble in keeping between fifty or sixty domestics in order". (I. 211).

MOTI MASJID SOLD

From the Calcutta *John Bull*, July 26th, 1831.

The Governor-general has sold the beautiful piece of architecture, called the Mootee Musjid, at Agra, for 125,000 rupees (about £ 12,500), and it is now being pulled down ! The Taj has also been offered for sale ! but the price required has not been obtained. Two lacs, however, have been offered for it. Should the Taj be pulled down, it is rumoured that disturbances may take place amongst the natives.

"If this be true, is it not shameful ? The present king might as well sell the chapel of Henry the Seventh in Westminster

Abbey for the paltry sum of £ 12,500 : for any sum the impropriety of the act would be the same. By what authority does the Governor-general offer the Taj for sale ? Has he any right to molest the dead ? To sell the tomb raised over an empress, which from its extraordinary beauty is the wonder of the world ? It is impossible the Court of Directors can sanction the sale of the tomb for the sake of its marble and gems. They say that a Hindoo wishes to buy the Taj to carry away the marble, and erect a temple to his own idols at Bindrabund !" (I. p. 220).

1833—CONSUMPTION OF ICE (I. pp. 287-288)

[287] One of the most striking instances of the enterprise of the merchants of the present age, is the importation of a cargo of ice into India from the distant shores of America ; and it is to be hoped, that the experiment having so far succeeded, it will receive sufficient encouragement here to ensure the community in future a constant supply of the luxury. The speculators are Messrs. Tudor, Rogers, and Austin, the first of whom has been engaged for fifteen or twenty years in furnishing supplies of ice to the southern parts of America and the West Indian islands.

The following particulars will furnish an idea of the plan pursued in this traffic, and of the cost incurred in it :—

The ice is cut from the surface of some ponds rented for the purpose in the neighbourhood of Boston, and being properly stowed, is then conveyed to an ice-house in the city, where it remains until transported on board the vessel which has to convey it to its destined market. It is always kept packed in non-conducting materials, such as tan, hay and pine boards ; and the vessel in which it is freighted has an ice-house built within, for the purpose of securing it from the effects of the atmosphere. The expence to the speculators must be very considerable, when they have to meet the charges of rent for the ponds, wages for superintendents and labourers, and agents at the place of sale ; erection of ice-houses, transportation of the article from the ponds to the city, thence to the vessel, freight, packing, and landing, and the delivery of the article at the ice-house which has been built for it in Calcutta.

The present cargo has arrived without greater wastage than was at first calculated on, and the packing was so well managed

to prevent its being affected by the atmosphere, that the temperature on board during the voyage was not perceptibly altered. This large importation of ice may probably give rise to experiments to ascertain in what way it may be applied to medicinal uses, as it has already elsewhere been resorted to for such purposes; but the chief interest the community generally will take in it, will be the addition it will make to domestic comfort.

* * *

MAYURPANKHI : "The mor-pankhi, a kind of pleasure boat, with the long neck and head of a peacock, most richly gilt and painted, and the snake boats, used on days of festival, are fairy-like, picturesque, fanciful, and very singular". (I. p. 96).

BARRACKPUR : "The view is beautiful at Barrackpur; the fine trees of the park stretching along the side of the river; the bright green turf that slopes gently down to the water; the number of handsome houses, with their lawns and gardens; the Government-house and the buildings around it, stuccoed to resemble white stone; the handsome verandahs which surround the houses, supported by pillars; and the great number of boats gliding about, render it peculiarly pleasing". (II. p. 101).

VIEW FROM THE RIVER : "The Governor-General, Lord Auckland, lives partly in Calcutta, and partly at the Government-house at Barrackpur. At Cassipur is the house of the agent for gunpowder, its white pillars half-hidden by fine trees. At Chitpore is a high, red, Birmingham-looking, long-chimnied building, with another in the same style near it; the high chimneys of the latter emitting a dark volume of smoke, such as one only sees in this country pouring from the black funnel of a steamer: corn is here ground in the English fashion, and oil extracted from divers seeds. The establishment cost a great sum of money, and I think I have heard it has failed, owing to each native family in India grinding their own corn, in the old original fashion of one flat circular mill-stone over another, called a *chakki*." (II. pp. 101-102).

SHIPPING IN THE HOOGLHY

"From this point I first caught a view of the shipping off Calcutta: for ten years I had not beheld an English vessel: how it

made me long for a glimpse of all the dear ones in England !
'The desire of the garden never leaves the heart of the nightingale'.

"Passing through the different vessels that crowd the Hoogly off Calcutta, gave me great pleasure ; the fine merchant-ships, the gay, well-trimmed American vessels, the grotesque forms of the Arab ships, the Chinese vessels with an eye on each side the bows to enable the vessel to see her way across the deep waters, the native vessels in all their fanciful and picturesque forms, the pleasure-boats of private gentlemen, the beautiful private residences in Chowringhee, the Government-house, the crowds of people, and vehicles of all descriptions, both European and Asiatic,—form a scene of beauty of which I know not the equal". (II. p. 102).

"We anchored at Chandpaul ghat, amidst a crowd of vessels. The river-beggars fly about in the very smallest like boats in the world, paddled by one tiny oar : a little flag is stuck up in the boat ; and on a mat at the bottom, spread to receive offerings, is a collection of copper coins, rice and cowries, thrown by the pious or the charitable to these fakirs ; who, if fame belie them not, are rascals. 'A gooroo at home, but a beggar abroad'. I forgive them the sin of rascality, for their picturesque appearance ; the gifts they received were very humble. 'A kuoree is a gold mohur to a pauper'." (II. p. 102).

"There not being room that night for our party at Spence's hotel, I was forced to sleep on board the budjerow, off Chandpaul ghat. What a wretched night it was ! The heat was intolerable. I could not open a window because the budjerows on either side were jammed against mine : the heat, the noise, the mooring and unmooring, according to the state of the tide, rendered it miserable work. I wished to anchor lower down, but the answer was 'Budjerows must anchor here : it is the Lord Sahib's hukm (order)'. (II. pp. 102-103).

(1836 Dec.) 17th.—"I took possession of apartments in Spence's hotel : they were good and well furnished. Since I quitted Calcutta, a great improvement has taken place : a road has been opened from the Government-house to Garden Reach, by the side of the river ; the drive is well watered, the esplanade crowded with carriages, and the view of the shipping beautiful. (II. p. 103).

M. le General Allard, who had just returned from France, and was in Calcutta *en route* to rejoin Runjeet Singh, called on me; he is the most picturesque person imaginable. (II. p. 103).

I could have remained contentedly at the hotel myself, but my up-country servants complained there was no comfort for them; therefore I took a small house in Chowringhee, and removed into it the furniture from the budjerow. It was comfortable also to have my horses, which had arrived, in the stables.

"Went to a ball given in the English style by a rich Bengalee Baboo, Rustamjee Cowasjee. The Misses Eden were there, which the Baboo ought to have thought a very great honour". (II. 103).

VISIT TO KALIGHAT

II/104/ (1837, Jan.) 5th.—Made my salam at the Government-house, as in duty bound.

9th.—The first day of the races: drove to the stand at seven A.M., through a deep, white thick fog, so usual in the early morning in Calcutta, which did my sore throat and cold no good.

11th.—The second day of the races; the Auckland Cup was to be given to the winner. The cup was of silver, the design remarkable, and very beautiful. It was sketched by Miss Eden, and executed in good style by Messrs. Pittar and Co., Jewellers, in Calcutta. The winning horse came in well; twenty yards beyond the post, as the jockey attempted to pull up, the horse dropped and died instantly. The cup was awarded to the dead horse. It was a piteous sight.

15th.—Accompanied Mr. W.—and a party over his racing stables: the sight of the racers all ready for the contest in the morning was pleasing. We then visited a number of imported English and Cape horses that were for sale.

In the evening I drove to see the far-famed Bengalee idol, Kali Mai, to which, in former times, human sacrifices were publicly offered; and to which, in the present day, and in spite of the vigilance of the magistrate, I believe, at times, a human being is offered up;—some poor wretch who has no one likely to make inquiries about him. The temple is at Kali Ghat, about two miles from Calcutta. The idol is a great black stone cut into the figure of an enormous woman, with a large head and staring

eyes; her tongue hangs out of her mouth, a great broad tongue, down to her breast. The figure is disgusting. I gave the attendant priests a rupee for having shown me their idol, which they offered with all reverence to Kali Mai. The instruments with which, at one stroke, the priest severs the head of the victim from the trunk are remarkable. •

16th.—A cup of silver, given by a rich Bengalee, Dwarkanath Tagore, was run for: the cup was elaborately worked, and the workmanship good; but the design was in the excess of bad [104] taste, and such as only a Baboo would have approved. It was won by Absentee, one of the horses I had seen in the stable the day before, contrary to the calculation of all the knowing ones in Calcutta.

17.—The inhabitants of Calcutta gave a ball to the Miss Edens. I was too ill to attend.

30th.—Dined with an old friend at Alipur, some two miles from Calcutta. The coachman being unable to see his way across the maidan (plain), stopped. The saises, who were trying to find out where they were, ran directly against the walls of the hospital; the fog was so dense and white, you could not see a yard before you; it made my cough most painful, and the carriage was two hours returning two miles.

(1837) *Feb. 4th.*—I spent the day at the Asiatic Society. A model of the foot of a Chinese lady in the collection is a curiosity, and a most disgusting deformity. The toes are crushed up under the foot, so as to render the person perfectly lame: this is a less expensive mode of keeping a woman confined to the house, than having guards and a zenana—the principle is the same.

Having bid adieu to my friends in Calcutta, I prepared to return to Allahabad, and took a passage in the Jellinghy flat. The servants went up the river in a large luggage boat, with the stores, wine, and furniture. I did not insure the boat, insurance being very high, and the time of the year favourable. The horses marched up the country.

March 6th.—I went on board the Jellinghy flat, established myself and my ayha in a good cabin, and found myself, for the first time, located in a steamer. She quitted Calcutta in the evening, and as we passed Garden Reach, the view of handsome houses in the well-wooded grounds, which extend along the

banks of the river, was beautiful. The water being too shallow at this time of the year for passage of the steamer up the Bhau-grutti, or the Jellinghy, she was obliged to go round by the Sunderbands (sindhu-bandh). The steamer herself is not the vessel in which the passengers live; attached to, and towed by her, is a vessel as large as the steamer herself, called a flat built, exclusively to convey passengers and Government treasure. It is divided into [106] cabins, with one large cabin in the centre, in which the passengers dine together.

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"A jampan is an arm-chair, with a top to it, to shelter you from the sun or rain; four long poles are affixed to it. Eight of these funny little black Hill fellows were harnessed between the poles, after their fashion, and they carried me up the hill". (II. p. 227).

(1843, August, 29). "Arrived off Baboo Ghat, Calcutta, after a most agreeable voyage from the Cape, which, I believe, was enjoyed by every one on board" (II. p. 386).

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SKETCHES ON THE RIVER FROM CALCUTTA

[389] (1844, April 1st). "We took a house in Chowringhee, and found soon after that the cholera and small-pox were prevalent in Calcutta: how ill the dampness and the heat of this Bengal climate render me!—they destroy all energy. Calcutta is famous for its *tapsi machhi* (mango fish), in this month they are in perfection. 'Mangoes and fish meet of necessity'²¹; they come in at the same season, and the unripe mango is also used in cooking fish: the dandis bring them in small baskets fresh from the boats to the Course of an evening, and sell them twenty for a rupee, at the time a khansaman charges his master one rupee for five of them. Parties are made, to Fulta and Budge-Budge, down the river to eat mango fish,—after the fashion of white-bait parties in town; they are excellent—smoked in the same manner as anwari fish—for breakfast.

28th.—A fine fall of rain,—perhaps it will clear the air, and drive off the cholera, which is raging strongly at present.

[390] May 24th.—Mango fish fifty per rupee. The weather very hot, the nights most oppressive, from the heavy mist and

great heat. We left our horses at the Cape, which we regretted on our arrival in Calcutta; we have been looking for a pair of carriage horses for some time. This is the cheapest season of the year in which to make the purchase, but they are very dear; those for sale at eight hundred rupees are vile, those at one thousand indifferent,—you cannot get a good pair under fourteen or sixteen hundred rupees; it would not answer to bring riding horses from the Cape for sale, but carriage horses would answer well, they are in such great demand in Calcutta.

29th.—Rain having fallen on the Queen's birthday, the display of fireworks was postponed until to-day; it was a failure, with the exception of one bouquet, which was good. They would not bear a comparison with the *jeux d'artifices* that I witnessed in Paris on the day of the King's fete; I never saw any colours that equalled those in brilliancy and variety. The last firework, a bouquet of rockets of divers colours, was superb, and sometimes a composition was burnt, that threw a red glare over the landscape; then came a glare of bluelights, casting a spectral appearance on the houses, the river, and the sky, after which another tint was thrown forth, and the effect was excellent.

June 16th.—Lord Ellenborough recalled,—deposed by the Court of Directors.

July 18th.—Visited the livery stables to see some fresh Arabs, among which some very good ones were pointed out to me. There was not a horse that I would have selected for my own riding whose price was less than from twelve to sixteen hundred rupees; and for those likely to turn out good racers they asked two and three thousand.

31st.—Lord Ellenborough quitted Calcutta, and returned to England.

August 22nd.—A very heavy gale, and a deep fall of rain, the next day the natives were catching fish all over the maidan in front of the Government House; they say the fish fell with the rain, which is now a foot deep on the ground.

Oct. 1st.—It being our intention to proceed by the river to [321] Allahabad, and the weather becoming daily cooler, we hired a pinnace budgerow for ourselves, a large *olak* for the baggage, and a cook-boat, sent them to Prinsep's Ghat, and prepared for the voyage.

That branch of the Ganges that quits the main stream at Gopalgunj, flowing by Sooty to Moorsheadabad, is called the Bhagirathi until it reaches Nuddea, at which place it is joined by the Jellinghy, and they flow on, passing Calcutta, to the island of Sagor, under the name of the Hoogly. Only that part of the Ganges which lies in a line from Gangoutri to Sagor island is considered holy by the Hindus, and named the Ganga or Bhagirathi. The Hoogly river, therefore, of Europeans, is considered as the true Ganges.

The Bore commences at Hoogly Point, Sagor, where the river first contracts itself, and is perceptible above the town of Hoogly: so quick is its motion, that it scarcely employs four hours in running up from the one to the other, although the distance is nearly seventy miles. It does not run on the Calcutta side, but along the opposite bank; whence it crosses at Chitpur, about four miles above Fort William, and proceeds with great violence. On its approach boats must immediately quit the shore, and go for safety into the middle of the river; at Calcutta it sometimes occasions an instantaneous rise of five feet. The tide is perceptible as far as Nuddea.

10th.—Quitted Calcutta with a foul wind and heavy rain,—damp, gloomy, and rheumatic weather.

11th.—Started with a fair wind, bought two milch goats for thirteen rupees eight annas,—a great prize on the river. Moored the vessels at Ishapur, in order to visit a friend who has charge of the powder-works at that place; his house, which is large and excellent, is situated on the banks of the river; every thing is so cool and fresh around it; it is delightful to be in the country once more.

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(1844, November 10th) "Dwarkanath Tagore is going to Europe for two years, and is to visit the King of France. The magnet that attracts the Wise Man of the East is the beauty of the opera-dancers, and the delight above all others that he has at the opera in Paris, seeing, as he says, three hundred of the most beautiful women in the world all together;—the baboo is rather beside himself on the subject" (II. p. 405).

"18th.—Bought a man of six-inch wax candles of Kinnoo Lall price eighty rupees" (II. p. 410) at Dinapur.

(1844—December 18) "The ghat (at Prayag) off which we are moored has been recently made by the Steam Agency ; and just above is an hotel, which has been established for the convenience of the passengers from the steamers, and is well conducted by Mr. Berrill. This little hotel on the banks of the Jumna-jee is well described in the following curious lines, which were written in four languages on the window of an inn in Russia.

"In questa casa troverte
 Tout ce qu'on peut souhaiter,
 Vinum, panem, pisces, carnes,
 Coaches, chaises, horses, harness." (II, p. 462)

(1845 July 31). At Rajghat "Picked up a large heavy chest afloat from some wreck. It contained fifty boxes of G. Davis' Chinsurah cheroots : ... also a box of cigars that was floating by the side of it, evidently from the same wreck" (II. p. 470).

NOTES

(The following notes are taken, excepting the Oriental proverbs, from the reprint of Fanny Parks' *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Pictureque*, issued by Oxford University Press, Karachi 1975, with an introduction and notes by Esther Chawner).

1. Fanny Parks sailed for India with her husband, Charles Crawford Parks, a Writer in the East India Company's service, in 1822, shortly after their marriage, and they returned to England in 1848. Fanny was born on 8th December 1794, at Conway in Wales, the daughter of Captain William Archer and his wife, Anne. Frances Susannah (Fanny) was baptised at Conway on 22 January 1795. It was at Lymington, Hampshire where the family had gone to live, that Fanny was married to Charles Parks, on 25th March 1822. Charles Parks, who was nearly three years younger than his wife, had already been to India before he married. Charles, after attending the East India College at Haileybury, arrived in India in 1818. Charles worked as First Assistant to the Collector of Sea Customs, Calcutta, and Collector of Customs at Allahabad (1826-1845). Fanny travelled all over India. On August 29, 1845 Mr. & Mrs. Fanny Parks sailed from Calcutta, never to return. Charles, after 23 years' continuous service, was admitted to an annuity from 29th May 1846. The Parks settled at first at St. Leonards-on-Sea, and there Fanny prepared her journal for publication, and published it in 1850. Charles died in London at the age of 56. Fanny, 'widow of Charles Crawford Parks, of the Bengal Civil Service, retired', died in London on 21st December 1875.

Hon'ble Frances Eden, in a letter of 1838, wrote of Fanny Parks "She has been a beauty, and has the remains of it, and is abundantly fat and lively".

2. *Dekha shahr-i-Bangala duni lal munh kala*, (Oriental proverb)
3. *Karz shauhari-i-mardan ast*. (A debt is a man's husband, i.e., A man in debt is always at the mercy of his creditors, as a woman at her husband's).
4. Raja Ram Mohun Roy, the religious reformer, campaigned against *Sati* and the control of the press.
5. Nickee seems to have had a long reign. Lady Nugent heard her at the Nawab of Chitpur's in 1812; Mrs. Heber heard her at Babu Rup Lall Mullick's and, according to Emma Roberts, she was paid Rs. 1,000 nightly, wherever engaged (*Scenes and Characteristics of Hindustan*, 1835).
6. Wine had been the most popular drink in the 18th century, when it displaced the arrack punch of the 17th, Dewar tells us, (*In the Days of the Company*, 1920). At first it was always spiced. In the 19th century there was less heavy drinking, and beer replaced wine in popularity, to be later superseded by brandy.
7. *Ek our ek iqarah* (from the way of writing—11 in figures).
8. *Amadan ba iradat raftan ba ijjazat* (Coming is voluntary, but departing depends upon permission).
9. Prince Jama-ud-Sultan was the ninth son of Tippu Sultan, and lived until 1845. When Seringapatam, capital of Tippu's kingdom of Mysore, was besieged in 1782, his two eldest sons were taken by the Company as hostages, and were later restored to him, as he had faithfully discharged his obligations. After his defeat and death in 1799 all his sons were taken prisoner. Later they were sent as State prisoners to Calcutta.
10. Bilwa, or Bilva, the *Crataeva Marmelos* of Linnaeus.
11. *Fakir ki surat hi sawal hai*.
12. Lotteries were the most popular way of raising money in Calcutta. There was one for the building of St. John's Church, for the maintenance of the Free School, for the building of the Town Hall. So great was their popularity that in 1809 a large scheme of lotteries was established 'for the improvement of the town of Calcutta and its vicinity', by an order of the Governor-General, to be conducted by a superintendent, under the immediate control of commissioners appointed by the Government. Previously they had been supervised by a committee of independent gentlemen.
13. *Shah-isparam az do barg paida ast*.
14. William Ward, *View of the History, Literature and Mythology of the Hindoos*.
15. *Sona jane kase aur manus jane base*.
16. Writers came to India as mere boys, straight from school, and had no training. So Lord Wellesely in 1800 started Fort William College in Calcutta, to give them a three-years' course in Indian

languages, law and history. He opened it first, and then informed the Directors. They refused sanction, and it was closed, but in 1803 it was re-opened, for Oriental languages only. In 1806 the East India College was set up in England, at Hertford, to give training for two years on the lines Wellesely had planned, and in 1809 it was moved to Haileybury.

17. *Hookas* were very popular towards the end of the eighteenth century. Before, pipes were more often smoked. A *hooka* was expensive, showy and decorative, and needed a special servant, the *hookaburidar* to attend to it. Later in the century, when people had more work to do and the display of wealth was less ostentatious, cheroots were preferred to the *hooka*, for it was cumbersome, and smoking it a leisurely process.
18. Alluding to the mutiny at Barrackpore, 1824.
19. The gentleman of the house. The master.
20. "Cicero, Demosthenes, Judge Blackstone, and myself" Edward Christian (Subaudi Paul), *passim*.
21. *Am machhli bahta ho hi rahta hi*.

10

CALCUTTA IN 1823*

By Lt. R.G. Wallace¹

[25] Here *Gunga's* banks terrific scenes display,
Idolatry stalks forth in open day.
Grim death like lightning human life assails,
And pale disease o'er banish'd health prevails ;
Vice glares with specious aspect undismay'd,
While Virtue hides her lovely face afraid !

The Hoogly, on the eastern bank of which the city of Calcutta stands, is the western arm of the Ganges ; and the natives call it, as well as many other rivers, *Gunga*, being the name of one of the three goddesses of water . . .

In going up this fine river, the observer, if he be a man of sensibility, is strongly affected with what he sees. The luxuriance of nature and the grandeur of the scene pleases his eye, while the customs and manners of men make his heart bleed. He beholds many an emaciated human being, worn away to the last gasp of lingering existence, brought from a distant residence to expire near the sacred stream. The pains of death are often embittered by forcing the muddy water down his throat ; for when the recovery of any person is despaired of, his immediate friends hurry him off to the river, in the hope that [26] the goddess will restore him miraculously to life, if they can force him to drink freely. Should any one die at home near the Ganges, it would be lamented as a great misfortune. When the grasping dispositions of mankind are considered, and it is recollected that

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those about a dying person share his property, the various accounts of the numerous murders perpetrated in seeming attention to this shocking custom need not be discredited. The wealthy pitch a tent, partly in the water, to screen the sick from the glare of the sun ; in this the patient is placed, sometimes on a low cot, and oftener on the ground, with his head in the stream, —there to be restored to health by drinking plentifully, or to die with the certainty of immortal bliss. The poor are seen writhing in the pains of suffocation, under officious, mistaken kindness of friends, and lying all night in the water.

At the same time he views the smoke ascending in curling volumes from many a funeral pile ; and the useful stream bearing away the remains of those whose friends could not afford to burn them. On each bank his sight is shocked occasionally with dead bodies, rotten and torn by fishes, mouldering to kindred clay on the spot where the tide chanced to cast them, for no man will remove them, it being contamination to touch a dead body whose caste is unknown.

Very few Europeans remain long in vigorous [27] health. Were a country gentleman, in the full enjoyment of all his bodily faculties in this happy climate, to be suddenly transported to St. John's church, in Calcutta, during the performance of divine service in the month of June, he would fancy himself seated among ghosts. He would look upon their sallow countenances with fear, and see the big drops like tears coursing each other on the anxious brow, notwithstanding the large fans suspended overhead, and drawn briskly backwards and forwards, by means of ropes passed from them through the windows of the church, by natives outside, to produce an artificial circulation of air. If he followed any gentleman to his home, he would see him there throw off his coat, and put on a light white jacket, as a relief from his sufferings ; and on passing the burying ground beyond Chouringhee, the stranger would there perceive, in the numberless tombs and monuments, ample evidence of the terrible mortality prevailing in the land of his sojourn.

.. ..

VIEW FROM CHAMPAUL GHAUT

[57] While yet the ebbing flood that bears away
My friend, permits a pause of short delay ;

We stand at Champaul Ghaut's refreshing green,
And contemplate the grandeur of the scene.
Aurora's hand had spread the genial feast,
Of golden morning o'er the silver east ;
While crowds of Hindoos, at the dawn of day,
With Gunga's tears to lave their sins away,
Plunge in the Hoogly's deep majestic flow,
Whose curling waves move past sublimely slow.
A wood of lofty masts, Britannia's pride,
From ships well moor'd along Calcutta's side,
Extends to where Fort William's flag unfurl'd,
Proclaims our glory to the eastern world.
Far spreading thence the city's rich display,
O'er which appears the splendid car of day,
Of lofty structures, pleased we thus behold,
Like orient pearls that glow in burnished gold.

Artificial descents to rivers, wharfs, quays and landing places, are called Ghauts in India. Many of these, on the banks of the sacred Hindoo streams, have magnificent flights of stone steps, leading from pagodas, whose structure, antiquity, and grandeur surprize every beholder. They are distinguished by the appellatives of gods and goddesses, as "Kallighaut," or "Champaul Ghaut," the latter of which is an insignificant one, but it is the place where Europeans generally land, on arriving in Calcutta, and embark, on leaving it for [58] their native soil. Thence along the left bank of the Hoogly, there is a fine promenade to Fort William, whose spreading trees, planted on each side, lend a refreshing shade, through which cool breezes from the broad bosom of the river wing their course over the esplanade, to meet the attraction of the heated atmosphere of the city. From this point of view Calcutta appears to great advantage, for the panorama embraces the river Hoogly and shipping, the buildings and docks on the right bank, the magnificent structures of the Government House, Town-hall, Supreme Court, Fort William, Kidderpore School, the Theatre, and the fine range of palaces along the Chouringhee side of the esplanade, together with the row at right angles, extending to the river, through which the monuments, mosques, pagodas, and churches of the city have a beautiful effect.

The aspect of morning is sweet and refreshing in the east. Night's damp shades having restored objects to an agreeable temperature, the eye rests and recreates upon them, in that short period during which they can be seen to advantage, as they lose the power of gladdening sight in the glare that overspreads them soon after sun-rise. Crowds of Hindoos approach the river, during this delightful space, to bathe and pray. They bring with them small images representing some of their thirty thousand millions of gods, and such as have none, make little idols of the mud of the Ganges, [59] which they set upon the bank and adore. The men and women go down into the water together, dressed as they come to the river, except that many of the former, who wear turbans, long gowns, and slippers, leave these articles aside, and bathe in their trousers alone. On coming out they wring their wet garments, which dry in going home; and the women often strip in the river, wash their apparel, and dress there again; for the female dress is generally composed of one long piece of cloth, the end of which is rolled several times round the waist, whence it flows in graceful folds down to the ankle; the other end is drawn tastefully round their breasts, so as to cover the back also, and serve as a veil, flowing over their black hair, braided up in a knot behind, when they meet Europeans, on which occasions they often turn their backs, and stand till the strangers pass. They wear rings in their noses and ears, and on their fingers and toes, with ornaments encircling on their wrists, arms and legs, of gold, silver, brass, ivory, glass, bone, or horn, according to their circumstances. They have bright dark eyes, the glance of which they strive to increase, by painting their eye-lashes jet black, which colour is also thought beautiful for the teeth. Their forms are graceful, and of commanding deportment, from the erect and majestic step common among the females of Hindostan. The inhabitants of Bengal, like those of other flat and rich marshy countries, [60] are of portly stature, and have those large joints, prominent bones, swelling muscles, and rough elastic integuments, which have been called fine properties for a soldier. Their cast of countenance, with the exception of colour, is the same as our own, except that there is no variety in the eyes and hair, which are very nearly of the same colour every where in India, although the complexion varies from the deepest shade of black to a soft pale

tint, which in some of the northern females might be termed *fair*. The aspect is penetrating and bold, and the movement powerful and vigorous. Bengal sepoys are the finest looking in the Company's service, nearly all grenadiers, and individually very brave; but like other large men, they are not so hardy, nor do they stand change of climate so well as the natives of Madras and Bombay...

[61]... The Bore, an extraordinary swell which, during spring tides, agitates the Hoogly, has rendered it necessary to lay down moorings before Calcutta. This phenomenon is not peculiar to the Ganges; it is felt in several other rivers, and is occasioned, no doubt, by the great body of water during the springs that rushes up their channels, and drives back the mass flowing to the sea, with an impetuosity proportioned to the resistance opposed by projections or straits in the course of the returning fluid. The navigable bed of the Hoogly is in some places very narrow, and often nearly chocked up with shifting sand banks, so that the tide finding in some parts of its course ample space, and in others having to [62] force its own way, its violent effects may be easily conceived. It rushes past Calcutta with astonishing fury, and what is curious, sometimes takes one side of the river and then another, but never visits its broad bosom. That side up which it rushes is raised to a frightful height, and the appearance is that of a monstrous billow of the ocean in a storm, or the dash of a foaming surf. Boats have been swallowed up by the Bore, and all in them lost. The *dandies* on the Hoogly, therefore, feel great terror at the idea of being caught, and take care to get out of the way in due time, which they know so well that immediately before its approach, all is uproar and seeming confusion. Hundreds of boats are seen rowing as for life and death towards the middle of the river, the crews of which urge each other on with shouts and wild shrieks, and seem to delight in the general exertion to surprize the beholders with noise and precipitancy, though at the moment no danger appears; but soon afterwards the spectator is sensible how necessary it was to take precaution, by seeing the Bore foam past with fearful velocity.

Fort William is superior to any other fortress in India. It is constructed on the most scientific principles of military architecture, and fortified in a manner which, with a British garrison,

would bid defiance to all the powers of the East. Its foundation was laid soon after the Battle of Plassy in 1758, the old fort of Calcutta having been found unfit to [63] sustain a siege. The barracks in it are superb ; and the remarkable state of cleanliness in which its shady walks and fine parades are kept, together with the attraction of a military band, which plays almost every evening for public entertainment, draws all the fashion of the city to promenade within hearing, and causes it to be a continual scene of gaiety, except during the monsoon. In this fortress the Honourable Company have an excellent arsenal, and a gun foundery, with a large establishment for the preparation of the material of an army.

But to a contemplative mind the most curious object within the walls of Fort William at this time was Vizier Ally, once Nabob of Oude, who was confined in a room made to resemble an iron cage, for the murder of Mr. Cherry, where he lingered out seventeen years of his life, and died at the age of thirty six. (Vide the Gentleman's Magazine for June 1818, page 84). At the time he was seen by the author, in 1814, he was an emaciated, wretched looking being, the vicissitudes of whose career are pregnant with interest and instruction.

The city of Calcutta now extends from Kidderpore to Cossipore, a distance of about six miles along the banks of the river Hoogly ; and if the reader trace in imagination a half moon from that base line, about two miles in breadth, he will have a pretty accurate idea of its surface. About one hundred and ten years ago, nothing was to be seen on the space where a magnificent city and fortress now [64] stand, but a few Indian huts, called the village of Govindpore. As the human mind may be advanced to a wonderful maturity at an early age, by being expanded under the influence of skilful masters of education, so this city, pushed forward by the able political architects that superintended its progress, has all the majesty of age with the vigorous flow of youth yet in full circulation.

Dr. Boughton, at a time when the Company's affairs were at a low ebb, and the factory on the Hoogly in its infancy, was so fortunate as to cure the daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehaun of a dangerous illness. This obtained for him much influence at court, and paved the way to advantages in trade for his employers that contributed essentially to their success.

In this way rose the city of Calcutta, which is now the metropolis of a mighty empire, co-extensive with that of the Great Mogul. It was surrounded by a mound of earth, called the Mahratta ditch, raised by the early settlers, when those marauders were plundering the province of Bengal. The Marquis of Wellesley had this ditch levelled, and on what was the fosse there is now a fine circular road, from one extent of the river-front of the city, to the other. The prospect around is a vast plain, unbounded by a single hill, whose soil is rich and exceedingly fertile. No stones are to be found near the city, therefore the houses are composed of brick, and the marble and free-stones of the public [65] buildings were brought from a distance. Chowringhee, Park Street, Durrumtollah, the Jaun Bazar and Esplanade, now form the European part of the town. On passing along these fine streets, the mixture of native huts with houses of the most noble appearance, like Grecian temples, spoils the effect; though, when at a distance, the detached state of the houses, giving the character of palaces insulated in a great space, is an advantage, and strikes the beholder with greater admiration. It would not be easy to describe the grandeur of the line of buildings that surround two sides of the Esplanade of Fort William, situated about a mile from the city; to which there is a fine broad road; called the Course, watered every day, that it may be in an agreeable state for the society to exercise in their carriages, buggies, tandems, and palankeens, as soon as the declining sun permits such recreation. To portray the edifices of interest would be dry and tedious. Besides those before mentioned, the churches and chapels, and the college and museum, deserve notice; with the numerous beautiful garden houses that ornament that part of the suburbs below Kidderpore, called Garden Reach, to the extent of more than five miles.

In this country, unless the reader reflects how grateful it is in hot climates to have large and airy rooms, remote from the glare or intrusion of the sun, and also how easy it is with plenty of funds to raise large structures, he will be unable to conceive [66] the magnificence and extent of these dwellings, on some of which vast sums have been expended. Nothing can, therefore, be imagined finer than the approach to Calcutta. These houses rise upon the sight, like so many scenes of enchantment, one after the other: the vessel or boat glides on, and sometimes touches

the constantly verdant bank of the river ; till Fort William, the numerous ships lying off Calcutta, and the seemingly interminable extent of the city, beautified with groves of evergreens, complete a climax, that to be properly felt must be seen. The city is upwards of an hundred miles distant from the Sand Heads, in a direct line ; and the approach is much longer by the windings of the river. Very large ships seldom go up to Calcutta, but discharge and take in cargo at Kedgerree, Saugur, or Diamond Harbour ; poor places, and the only ones worthy of notice below Fultah Farm, where there is an inn for the accommodation of passengers. Here the grandeur of the city begins to appear : next the Company's botanic gardens please the eye ; and then all is delightful till the stranger lands at Champaul Ghaut, and perhaps encounters a cloud of dust, which assures one of his senses that he has not landed on the Elysian Fields.

The river Hoogly is so dangerous, that the pilot service is very extensive. The Company have ten vessels, fast-sailing schooners, each commanded by a Branch, with masters, mates, and assistants, all [67] Europeans, who cruise in turn off the Sand Heads, and conduct ships up the river.

About seventeen miles above Calcutta are the Governor General's country-seat, park, and gardens, situated at Barrackpore, which is a military station, with a remarkably beautiful cantonment for two regiments of Sepoys. The officers have erected a very neat theatre, and often invite their friends from town to witness amateur performances of a very respectable and interesting description. Thither there is a fine road from the city ; and in the Governor's park there is a collection of the curious birds and quadrupeds of the East, which attracts the visits of strangers. Just opposite to it, on the other side of the Hoogly, is seated Serampore, a Danish settlement ; where the Anabaptist mission has established a school, and a press for printing the Scriptures in the native languages. The French settlement of Chandernagore lies about twenty miles higher, on the western bank also ; and not far from it is the Dutch factory of Chinserah ; and to these agreeable places of recreation parties of pleasure are often formed from Calcutta.

The police department in and around the city is finely conducted. It has a corps of natives called runners. These men are armed with cutlasses and round targets ; and guard-houses

are erected at convenient distances for their accommodation, where they are ready at all hours to run to that point whence a call is heard for their assistance. [68] In consequence of this efficient police, and the opinion vulgarly entertained that the magistrate at the head of it is a magician, who can discover all stolen property, robbery and theft are seldom attempted by the natives ; and the misconduct of European sailors and soldiers, nearly all addicted in such a hot climate to intemperance, is restrained. Such as have witnessed the fun of sailors on getting ashore after a long voyage, will easily conceive their excesses. But in India they are excited to the utmost display of folly, by the desire which many Europeans have of *showing off* in great style before crowds of wondering Hindoos.

Europeans in Calcutta, exclusive of the civil and military servants of government, are clergymen, merchants, some members of the medical profession, shopkeepers, schoolmasters, tradesmen, and speculators, who come out under the free mariner's indentures. The government shows a decided dislike to colonization ; and permission to remain, in all cases, is refused to adventurers without authority from the Court of Directors ; some who resisted an order to depart, have been forced on board a ship by the bayonets of a military escort. Though the government has the power of sending any European home, yet that arbitrary act has been committed only in a few very glaring instances, where individuals of restless ambition attempted to disturb the peace of the country ; for it would be monstrous injustice first to permit a man to estab-[69]lish himself, and afterwards to arrest the course of his industry. There is, however, an European and half-cast public in Calcutta that crowds two large protestant churches, a Presbyterian meeting-house, a large Anabaptist chapel, and three extensive Portuguese churches. With respect to the exact number, however, nothing like accuracy can be assumed, since no census has been taken ; but in Hamilton's East India Gazette(er), authorities are quoted upon which may be placed perfect dependence. In 1802, the police magistrates estimated the population of Calcutta at 600,000, and calculated that within a circle of twenty miles there were 2,225,000 souls. Sir Henry Russel, the chief justice, a few years ago, estimated the inhabitants of the city and its environs at one million ; and General Kyd calculated the population of the town

alone, at between 4 and 500,000. There are upwards of 78,760 houses belonging to individuals; viz. to British subjects 4300, Armenians 640, Portuguese and other Christians 2650, Hindoos 56,460, Mahomedans 17,700, and Chinese 10.

As to the native part of Calcutta, it is, like most other Indian towns, composed of narrow, crooked streets; and houses, some of brick, and others of reeds, bamboos, wood, and mud, covered with tiles, or thatched with the leaves of the cocoanut tree; but the palaces or dwellings of many of the native rajahs, and great men of large fortune, are an exception. Some of the streets too [70] such as Rada Bazar and the Cossipore road, are tolerable; and the new and old China bazars present a fine display of Asiatic and European splendour.

The variety of costume and contrast of appearance to be seen in the streets are worthy of notice. Many a young Bond-street dandy struts with inconceivable self-satisfaction; and youthful British, Portuguese, and French half-cast, with tawny face, and neck stiffened almost to suffocation, jumps from the sublime to the ridiculous in attempts at imitation. A stranger's eye would next, perhaps, rest upon a Capuchin friar, with the beard and costume of the 14th century; and soon remove to a British missionary, who, in deepest black and countenance of longest sorrow, musing on the state of man, marches against a grave Turk, who jostles a Persian, who discomposes a Seik, who insults an Arabian, who electrifies a Chinese, who contaminates a Hindoo, who upsets a dancing-master, and terrifies an Armenian. He would see the military staff, bucks with waving feathers and gorgeous aiguillettes, shading their fair country-women with silken *chattahs* from the glare of the sun, while having them from some grand long room or attractive bazar to their carriage, chariot, phaeton, barouche, sociable, or palankeen; and he would try to have a peep into the covered *hackeries*, or native carriages of the opulent Hindoos, drawn by bullocks richly caparisoned with silk, and jingling [71] bells of silver, in which their wives are concealed from the eye of man when they visit their female friends. And what would he say in another part of the town, upon seeing a dozen of almost naked runners dashing down the street with drawn sabres and upraised targets, to separate a group of British tars, fighting for no other purpose than to show the Hindoos the courage and blood of England? . . .

BLACK HOLE MONUMENT

[75] The monument we here behold with pain,
 Is there a heart can from a sigh refrain?
 Whose sculptured base commemorates the time,
 When the brave Holwell suffered in this clime.
 With seven score men it was his wretched fate,
 In the black hole a *Soubah's* sleep to wait;
 Though dying Britons strew'd the reeking ground,
 And many a hero grasped for breath around,
 The slavish guards, O horrible! avow,
 None dares to chase sweet slumber from his brow!

When the black hole was pointed out to the author, it was almost full of coals; but he viewed it with strong emotions, and rejoiced that millions of people, who have now the watchful eye of our mild laws guarding their rights as men, were rescued from the tyranny of masters who could strike such terror into their subjects, as to prevent pity from driving away slumber on hearing the dying shrieks of 146 human beings!

[76] The monument which commemorate the capture of Calcutta in 1756, by Surajah Dowlah, is hastening fast to decay, having been shattered by lightning. Being an obelisk of considerable altitude, it is one of the conspicuous objects upon which a stranger's eye rests, among the numerous spires, temples, and minarets of the city, which give a pleasing and magnificent variety to the prospect from the river . . . [77] The Bengal army is about sixty thousand strong, and is organised and inspirited by sixteen hundred European officers; and, besides the settlers in Calcutta, there are upwards of two thousand British subjects residing in the interior of this province, as indigo-planters, shopkeepers, and speculators.

Much might be said respecting the fertility of Bengal, and especially of the district in the vicinity of Calcutta. The latter is, in short, a perfect garden; and the former the most productive province in the world, yielding not only rice and wheat in abundance, but valuable crops of indigo, cotton, tobacco, sugar, and opium, with silk, saltpetre, and a variety of other valuable productions . . .

[78] In a garden house, near Calcutta, the sons of Tipoo Sultan reside, with as much freedom as is consistent with the secu-

riety of their persons. The reader will recollect that they were removed to Bengal soon after the massacre at Vellore, and the eldest has since put a period to his own existence.

[95] . . . No British governor-general was ever the object of such general admiration among the natives as Lord Wellesley. The vulgar thought him a god ; and I have heard some of the classically educated half casts call him the Pericles of England. It is said that such was the activity of his mind, during his important administration, that he hardly ever sat down to breakfast, but walking thoughtfully round the table, recruited nature, and returned to business. He caused the magnificent government house to rise on a scale worthy of his country's glory. To him is due the praise of establishing the college of Fort William, and of discovering those military talents in his brother, which the battle of Assaye made known to England, and which have since astonished the world, and conferred on Ireland the honour of having produced the greatest captain of the age. . . .

MANGO FISH

[124] Ye palaces, where *bobberchees* excite,
 For luxuries, the languid appetite ;
 Say, why Dame Fortune fills a tailor's sail,
 While science is the inmate of your jail ?
 Say how attorney's wives can ape the great,
 Loll in barouche or sociable in state ?
 How coachmakers can hoard up *crores* of wealth,
 And dancing-masters chariots keep for health ?
 How auctioneers and stable boys can lay
 A *lack* up safe to cheer a rainy day ?
 While oft the book-taught skill of Greece and Rome,
 Finds in this burning clime nought but a tomb !
 Nay, e'en the dregs of Gunga's sable race,
 Gratuitously false with callous face,
 Who lend their gold at ninety-nine per cent,
 And pocket half the *mohurs* which they lent,
 Soon cease on fickle fortune to depend,
 While learning pines without a single friend.

A good table is not considered enough in Calcutta ; it must groan beneath the weight of every thing in season, and the native

cooks are very expert ticklers of the Epicurean palate. The usual routine of living in Bengal is similar to that at Madras, but much more gorgeous. After morning exercise, breakfast is taken, which consists not only of tea and coffee, and the light accompaniments usually served up in this country, [125] but of highly spiced meat, fish and fowl, with all the varieties of fruit produced in that garden of the East, and preserves, ices, and jellies in endless profusion. Perhaps there is not in the world a greater delicacy than the mango fish of the Hoogly, which is as beautiful to the eye as it is delightful to the taste. With the flavour of the mango, which is an uncommonly fine fruit, it combines the colour and richness of the trout, and has a fine large roe which cannot be compared to anything, being a perfect original. For two months in the year this charming fish is caught in plenty, and the roes are preserved, and always appear at table. The mango fish is as large as a trout, and in the estimation of a gentleman who would have done honour to the court of Heliogabalus, is worth a voyage of fifteen thousand miles. "The mango fish," said he, with a smack, "ah! the mango fish! the mango fish is worth coming to India for." Tiffin consists of heavy joints, and numerous dishes and stews, and pies and munces, with capital Madeira, Hodson's pale ale, and Maxwell and Key's claret and cherry-bounce. The carriage, buggy, or *palkee*, parades the course after siesta; and dinner is a grand display of all that can be conceived of eastern luxury. *Tatties* produce air, and *punkoes* circulate it, while chandeliers and table shades, reflecting wax lights, convert night into day. Bengal is the region of hospitality. [126] There is something in the sun of the East that warms and opens the heart. Large parties generally sit down to dinner. Everything that can be conceived is put on the table, with *curries*, *palows*, and *mulligatawnies*. Claret and champagne circulate, and song and good humour prevail. But ambition among the ladies to give the tone to society, pervades the higher ranks to such a degree, that all over India Europeans form into parties, as if the institution of Brahma's casts produced a change in their nature. There are numberless exclusions from society in Bengal; and, perhaps, rank, precedence, and etiquette are not so much attended to at Carlton palace as in the Chowringhee.

Luxury prevails in Calcutta, certainly to a greater degree than

at Madras or Bombay. The Bengal officers are called "Qui hies" from the number of servants they keep, it being usual, when they want attendance, to say, "Qui hy—who's there ;" but the Madras bucks are nick-named 'Mulls,' from a poor broth common in the Carnatic, which the Bengal gents pretend to despise, though it imparts a very pleasing flavour to rice, under the name of mulligatawney ; and the Bombay officers are called "Ducks," in allusion to an insipid kind of fish, very plentiful on that coast, which is known by the name of bombalo, and much used as a relish at breakfast throughout India. These may be always seen swimming near the surface of the sea on the Malabar coast, and [127] they are called "ducks," which name has been transferred to the Bombay officers by the wits of the supreme presidency.

It may be supposed, from the lines at the head of this chapter, that the humble stations of life are sneered at by the author ; but far be it from him to despise any honest man. Has not the tailor cause to be contented with his lot, and who should mock his calling ? Seated cross-legged on his board, he may sing and stitch away, with not a fear but that of pricking his finger. His seam will keep his thoughts fixed at home ; and if they wander in moments of relaxation, they may rest upon what gratifies pride and ambition every where, namely, that the habit he is making will surpass all others in elegance of cut, and raise his fame above that of every other tailor in the land . . .

. . . [129] What has been said is applicable to attorneys, coach-makers, livery-stable-keepers, and dancing-masters.

"Honour and fame from no condition rise,
Act well your part, there all the merit lies".

The Hindoos flock to the attorneys of Calcutta, some of whom are thus enabled to live in a style that a nobleman would not despise in this country. Barristers in India, who become popular, generally make a moderate fortune in seven years ; but some successful attorneys have feathered their nests in three short annual revolutions. It will easily be conceived how profitable the business of an auctioneer is in Calcutta, where a constant transfer of property to a prodigious amount is taking place every day. Some of the partners in the firm of Tulloh and Co. have come home with princely fortunes. Coach-making in such a

luxurious settlement is also very lucrative. But, in short, no profession is more so in India than that of a dancing-[130]master, on account of the great numbers of half-casts, among whom, particularly in Calcutta, there is a rage for this amusement. There are eight or ten schools for young ladies in the city, at which exhibition balls are given sometimes twice a month ; and as many seminaries for boys on a large scale, at each of which the dancing-master receives £ 2 per month for every pupil, so that he makes a fortune. Two hundred and fifty scholars yielded Mr. D'Donnel £ 6000 per annum ; he built a palace and kept his carriage ; while several very learned and ingenious Europeans pined in the jail of Calcutta for debts contracted to save them from starving. There is not in the world a worse field for an adventurer out of the civil and military service, who has no profession, than India ; all situations in public offices being occupied by natives, except those which can be procured only by interest or length of service in some department under government.

There are no Jews in Calcutta, because, as has been often jocosely said, a *shroff* or *sircar* would out-Isaac Isaac ; and, without detracting in the least from the respectability of many Hindoos, it may be said, with great truth, that the dregs of the people are in the most deplorable state of moral and civil degradation ; truth is not in them ; and they are so addicted to gratuitous falsehood, that an inferior is generally cautioned, "*Such bola*".—A witness may swear with the *veidan* on his head, [131] and his right hand in the water of the Ganges, but no judge would believe him who had experienced the perjury common in every court of justice. When a young civilian arrives from Europe, he generally falls into the hands of a *shroff* or *sircar*, who supplies him with money, in the hope of touching the perquisites when his debtor shall attain political power

THE SIRCAR

- [160] Behold the *Sircar* sly, inured to guile,
 Mark the persuasive cringe and ready smile ;
 The blackest vice is easy to the knave ;
 Bribe him, he sits as silent as the grave :

Lure him with gold, he swears that black is white,
A plunge in Gunga sets his conscience right.

Sircars are the native agents of Bengal, who collect debts and cash drafts for the *shroffs*, in whose establishments they sit on mats with their bags of money, and scales to weigh it, and their books, made of the leaves of the palm, on which, with a *style*, the entries are written. Their sons are brought up as *crannies*, and every European gentleman has one of them to keep his accounts. Exposed to temptation, and accustomed from childhood to lying and cheating; almost every sircar is of the character described in the above lines. Such as are intended to go into the service of Europeans make prodigious exertions in learning to speak and write English. Some of them are sent to school for that purpose; but many pick it by ear, with the assistance of other natives and a dictionary. It is wonderful how accurately a Hindoo can copy English, without knowing a word of what he is writing. We find how difficult it is to transcribe [161] Hebrew, Greek, Latin, or French, without being able to read those languages; but many *crannies* will write in our character, which is as different from their own as Hebrew is from English, and copy proceedings in council, correspondence of government, and papers containing intricate researches in science, without knowing the meaning of one word in the whole, or how to spell a syllable. Some of their attempts at fine English, when they advance so far as to become conceited, are truly ludicrous. A volume of malaprop letters might be produced; but one specimen, from Captain Williamson's *East India Vade Mecum*, may suffice.

The cranny who composed it was left by his master in charge of his bungalow for a few days: during that time a high wind arose, and blew down one of the window shutters. He determined upon apprizing him of this, and inwardly rejoiced at the opportunity afforded him of showing his proficiency in English. Let the reader conceive an office-desk with a cranny seated at it; a dictionary placed before him, with a slate and pencil, and self-exultation in his countenance. He turns over the leaves with a finger and thump, and an earnestness of countenance that would have done honour to Dr. Sangrado, upon the occasion of feeling the canon's pulse. He shakes his head—rubs the globe

of memory—erases the word he had written—as fit for his purpose, and chooses another of more learned and fulminating sound. Then he takes his pen and paper, [162] and dispatches to his master what he thinks will truly surprise him :—

“Honourable Sir,

“Yesterday vesper arrive great hurricane, valve of little apperture not fasten ; first make great trepidation and palpitation, then precipitate into precinct. God grant master more long life and more great post.

“I remain, honourable Sir,

“In all token of respect,

“Master’s writer,

“BISSONAUT MAITRE.

“P.S. no tranquillity in house since valve adjourn ; I sent for carpenter to make re-unite.”

Yet some of the sircars make a very considerable advance towards an accurate knowledge of the grammatical construction of English, and learn to speak and write it well enough for business. The following is an actual letter from a native house of agency, and a specimen of middling composition :—

“Sir—

“We have pleasure acknowledge yours, 18th inst. Have sent goods cording your order, and hope you find all first quality. We madam supply with money whenever she send us. Your remittance last month received in course, and placed your account. Have looked all place for white [163] cloth, such you want—none can find—soon as we get shall send next supplies with,

“Remain, Sir,

“With prayers for health,

“Your obedient humble Servants,

“Hurrumbo, Dass, Sons, & Co.”

But some of the letters received from natives are written in perfectly grammatical language ; yet the above is about the standard of general correspondence with Europeans in every part of India where the Hindoos, Mahomedans, and Parsees conduct their business in our language.

The sircars of Calcutta are employed by the shroffs, it is said, to inveigle the young civilians to borrow money. But in most

cases every one acts on his own account, though he impresses on the mind of the borrower that he is very poor, and would not for the world, if he had money of his own, charge twelve per cent. compound interest. These sharks watch on the banks of the Hoogly for the arrival of strangers, and introduce themselves with much address. Should a young man have no friend at hand, he inevitably falls into the clutches of a sircar ; for being surrounded and assailed by crowds whose language he does not understand, he feels the necessity of employing some one of that cast to whom he can communicate his wants without hesitation. He who overcomes the rest by his powers of persuasion, places his young [164] master, and guides him and his luggage to that tavern whence he receives pay for bringing custom. Then he hires servants, each of whom pays for his place ; and having ascertained by enquiries the nature of the youth's prospects, if money be wanting, he can get some from a shroff on *master's note* ; on account of which, perhaps, some time afterwards, *master* is lodged in *gaol*, should unpromising circumstances occur. In short, if a young adventurer have not some friend to take him by the hand on his arrival in India, he remains at the mercy of his sircar, who gets any English money the stranger may have brought for half its value, astonishes him with bills, and induces him to enter into the pleasures of the town.

FIRES IN CALCUTTA

[198] Throughout India, for some time before the commencement of the monsoon, the atmosphere becomes heated to an extreme degree, and very high winds prevail. During the months of May and June, this agitated state of the air is severely felt in Calcutta ; and destructive conflagrations from fire often desolate the native quarters of the city, where the houses are constructed of such inflammable materials, that a spark bursts forth into a blaze in a moment, and is carried like lightning along by the wind. The houses of the Europeans and rich natives, being built of brick and terraced, escape with little damage on these frightful occasions ; for the course of the destructive element is so rapid that such buildings are passed before any serious [199] impression is made on their external parts. It is melancholy to contemplate the effects of these fires. The

little all of the poor natives, their furniture, cows, goats, horses, are consumed ; and frequently the lives of the owners lost in vain endeavours to save their property. Yet the evil is of such a nature as not to be easily remedied ; for were the huts to be removed from the town, the same destruction would attend them, as is seen in the suburbs, and all over India where the *ghurs* are made of reeds. The calamity is chiefly owing to the carelessness with which fire is handled, and, what is worse, to the frequent commission of arson. From numerous trials for this horrible crime, it appears that the proprietors of the materials wilfully destroy the houses by dropping fire in different places, to ensure the demand for their property. It is extremely difficult to detect the person who first causes a fire, for the Hindoos carry charcoal with them to light their pipes.

- 23rd Feb. 1813. A fire broke out in Mullinga, at 11 P.M., which destroyed 400 habitations.
- 17th March. A very destructive fire broke out in Ram Bagaun. consuming upwards of 300 huts and houses.
- 18th.— There was another extensive fire in Simleah.
- 31st.— At 3 P.M. a destructive fire broke out behind the general hospital.
- [200] 13th Apr. 1813. A shocking fire broke out this day in Mullinga, and extended to Soorty Bagaun ; two native women perished in the flames.
- 15th April. A little past 11 A.M. this day, one of the most shocking fires ever remembered in Calcutta was discovered in Short's bazar ; it spread towards Murzapore, razing more than a thousand habitations ; several unfortunate natives perished in the flames.
- 5th May. A destructive fire raged in the Cooly bazar.
- 14th.— Three violent fires spread destruction around during the last week.
- 18th.— A dreadful fire destroyed many houses at Kidderpore.

But enough is said to prove the extent of this evil ; and the benevolence of the government was directed at the time above mentioned to its diminution, by enabling the natives to build their huts of less inflammable materials. After these fires, the melancholy spectacle . . . is frequently seen. But alas ! it is so common all over India, that the eye becomes familiarized by habit, and feels a shock every time of less painful disgust . . . [201] . . . I have beheld the dead bodies of natives, not yet cold, who had expired under the trees in the vicinity of Calcutta, mangled and torn by adjutants, while crowds of Hindoos were passing to bathe in the Ganges ; and when the corpses were pointed out to their countrymen, the cold answer was, "Hum jaunta ne, sahib,—I know him not, sir."—"Oh ! but remove the body, and burn it."—"Mera dustoore ne, sahib,—It is contrary to custom," answered they.

SATI

[216] "But lo ! along the Hoogly cast your eyes,
And mark the smoke there curling to the skies.
Ah ! heard you not an agonizing cry ?
Perhaps now virgin innocence must die ;
'Led to her husbands blazing funeral bier,
For *suttee* ! O disgusting e'en to hear !"

[219] . . . In the year 1803, it was ascertained that two hundred and seventy-five wives were burned with their dead husbands, within thirty miles of Calcutta ; and in 1804, one hundred and fifteen *suttees* were performed near [220] the city . . . On the 12th of September, 1807, near Barnagore, three miles from Calcutta, the body of a Koolin Brahmin named Kristo Deb Mookergee, who died at the age of ninety-two, was burned. He had left twelve wives, three of whom were burned with him. One was a venerable lady, having white locks. Being unable to walk from age, she was placed upon the pile by the Brahmins. The two others were young, and one of them was very beautiful. The old lady was placed on one side of the body, and the two others on the opposite side, when an old Brahmin, the eldest son of the deceased, set the pile on fire, which was instantly in a blaze, amidst the shout of Brahmins, and din of tom toms and tooterics, which drowned the dying cries of the victims. "The

Koolin Brahmins," says Dr. Buchanan, "are the purest and marry as many wives as they please. Hindoos think it an honour to have a Koolin Brahmin for a son-in-law. They sometimes have great numbers of wives. Rajeb Bonnerjee, of Calcutta, has forty, Raj Chunder Bonnerjee forty-two, Ramrajee Bonnerjee fifty, and Birjod Bookerjee*, of Bismrapore, now dead, had ninety."

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[243] ANGLO-INDIANS: "The scholars were generally speaking half-casts, the sons of Europeans by country-born mothers, with some Armenians and Hindoos. Many of the half-casts were of dark complexions, but of most excellent capacity, with very generous dispositions and affectionate hearts. It is to be regretted that some plan has not been devised to employ them for the advantage of their country, as they labour at present under illiberal exclusion from the army, navy, and civil service, which makes them discontented subjects. Lord Valentia, when in India, wished to send them all to England (vol. I, p. 241), which was a singular expedient for remedying the evils to be apprehended from their increase. There are many very worthy men in that large body of subjects that now come under the name of half-casts, and the number and respectability of the whole entitle them to very great consideration"...

DURGA PUJA AND MOHURUM

[263] "Come ye, who shun the folly of the East,
 Nor court pale midnight at her gorgeous feast;
 Who run from tom toms rattling at the gate,
 And view no *poojahs* crowding by in state;
 Who shun the great *mohorum's* annual show,
 And seldom to the grandest *nautches* go,
 With me depart, though I have little wealth,
 To humble competence and joyous health.
 Within a narrow circle are confined
 Man's real wants, when wisdom curbs the mind."

The great Indian drums called tom toms are of demi-globular form, and of prodigious size, covered with the skins of buffaloes,

* Read Mookerjee.

stretched on their strong frame-work to a great degree of tension ; upon these, men rattle away with clubs, as if *struggling between life and death*. It is not easy to conceive the mighty noise which these drums produce, and their constant thundering in the temples is increased by sounding long brass horns, trumpets, and gongs, while bells and cymbals are heard at intervals, with the shrill piercing tones of wind instruments like small clarionets. In the processions the tom toms of largest size are borne on carriages purposely made, and others are carried about on camels and elephants, with several men beating them, as if the world depended for safety on their exertions. These annual ceremonies in Calcutta [264] are called Poojahs, and during their celebrations the idols are drawn about in splendid artificial pagodas, made of bamboo frame-work, similar to the great carriage of Juggernaut. During the continuation of the Doorga poojah, which occupies several days, the rich natives of Calcutta vie with each other in giving splendid nautches for three nights, to which Europeans are invited by printed cards couched in the most polite terms. Temporary buildings are erected for this display of eastern profusion, in which vast sums are annually spent ; and at some of the nautches I have seen two hundred persons sit down to a sumptuous supper, where champagne circulated like water, and the richest ices were melted in the most costly liquors. These grand supper-rooms were lighted with a profusion of chandeliers and wax-tapers under Indian table shades, while the brilliancy was reflected by countless mirrors, and the atmosphere cooled by punkoes, tatties, and jets d'eau ; artificial wildernesses breathed forth perfumes, and endless varieties of flowers called to recollection the scenes of Arabian story. Of these suppers the Hindoos will not of course partake ; but they enter the apartment, congratulate the guests, and see that the European tavern-keepers employed to prepare them provide every thing on a liberal scale. Previous to the time at which these supper-rooms are suddenly thrown open, as if by enchantment, the crowds of company are entertained in a great amphitheatre by dancing girls, [265] bands of music, both European and native, tumblers, jugglers, actors, and pantomimes, forming an assemblage which, from the costume of so many different nations, is like a great fancy ball. Perfumes and flowers are distributed, and sweetmeats handed about. Some sit and look

at the dances, while others promenade round the virandas, to view the household gods, hundreds of whom are placed in conspicuous situations, some half elephant and man, others with numerous heads and arms, here quite naked, there sumptuously arrayed. The apartments of the Hindoo ladies look down upon this great amphitheatre, and from a gallery these recluses may be seen peeping through lattice-work on the *tamasha* below. European ladies, on the evenings of the Doorga poojah, are asked to visit the female part of the family, whom they have always found apparently happy and full of curiosity. Many of them sing very sweetly, and play well on instruments, something like guitars. A native band of music consists of these instruments, and others like clarionets, with cymbals and kettle-drums, which produce very wild, pleasing, and melancholy harmony; but most of the favourite airs of the higher class are Persian. The dancing girls are gorgeously dressed, and covered with ornaments. Their dances consist of sudden transitions; the movement is sometimes so slow that one would think they were falling asleep, then, by a change of the music, it is all life, and exhibits the most rapid [266] succession of violent action. Now they take up their robe and fold it into various shapes—then they let it go; so that while they turn round like a top, this garment forms a circle resembling a peacock's tail, and this circulation is continued so long, that it excites the wonder of every beholder.

In Calcutta, the great Hindoo annual festival is held in October, and is soon followed by the Mahomedan mohorum, a ceremony that takes place in commemoration of the death and sufferings of Hossen and Hassen, the sons of Ally. You are aware perhaps, gentle reader, that the Moslems are divided into two great sects, called Sheeas and Soonnees; the former are the followers of Ally, and consider Abboo Becker, Omar, and Othman usurpers; the latter are disciples of Abboo Becker, and do not reverence the memory of Hossen and Hassen; but there are not many of that sect in India. After the death of Ally, who succeeded Othman, Moveeyah, the governor of Syria, mounted the throne, and Hassen was poisoned by the treachery of his wife; but in the reign of Yezzed, the son of the usurper, Hossen endeavoured to recover his birthright, when he was killed in the plain of Kirbullaw. The mohorum is instituted to celebrate this

tragedy ; and the Sheeahs go into mourning on the occasion, and form processions with the bodies of Hossen and Hassen, in which war-houses, covered with wounds, a mock fight, wonderful lamentations, howling, beating of the breast, [267] and uproar, are the leading ceremonies. The bodies having been waked in artificial mosques, called Imambarahs and Tabooses, made of frame-work covered with tinsel, are on the day of the funeral procession thrown into a tank with great ceremony. But indeed these scenes have so often the theme of description, that I shall hasten to matter of more originality.

THE OLD INDIAN

[303] "The stately palankeen will some invite,
 With spreading *chattah*, bells and battons bright ;
 The *hookah's* bubbling perfumed costly breath,
 From golden tube with carpet spread beneath ;
 Rich *abdar'd* claret, sparkling cool champaign,
 And devils spiced, 'till pleasure turns to pain,
 Will others lure in exile to remain."

The ease and splendour in which Europeans live in India attach many of them to the country ; and for a long time after an old Indian returns home, he secretly sighs on remembering the past. His comfortable palankeen, into which he used carelessly to throw himself, and loll at ease with a book, while paying visits or attending business, a silken *chattah* or umbrella, shading him from the glare, and tinkling bells and silver sticks running before to proclaim his consequence, often recur to his mind ; and the perfume of his *hookah*, or Hindoo machine for smoking, is not forgotten. The *hookah* consists of a glass or silver bottom, filled with water, to the mouth of which is fixed a sort of grand pipe, filled with a composition of tobacco and spices, richly perfumed, the tube of which passes through the water, comes out at the side of the bottom, and is then called a snake, on account of its great [304] length, and the many fanciful windings it forms before the end called the mouth-piece, either of silver or gold, reaches the smoker. This instrument has a very magnificent appearance, and is generally introduced after dinner, being placed by the *hookahburdar*, a servant for that express purpose, on a rich carpet, a considerable way from

the table, behind his master. The fumes of this scented tobacco are considered, even by ladies, as very agreeable, so that it is quite fashionable in India to smoke the hookah; and it may be easily conceived how alluringly pleasant the cool vapour is, after circulating through such a length of tube to the palate, heated with the luxuries of the East. Allusion has been before made to the delicacies of the table; and in no country in the world can wines be made more delightfully cool than in India, by a process of refrigeration with saltpetre, at which the native servants, called *abdars*, or water-coolers, are very expert. Servants of all work might be hired in Bengal either from the *Pariahs* or converted Christians; but there is a prejudice against the latter, and the former are great drunkards. The Mahomedan servants attend to cast almost like the *Hindoos*, although there are no such distinctions among them. A boy who does not hesitate to brush his master's coat, would not for the world touch a knife or fork, or attend at table; and a maid that walks out with children may not be disposed to wash or dress them. A civilian with a [305] family, will have perhaps 200 servants; while a magistrate here will not have ten. All the natives board themselves: their wages are very low, for living costs them little. A man will do well with five shillings a month, and such as use rice alone could purchase as much of it for two shillings as they would use in that time: the wages, therefore, given to servants may be said to rise in a sort of scale from ten to one hundred shillings a month. The reader will easily conceive how such an establishment of servants must keep back an individual, and prevent him from realizing independence. Nothing in India so much retards the progress of an adventurer towards the wished-for goal. A lieutenant there in the field has about thirty-five pounds sterling every month, and yet his establishment is so great, and his expences so heavy, that he can save nothing. But pursuing this dry subject no further, I return to the journal of Charles Thoughtless

ANGLO-INDIAN BELLE

[323] And kind *Mnemosyne* must not forget
That little syren *cheechee*, a brunette,

Like Venus from the sea, from Gunga's foam
She rose, and Loves and Graces round her roam.
She rouges sometimes with each tint from night.
In ivory sable to a roseless white :
A jet-black Cupid flaps his wing apace,
To drive musquitoes from her amorous face.
Malicious rogue ! he often points his dart,
And leaves it quivering in a Briton's heart :
Enchanted he remains, with nerveless arm,
Till pale disease extracts the barbed charm.

The half-cast ladies in Bengal are called *Cheechees*, which is a Hindostanee word, much used by them in Calcutta, equivalent to *fié ! fié !* Some of these captivating fair ones are really pretty girls, in the very softest sense of that expression, and so irresistible, that many a young man sacrifices his future prospects at the altar of Hymen ; for there is hardly an instance of one of these matches turning out well, the children being of a different tint of complexion from that of the father, and the mother so much attached to India as her native climate, that she can never be reconciled to the frozen latitudes of the north. to which her husband looks for his happiness in declining life. Many of [324] the half-cast ladies are most amiable companions, possess affectionate hearts, and perform all the duties of good wives with tenderness and alacrity, but very few of them can enjoy European society ; for a consciousness of being so different in appearance impresses them with a feeling of inferiority, under which they are ill at ease with our fair countrywomen ; hence they shun their acquaintance, and, it is said, envy them. Their real happiness would consist in being connected by marriage with persons of the same cast ; but it is a strange truth, that these girls look upon the young men of their own colour as beneath them ; and at all the schools in Calcutta, where these charming nymphs are exhibited, their admirers are generally youthful Europeans. It has been before observed, that their number is very great, and some idea may be formed of it from the seminaries and asylums in Calcutta, where upwards of five hundred half-cast girls, illegitimate daughters by native mothers of the higher ranks, are genteelly educated. The Bengal officers have an asylum, called the Kidderpore School, supported by subscription, for the express purpose of educating

orphans of that description, who, when married with consent of the governors to tradesmen or others of respectable character, receive portions from the institution. There is another, on a very large scale, supported by the government, for soldiers' children, who are apprenticed, provided for as servants, and [325] portioned upon their marriage, suitably to their prospects in life. But to expatiate on this subject would be tedious; recourse is therefore had to the journal

FASTIDIOUSNESS

[380] The Brahminical institution of casts seems to have communicated its principles to the ranks and classes of European society in India. A civilian's lady considers herself a superior being to the wife of an officer, and the latter looks down with contempt upon the partner of a country captain, who in her turn despises the shop-keeper, and frets if neglected by the merchant's wife. Society in Calcutta is therefore a formation of parties, and there is nothing like a general or liberal intercourse among Europeans. Public assemblies are unpopular; yet there is no country in the world where hospitality is greater than in those casts into which the sojourners are divided. Large parties sit down every [381] day to dinner; and during the winter, balls and suppers take place every night. Nearly all writers have noticed the fastidious attention to pride and exclusion which obtains in India, so that it would be trite and tedious to dwell upon such a hackneyed subject . . .

. . . In short, the only general society in Calcutta is at the government house, to which every man having the rank and character of a gentleman is invited frequently; and no eulogium would be hyperbolical in describing the charming affability of the elegant Countess of Loudon to her guests, in those sumptuous yet tasteful entertainments with which that honour to Scotland cheered the monotony of exile.

It was a grand sight to Charles Thoughtless to behold, for the first time, the splendid circle of promenaders in the great hall of the government-house, while fine military bands in alternate succession [382] charmed the ear. The Marquis of Hastings and the Countess of Loudon, seated to receive their guests under the state canopy ornamented with the spoils of the throne of

Tippoo, paid those winning attentions to the collecting company which are so delightful to the heart, while the judges and heads of departments were ranged on either hand in a semicircle on chairs glittering with gold. Further on, the scene resembled that of a grand fancy ball, from variety of costume and contrasts of appearance. Here were the British ladies parading with ostrich feathers waving gracefully over their temples : there the Aimenian fair ones, wearing crowns sparkling with costly pearls and diamonds ; and elsewhere, the dark complexioned Portuguese dame, whose sable ringlets blazed with precious gems ; while the Turk and Arabian, Chinese and Gentoo, gave interest to the diversity of military plumes and naval uniforms that moved around in countless succession, till supper was announced in the marble hall, where about eight hundred sat down to enjoy the luxuries of the East.

From the first arrival of the noble marquis in India, it seemed to be the mutual object of his lordship and his amiable countess to diffuse harmony and good will through all ranks of society. They almost immediately honoured the freemasons of Calcutta with their presence at a grand ball and supper at Moore's rooms ; which entertainment, in point of magnificence and tasteful arrangement, was [383] never surpassed in India. The illuminations on the occasion converted a dark night into brightness equal to the clearest day, and trains of artificial fireworks were laid along all the principal streets of the city. At the opening of the Chouringhee theatre the Countess of Loudon was hailed as the star of the East, in the prologue written by Dr. Wilson, a very elegant poet and oriental scholar ; and well does Lady Loudon deserve the epithet, for she has been a particularly bright star to India guiding all in the course of benevolence, condescension, charity, and love. She has been a munificent friend to all the institutions in the East for the alleviation of distress or the diffusion of knowledge ; the zealous patroness of the education of the poor ; the kind supporter of the widow and orphan ; the unsolicited benefactress of the friendless, and a transcendent example of tenderness, morality, and religion.

[384] . . . While at the Countess of Loudon's parties, or rather the public entertainments given to the civil and military servants at the government-house, massy plate and servants in rich livery are in profusion, the guests of Sir Evan Nepean find it difficult

to get a metal spoon, and must trust to their own servants for attendance . . .

ARMENIANS: [392] "They (Armenians) are the general merchants of India, and a highly respectable body of wealthy subjects. Their complexion is fair, and in address they are pleasing, but the Armenian costume gives them a remarkable appearance. It is, however, very becoming. The cap is of black velvet, and triangularly shaped, and the frock is generally of the same materials, but embraces the neck closely, flowing down to the knee, something like a surtout. Many of them, however, both in Calcutta and Bombay, may be said to emulate the Bond-street gentry, having assumed the English dress in all things except the cap, which is retained as a mark of national distinction. The Armenians have many [393] churches in India, and a bishop's see, subject to the controul of their patriarch, who resides near mount Ararat. In show and equipage they are exceedingly ostentatious; their ladies are covered with jewels and wear crowns sparkling with precious gems; but the men are very public-spirited, and liberally support every thing that is laudable (Anecdote about Sarkies Joannes of Calcutta who freed all the insolvent debtors from the gaol of Calcutta, on the recovery of George III).

CAPITAL OF BRITISH INDIA*

[301] Calcutta, the capital of British India, is situated on the eastern bank of the river Hooghly, in lat. 22° 33' N., long. 88° 28' E. It is about one hundred miles from the sea, by the winding of the river, which is, before the city, full a mile broad. The approach is magnificent, each bank being adorned with elegant

*From the "MEMOIRS OF INDIA: *Comprising A Brief Geographical Account of the East Indies; A Succinct History of Hindostan, from the most early ages, to the end of the Marquis of Hastings' Administration in 1823*—Designed for the use of Young men going to India" by R.G. Wallace, Esq., Author of "Fifteen Years in India", London, 1824; printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, Paternoster-Row, octavo, Pages 504. The pagination given in brackets refers to this book from here onwards.

villas and gardens. In the year 1717 this extensive city was a petty village, and the country around it a jungle and marsh. It now extends along the river upwards of six [302] miles, and the numerous spires of churches, temples, and minarets, with the strong fortifications of Fort William, and several imposing public edifices, such as the government house, exchange, town hall, college, writers' buildings, and the suburb called Chouringhee, which is a line of Grecian palaces, render the external aspect of Calcutta perhaps equal in splendour to any capital in the world. But, upon a closer view of the houses, which are about 100,000 in number, they will be found poor mean buildings, with the exception of the European part of the city, consisting of perhaps 8000 dwellings, occupied by British, Portuguese, and Armenian inhabitants. The whole population is estimated at 600,000 souls; and the surrounding country is so numerously inhabited, that, in an extent of twenty miles round, it is said there are 2,225,000 people.

The European society of Calcutta is numerous, their habits convivial and hospitable, their mode of living luxurious, and their appearance splendid in the extreme. Visits are paid generally in palanquins; but covered and open carriages, of all the descriptions fashionable in England, are numerous. The table is covered with vast variety, and Madeira and claret are introduced even in the houses of the middling classes every day at dinner.

There would be no great interest in describing [303] the public edifices of Calcutta, most of which are common buildings, on the usual principles of European architecture. Places of public amusement are not numerous. There is one respectable theatre, and an assembly room, but little frequented; for, although no place in the world exhibits a more numerous display of splendid private parties, yet public intercourse is unfashionable, and pride has separated general society into circles, whose centres are like the heads of castes by which they are surrounded.

The descendants of Europeans, called half castes, are here very numerous; and seven large schools are supported by them. There are also excellent male and female orphan asylums, hospitals, and a variety of charitable institutions, which do honour to the liberality of the inhabitants of Calcutta. Since the establishment of an episcopacy in 1814, in India, consisting of a bishop and three archdeacons, &c., great attention has been paid

to the education of the natives. The late Dr. Middleton, first bishop of Calcutta, was mainly instrumental in founding the Mission college, for instructing native youth in the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, in view to their becoming preachers, catechists, and school-masters, and for other general purposes connected with the extension of education and conversion. It appears [304] from the last report of the Calcutta School Society, that there are 200 schools within the precincts of its control, and that upwards of 5000 native children are studying various branches of European literature in Calcutta and the vicinity. But what proves beyond doubt that an amazing change has taken place in the prejudices of the natives is, that Hindoo females are now students at several of our institutions. At the last anniversary meeting of the Calcutta Female School Society, the committee remark, that there were pupils from the highest as well as the lowest castes ; for instance, there were two Brahmans, four Kayasthas, and seven Vishnubers, who are considered of the highest rank. In short, a learned native has published a treatise, in the Bengalee language, to prove that it was formerly customary among the Hindoos to educate their females, and that the education of women is not, as is generally supposed, disgraceful or injurious, but, if encouraged, will be productive of the most beneficial effects.

Calcutta is as yet in an infant state :—no city in the world has ever improved or grown more rapidly, and if it continue for another century to progress as it has done during the last, it will be the wonder of posterity. Some of its institutions are, however, susceptible of great improvement, particularly the supreme court, whose jurisdiction over Europeans extends to the distance of 1200 miles, and yet there is no circuit branch ; so that [305] a criminal, with all the witnesses necessary to convict him, must be brought to the presidency, where punishment is inflicted, at a distance from the scene of perpetration. Another defect is that all the natives, who are subject to the jurisdiction of the king's court, are tried by a British jury, of which they may complain with good reason. In short, executions have taken place in Calcutta for crimes, on principles of British law, which according to the Hindoo code were not capital offences. The case of rajah Nund Comar is quite in point, and as his fate has been described, an allusion to it is only necessary.

The external and internal trade of the presidency of Calcutta averages about 14,000,000 sterling annually, a great part of which is carried on by private adventurers, since the opening of the ports of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, to a free trade, but the East India Company have such an advantage in a monopoly of certain articles, and in the privilege of framing local regulations, that no enterprise can compete with, and many speculators to the Indian shores have been completely ruined. Upwards of six hundred ships and vessels take their departure from Calcutta annually, with 150,000 tons of merchandise, and as the same number, on an average, yearly sail up the river, the activity of the scene may be conceived.

[306] In Calcutta and its vicinity the curiosities are not numerous, but interesting. There are no great temples and mosques. The churches, chapels, and meeting-houses are not very commanding edifices, compared with the private mansions, many of which are truly magnificent. But when I was in Calcutta, the black-hole was to be seen, and the monument which commemorated its tragical story, though so much shattered by lightning, that I understand it now ceases to meet the eye. The Company's Botanic Gardens are also worthy of observation, and the governor-general's country residence at Barrackpore, in a beautiful park, is another object, with the Danish, French, and Dutch settlements up the river Hooghly, the banks of which at all times present contrasts of natural beauty and frightful superstition.

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FORT WILLIAM : "Fort William is superior to any other fortress in India. It is constructed on the most scientific principles of military architecture. The barracks in it are superb. In this fortress the Company have an excellent arsenal, and a gun foundry. The new fort was commenced in 1758. When I viewed the curiosities of Fort William, Vizier Ally, once nabob of Oude was confined in it, in a room made to resemble an iron cage, for the murder of Mr. Cherry, where he lingered out seventeen years of his life, and died at the age of thirty-six, in the year 1817. The vicissitudes of his life are worthy of a brief notice.

"The mother of Vizier Ally was a menial servant of low caste. She attracted the notice of Asoph-ud-Dowlah, nabob of Oude,

who was a very eccentric character. Having no children of his own, he was in the habit of sending pregnant women, whom he met, to his palace: and among others he sent the mother of Vizier Ally, whom he afterwards adopted according to the forms of Mohammedan law. The Nabob is said to have expended 200,000 £ annually on English manufactures. He had 100 gardens, 20 palaces, 1200 elephants, 3000 fine saddle horses, 1500 double barrel guns, 1700 superb lustres, 30,000 table shades, and as many large mirrors, girandoles, and clocks, two of which cost him 30,000 £. He often entertained his European friends with champagne dinners, in a carriage drawn by elephants. There were a thousand choice beauties in his harem. In his treasury were jewels to the amount of 8,000,000 sterling.

"All these became the property of his adopted son, Vizier Ally, whose wedding cost the Nabob 30,000 £. It is described in another part of this work. Vizier Ally, when he became nabob, having broken his faith in several instances with the Honourable Company, was deposed, and placed on a pension of 25,000 £ per annum. Being of a turbulent and intriguing disposition, it was thought expedient that he should reside near the presidency, and he had reached Benares, for the purpose of proceeding thither, when he most treacherously murdered Mr. Cherry, the Company's resident, who had invited him to breakfast. Upon a signal given, his armed retinue rushed in and cut Mr. Cherry and his assistant, Mr. Graham, to pieces. They then departed with the determination of massacring all the Europeans at that station, but were fortunately delayed by a noble defence made by Mr. Davis with a hog spear. Hearing of their approach, he posted himself at the head of his stairs, and blocked up the passage with the dead bodies of his assailants. By this time a detachment arrived from the cantonments. Vizier Ally and his followers fled, and escaped into the territories of a native prince, who refused to give him up except on condition of his life being spared. This our government thought it expedient to promise, and he was accordingly confined in the manner described. When I saw him, he was a poor emaciated being." (pp. 458-460).

ARMENIANS: "The Armenian merchants of India are a public spirited set of men. When Sarkies Joannes of Calcutta heard of the recovery of George the Third in 1789, he paid the debts of all the prisoners at that time in gaol, which so much

pleased His Majesty, that he sent him his picture in miniature through Lord Cornwallis. Their dress is very splendid. In show and equipage they are exceedingly ostentatious ; their ladies are covered with jewels, and wear crowns sparkling with precious gems." (p. 460).

ETIQUETTE : "In Calcutta a civilian's lady considers herself a superior being to the wife of a military officer ; the latter looks down with contempt on the partner of a country captain, who, in her turn, despises the shopkeeper, and frets if neglected by the merchant's wife. 'To hand a lady to table, or to her carriage,' says Tennant, 'is an affair which requires deep cogitation, if it be aspired to by a gentleman whose rank is unequal to the office, instead of paying a compliment he is guilty of rudeness, and commits an unpardonable offence. When the ladies take the floor to dance, the most perfect acquaintance with all that has ever been written upon heraldry would not enable you to make a satisfactory arrangement either of the ladies themselves or of their partners.' The Countess of Loudon discountenanced this fastidiousness ; it is to be hoped effectually." (pp. 460-461).

CALCUTTA IN 1823-24*

By Bishop Heber¹

[1] At day-break of October the 4th (1823), we had a good view of the Island of Saugor, a perfectly flat and swampy shore, with scattered tall trees, dark-like firs, and jungle about the height of young coppice wood, of a very fresh and vivid green. With a large glass I could distinguish something like deer grazing or lying down amid the swampy grass, and also some ruinous cottages and barn-like buildings.

These are the remains of a village began by a joint company, who undertook to cut down the thickets and reclaim the marshes of Saugor, a few years ago. They found, however, that as the [2] woods were cut down on this side, the sea encroached, the sandy beach not having sufficient tenacity of itself to resist its invasions; and the land was again abandoned to its wild deer and its tygers; for these last it has always been infamous, and the natives, I understand, regard it with such dread, that it is almost impossible to induce them to approach the wilder parts of its shore, even in boats, as instances are said to be by no means infrequent of tygers swimming off from the coast to a considerable distance. This danger is probably, like all others, over-rated, but it is a fortunate circumstance that some such terror hangs over Saugor, to deter idle seamen and young officers from venturing on shooting excursions so much as they otherwise would

* From the "NARRATIVE OF A JOURNEY THROUGH THE UPPER PROVINCES OF INDIA, From Calcutta to Bombay, 1824-1825, (with notes upon Ceylon,) an account of a Journey to Madras and the southern Provinces, 1826, and Letters written in India," by the late Right. Revd. REGINALD HEBER, D.D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta, (second edition in three volumes, volume I, 450 pages; vol. II, 564 pages and volume III, 527 pages), London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1828, Chapter I. The description of Calcutta is taken from volume I, unless otherwise indicated.

do, on a shore so dreadfully unwholesome as all these marshy islets are, under a sun, which even now intensely fierce, is standing over our heads "in a hot and copper sky." The stream of coffee-coloured water which surround us, sufficiently indicates by its tint the inundation which have supplied it.

One of the first specimens of the manners of the country which has fallen under our notice, has been a human corpse, slowly floating past, according to the well-known custom of the Hindoos. About twelve o'clock some boats came on board with fish and fruit, manned by Hindoos from the coast, of which the subjoined sketch is a tolerably accurate description.

They were all small slender men, extremely black, but well made, with good countenances and [3] fine features,—certainly a handsome race; the fruits were shaddocks, plaintains, and coco-nuts, none good of their kind as we were told; the shaddock resembles, a melon externally, but it is in fact a vast orange, with a rind of two inches thick, the pulp much less juicy than a common orange, and with rather a bitter flavour, certainly a fruit which would be little valued in England, but which in this burning weather I thought rather pleasant and refreshing. The plaintain grows in bunches, with its stalks arranged side by side: the fruit is shaped like a kidney-potatoe, covered with a loose dusky skin which peels off easily with the figures. The pulp is not unlike an over-ripe pear.

While we were marketing with these poor people, several large boats from the Maldiv Islands passed, which were pointed out to me by the pilot as objects of curiosity, not often coming to Calcutta; they have one mast, a very large square mainsail, and one top-sail, are built, the more solid parts of coco-wood, the lighter of bamboo, and sail very fast and near the wind; each carries from 30 to 50 men, who are all sharers in the vessel and her cargo, which consists of cowries, dried fish, coconut oil, and the coir or twine made from the fibres of the same useful tree; and each has a small cabin to himself.

Several boats of a larger dimension soon after came alongside; one was decked, with two masts, a bowsprit, and rigged like a schooner without topsails. The master and crew of this last were [4] taller and finer men than those whom we had seen before; the former had a white turban wreathed round a red cap, a white short shirt without sleeves, and a silver armlet a

little above the elbow; the crew were chiefly naked, except a cloth round the loins; the colour of all was the darkest shade of antique bronze, and together with the elegant forms and well-trained limbs of many among them, gave the spectator a perfect impression of Grecian statues of that metal; in stature and apparent strength they were certainly much inferior to the generality of our ship's company.

Two observations struck me forcibly; first, that the deep bronze tint is more naturally agreeable to the human eye than the fair skins of Europe, since we are not displeased with it even in the first instance, while it is well known that to them a fair complexion gives the idea of ill-health, and of that sort of deformity which in our eyes belongs to an Albino. There is, indeed, something in a Negro which requires long habit to reconcile the eye to him; but for this the features and the hair, far more than the colour, are answerable. The second observation was, how entirely the idea of indelicacy, which would naturally belong to such naked figures as those now around us if they were white, is prevented by their being of a different colour from ourselves. So much are we children of association and habit, and so instinctively and immediately do our feelings adapt themselves to a total change of circumstances! it is the partial and consistent change only which affects us.

[5] The whole river, and the general character of this shore and muddy stream, remind me strongly at this moment of the Don, between Tcherkask and Asof,—and Kedgerce, a village on the opposite side of the river from Saugor, if it had but a church, would not be unlike Oxai, the residence of the Attaman Platoff.

Several boats again came on board us; in one of which was a man dressed in muslin, who spoke good English, and said he was a "Sircar," come down in quest of employment, if any of the officers on board would entrust their investments to him, or if any body chose to borrow money at 12 per cent. In appearance and manner he was no bad specimen of the low usurers who frequent almost all seaports. While we were conversing with him, a fowl fell overboard, and his crew were desired to hand it up again; the naked rowers refused, as the Hindoos consider it impure to touch feathers; but the Sircar was less scrupulous, and gave it up at the gangway. A "Panchway," or passage boat, succeeded, whose crew offered their services for

15 rupees to carry any passengers to Calcutta, a distance of above 100 miles. This was a very characteristic and interesting vessel, large and broad, shaped like a snuffer dish ; a deck fore and aft, and the middle covered with a roof of palm branches, over which again was lashed a coarse cloth, the whole forming an excellent shade from the sun ; but, as I should apprehend, intollerably close. The "Se-[6]rang," or master, stood on the little after-deck, steering with a long oar ; another man, a little before him, had a similar oar on the star board quarter ; six rowers were seated cross-legged on the deck upon the tilt, and plied their short paddles with much dexterity ; not however as paddles usually are plied, but in the manner of oars, resting them instead of rullocks, on bamboos, which rose upright from the sides. A large long sail of thin transparent sackcloth in three pieces, very loosely tacked to each other, completed the equipment. The rowers were all naked except the "Commerbund," or sash ; the steersman, indeed, had in addition a white cap, and a white cloth loosely flung like a scarf over one shoulder : the whole offered a group which might have belonged to the wildest of the Polynesian islands. Several of these Panchways were now around us, the whole scene affording to an European eye a picture of very great singularity and interest. One of the Serangs had a broad umbrella thatched with palm leaves, which he contrived to rest on his shoulder while he steered his canoe, which differed from the others in having a somewhat higher stern. The whole appearance of these boats is dingy and dirty, more so I believe than the reality.

We were now approaching the side of the river opposite Kedgerie : here all likeness to the Don disappeared, and nothing met the eye but a dismal and unbroken line of thick, black wood and thicket, apparently impenetrable and interminable, which one might easily imagine to be the habitation of every [7] thing monstrous, disgusting, and dangerous, from the tyger and the cobra de capello down to the scorpion and mosquito,—from the thunder-storm to the fever. We had seen, the night before, the lightnings flash incessantly and most majestically from this quarter ; and what we now saw was not ill-fitted for a nursery of such storms as Southey describes as prevailing in his Padalon. The seamen and officers spoke of this shore with horror, as the grave of all who were so unfortunate as to remain many days

in its neighbourhood; and even under our present brilliant sun, it required no great stretch of fancy to picture feverish exhalations rising from every part of it. As we drew nearer to the Sunderbunds their appearance improved; the woods assumed a greater variety of green and of shade; several round-topped trees, and some low palms, were seen among them, a fresh vegetable fragrance was wafted from the shore. The stream is here intense, and its struggle with the spring-tide raises waves of a dark-coloured water, which put me in mind of the river where Dante found the spirit of Filippo Argenti. I looked with much interest on the first coco-palms I saw, yet they rather disappointed me. Their forms are indeed extremely graceful, but their verdure is black and funereal, and they have something the appearance of the plumes of feathers which are carried before a hearse. Their presence, however, announced a more open and habitable country. The jungle receded from the shore, and its place was supplied by extremely green fields, like mea-[8]dows, which were said to be of rice, interspersed with small woods of round-headed trees, and villages of huts, thatched, and with their mud walls so low, that they look like hay-stacks.

We anchored a few miles short of Diamond Harbour. The current and ebb-tide together ran at a rate really tremendous, amounting, as our pilot said, to 10 and 11 knots an hour. We were surrounded soon after our anchoring by several passage vessels; among these was a beautiful ship of about 250 tons, with the Company's Jack, and a long pendant, which we were told was the Government yacht, sent down for our accommodation.

During this day and the next I made several fresh observations on the persons and manners of the natives, by whom we were surrounded. I record them, though I may hereafter see reason to distrust, in some slight degrees, their accuracy. I had observed a thread hung round the necks of the fishermen who came first on board, and now found that it was an ornament worn in honour of some idol. The caste of fishermen does not rank high, though fish is considered as one of the purest and most lawful kinds of food. Nothing, indeed, seems more generally mistaken than the supposed prohibition of animal food to the Hindoos. It is not from any abstract desire to spare the life of living creatures, since fish would be a violation of this

principle as well as beef ; but from other notions of the hallowed or the polluted nature of particular viands. Thus many Brahmins eat both fish and kid. The Rajpoots, besides these, eat mutton, [9] venison, or goat's flesh. Some castes may eat any thing but fowls, beef, or pork ; while pork is with others a favourite diet, and beef only is prohibited. Intoxicating liquors are forbidden by their religion ; but this is disregarded by great numbers both of high and low caste ; and intoxication is little less common, as I am assured, among the Indians, than among Europeans. Nor is it true that Hindoos are much more healthy than Europeans. Liver-complaints, and indurations of the spleen are very common among them, particularly with those in easy circumstances, to which their immense consumption of "Ghee," or clarified butter, must greatly contribute. To cholera morbus they are much more liable than the whites, and there are some kinds of fever which seem peculiar to the native race.

The great difference in colour between different natives struck me much : of the crowd by whom we were surrounded, some were black as Negroes, others merely copper-coloured, and others little darker than the Tunisines whom I have seen at Liverpool. Mr. Mill, the principal of Bishop's College, who with Mr. Corrie, one of the Chaplains in the Company's service, had come down to meet me, and who has seen more of India than most men, tells me that he cannot account for this difference, which is general throughout the country, and every where striking. It is not merely the difference of exposure, since this variety of tint is visible in the fishermen who are naked all alike. Nor does it depend on caste, since very high caste [10] Brahmins are sometimes black, while Pariahs are comparatively fair. It seems, therefore, to be an accidental difference, like that of light and dark complexions in Europe, though where so much of the body is exposed to sight, it becomes more striking here than in our own country.

At six o'clock in the evening of October the 6th, we went on board the yacht, which we found a beautiful vessel, with large and convenient cabins, fitted up in a very elegant and comfortable manner ; and slept for the first time under mosquito curtains, and on a mattress of coco-nut coir, which though very hard is cool and elastic. The greater part of this day was occupied in ecclesiastical business, so that I had less opportunity

for observing the country and people round us. The former improves as we ascend the river, and is now populous and highly cultivated. On the 7th we left Diamond Harbour, a place interesting as being the first possession of the East India Company in Bengal; but of bad reputation for its unhealthiness, the whole country round being swampy. Many ships were lying there. I saw no town, except a few native huts, some ruinous warehouses, now neglected and in decay, and an ugly, brick, dingy-looking house with a flag-staff, belonging to the harbour master. There are, however, many temptations for seamen among the native huts, several of them being spirit houses, where a hot unwholesome toddy is sold. We proceeded with a light breeze up the river, which still presents a considerable uniformity of prospect, though of a [11] richer and more pleasing kind than we had seen before. The banks abound with villages, interspersed with rice-fields, plantations of coco-palms, and groves of trees of a considerable height, in colour and foliage resembling the elm. We have seen one or two Pagodas, dingy buildings with one or more high towers, like glass-houses.

HOOGHLY

The Hooghly is still of vast width and rapidity. Our ship tacks in it as in a sea, and we meet many larger vessels descending. One of these was pointed to me as an Arab, of completely European build, except that her stern was overloaded with open galleries and verandahs, with three very tall masts, and carrying more sail than English merchant ships generally do. She had apparently a good many guns, was crowded with men, and had every appearance of serving, as occasion required for piracy as well as traffic. Her "Rais," or master, had a loose purple dress on, and her crew I thought were of fairer complexions than the Hindoos. These last perform their evolutions with a great deal of noise, and most vociferously; but the Arabs excelled them in both these particulars. They shifted their sails with a clamour as if they were going to board an enemy. The old clumsy Arab Dow mentioned by Niebuhr is now seldom seen; they buy many ships from Europeans; they build tolerable ones themselves, and even their grabs, which still have an elongated bow instead of a bow-sprit, are described as often very fine

vessels and good sailors. In short, they are gradually becoming a formidable maritime [12] people, and are not unlikely to give farther and greater trouble in the Indian Seas to ourselves and other European nations.

Accidents often happen in this great river, and storms are frequent and violent. The river is now unusually high, and the Brahmins have prophesied that it will rise fourteen cubits higher, and down all Calcutta ; they might as well have said all Bengal, since the province has scarcely any single eminence so high as the river. Whenever we see the banks a few feet higher than usual, we are told it is the dam of a "tank", or large artificial pond. The country is evidently most fertile and populous, and the whole prospect of river and shore is extremely animated and interesting. The vessel in which we are, is commanded by one of the senior pilots of the Company's service ; he and his mate are the only Europeans on board ; the crew, forty in number, are Mohammedans, middle-sized, active and vigorous, though slender. Their uniform is merely a white turban of a singularly flat shape, a white shirt, and trowsers, with a shawl wrapped round their hips. I was amused to-day by seeing them preparing and eating their dinner, seated in circles on the deck, with an immense dish of rice, and a little sauce-boat of currie, well seasoned with garlic, set between every three or four men ; the quantity which they eat is very great, and completely disproves the common opinion that rice is a nourishing food. On the contrary, I am convinced that a fourth part of the bulk of potatoes would satisfy the hunger of the most robust [13] and laborious. Potatoes are becoming gradually abundant in Bengal ; at first they were here, as elsewhere, unpopular. Now they are much liked, and are spoken of as the best thing which the country has ever received from its European masters. At dinner these people sit, not like the Turks, but with the knees drawn up like monkeys.

Their eating and drinking vessels are of copper, very bright and well kept, and their whole appearance cleanly and decent, their countenances more animated, but less mild and gentle than the Hindoos. They do not seem much troubled with the prejudices of Mohammedanism, yet there are some services, which they obviously render to their masters with reluctance. The captain of the yacht ordered one of them, at my desire, to lay

hold of our spaniel ; the man made no difficulty, but afterwards rubbed his hand against the side of the ship with an expression of disgust which annoyed me, and I determined to spare their feelings in future as much as possible.

We had hoped to reach Fulta, where there is an English hotel, before night ; but the wind being foul, were obliged to anchor a few miles short of it. After dinner, the heat being considerably abated, we went in the yacht's boat to the nearest shore. Before us was a large extent of swampy ground, but in a high state of cultivation, and covered with green rice, offering an appearance not unlike flax ; on our right was a moderate-sized village, and on the banks of the river a numerous herd of cattle was feeding ; these are mostly red, [14] or red and white, with humps on their backs, nearly resembling those which I have seen at Wynnstay and Comberemere. Buffaloes are uncommon in the lower parts of Bengal. As we approached the village a number of men and boys came out to meet us, all naked except the cummerbund, with very graceful figures, and distinguished by a mildness of countenance almost approaching to effeminacy. They regarded us with curiosity, and the children crowded round with great familiarity. The objects which surrounded us were of more than common beauty and interest ; the village, a collection of mud-walled cottages, thatched, and many of them covered with a creeping plant bearing a beautiful broad leaf, of the gourd species, stood irregularly scattered in the midst of a wood of coco-palms, fruit, and other trees, among which the banyan was very conspicuous and beautiful ; we were cautioned against attempting to enter the houses, as such a measure gives much offence. Some of the natives, however, came up and offered to shew us the way to the pagoda,—“the Temple,” they said, “of Mahadeo.” We followed them through the beautiful grove which overshadowed their dwellings, by a winding and narrow path ; the way was longer than we expected, and it was growing dusk ; we persevered, however, and arrived in front of a small building with three apertures in front, resembling lancet windows of the age of Henry the Second. A flight of steps led up to it, in which the Brahmin of the place was waiting to receive us,—an elderly man, [15] naked like his flock, but distinguished by a narrow band of cotton twist thrown two or three times doubled across his right shoulder and breast, like a scarf, which is a mark

of distinction, worn, I understand, by all Brahmins ; a fine boy with a similar badge, stood near him, and another man with the addition of a white turban, came up and said he was a police officer ("police-walla"). The occurrence of this European word in a scene so purely Oriental, had a whimsical effect. It was not, however, the only one which we heard, for the Brahmin announced himself to us as the "Padre" of the village, a name which they have originally learnt from the Portuguese, but which is now applied to religious persons of all descriptions all over India, even in the most remote situations, and where no European penetrates once in a century. The village we were now in, I was told, had probably been very seldom visited by Europeans, since few persons stop on the shore of the Ganges between Diamond Harbour and Fulta. Few of the inhabitants spoke Hindoostance. Mr. Mill tried the Brahmin in Sanscrit, but found him very ignorant ; he, indeed, owned it himself, and said in excuse, they were poor people.

I greatly regretted I had no means of drawing a scene so beautiful and interesting ; the sketch I have made is from memory, and every way unworthy of the subject.

COUNTRYSIDE

I never recollect having more powerfully felt the beauty of similar objects. The green-house like smell and temperature of the atmosphere which [16] surrounded us, the exotic appearance of the plants and of the people, the verdure of the fields, the dark shadows of the trees, and the exuberant and neglected vigour of the soil, teeming with life and food, neglected, as it were, out of pure abundance, would have been striking under any circumstances, they were still more so to persons just landed from a three months' voyage, and to me, when associated with the recollection of the objects which have brought me out to India, the amiable manners and countenances of the people, contrasted with the symbols of their foolish and polluted idolatry now first before me, impressed me with a very solemn and earnest wish that I might in some degree, however small, be enabled to conduce to the spiritual advantage of creatures so goodly, so gentle, and now so misled and blinded. "Angeli forent si essent Christiani !" As the sun went down, many monstrous bats,

bigger than the largest crows I have seen, and chiefly to be distinguished from them by their indented wings, unloosed their hold from the palm-trees, and sailed slowly around us. They might have been supposed the guardian geni of the pagoda.

During the night and the whole of the next day, the wind was either contrary, or so light as not to enable us to stem the current, it was intensely hot; the thermometer stood, at about 96°. The commander of our vessel went this morning to a market held in a neighbouring village, to purchase some trifles for the vessel, and it may shew the poverty of the country, and the cheapness of the [17] different articles, to observe, that having bought all the commodities which we wanted for a few pice, he was unable in the whole market to get a change for a rupee, or about two shillings.

In the evening we again went on shore to another village, resembling the first on its essential features, but placed in a yet more fertile soil. The houses stood literally in a thicket of fruit-trees, plantains, and flowering shrubs; the muddy ponds were covered with the broad-leaved lotus, and the adjacent "paddy," or rice-fields, were terminated by a wood of tall coco-nut trees, between whose stems the light was visible, pretty, much like a grove of Scotch firs. I here remarked the difference between the coco and the palmira: the latter with a narrower leaf than the former, and at this time of year without fruit, with which the other abounded. For a few pice one of the lads climbed up the tallest of these with great agility, notwithstanding the total want of boughs, and the slipperiness of the bark. My wife was anxious to look into one of their houses, but found its owners unwilling to allow her. At length one old fellow, I believe to get us away from his threshold, said he would shew us a very fine house. We followed him to a cottage somewhat larger than those which we had yet seen; but on our entering its little court-yard, the people came in much earnestness to prevent our proceeding farther. We had, however, a fair opportunity of seeing an Indian farm-[18]yard and homestead. In front was a small mud building, with a thatched verandah looking towards the village, and behind was a court filled with coco-nut husks, and a little rice straw; in the centre of this was a round thatched building, raised on bamboos about a foot from the ground, which they said was a "Goliah," or granary; round it

were small mud cottages, each to all appearance an apartment in the dwelling. In one corner was a little mill, something like a crab-mill, to be worked by a man, for separating the rice from the husk. By all which we could see through the open doors, the floor of the apartments was of clay, devoid of furniture, and light, except what the door admitted. A Brahmin now appeared, a formal pompous man, who spoke better Hindoostanee than the one whom we had seen before. I was surprised to find that in these villages, and Mr. Mill tells me that it is the case all over India, the word "Grigi", a corruption of "Ecclesia," is employed when speaking of any place of worship. Most of these people looked unhealthy. Their village and its vicinity appeared to owe their fertility to excessive humidity under a burning sun. Most of the huts were surrounded by stagnant water; and near the entrance of one of them they shewed us a little elevated mound like a grave, which they said was their refuge when the last inundation was at its height. So closely and mysteriously do the instruments of production and destruction, plenty and pestilence, life and death, tread on the heels of each other!

Besides tamarinds, cocos, palmiras, plantains, [19] and banyans, there were some other trees of which we could not learn the European name. One was the neem, a tree not very unlike the acacia, the leaves of which are used to keep moths from books and clothes. Another I supposed to be manchineel,—a tree like a very large rhododendron, but now without flowers; its thick club-ended branches, when wounded, exuded a milky juice in large quantities, which the natives said would blister the fingers. We saw one jackall run into the woods; the cries of these animals grew loud and incessant as we returned to the ship, and so nearly resembled the voice of children at play, that it was scarcely possible at first to ascribe them to any other source. On our arrival at the vessel we found two "Bholiahs," or large row boats, with convenient cabins, sent to take us up the river, as it was impossible, with such light winds, for the yacht to stem the force of the current.

October 10.—At 2 o'clock this afternoon, we set out for Calcutta in the bholiahs, and had a very delightful and interesting passage up the river, partly with sails and partly with oars. The country, as we drew nearer the capital, advanced in population: and the river was filled with vessels of every description. Among

these, I was again greatly struck by the Maldivian vessels, close to some of which our boat passed. Their size appeared to me from 150 to near 200 tons, raised to an immense height above the water by upper works of split bamboo, with every lofty heads and sterns, immense sails, and crowded with a wild and energetic [20] looking race of mariners, who Captain Manning told me were really bold and expert fellows and the vessels better sea-boats than their clumsy forms would lead one to anticipate. Bengalee and Chittagong vessels, with high heads and sterns, were also numerous. In both these the immense size of the rudders, suspended by ropes to the vessel's stern, and worked by a helmsman raised at a great height above the vessel chiefly attracted attention. There were many other vessels, which implied a gradual adoption of European habits, being brigs and sloops, very clumsily and injudiciously rigged, but still improvements on the old Indian ships. Extensive plantations of sugar-cane, and numerous cottages resembling those we had already seen, appeared among the groves of coco-nut and other fruit-trees, which covered the greater part of the shore; a few cows were tethered on the banks, and some large brick-fields with sheds like those in England, and here and there a white staring European house, with plantations and shrubberies, gave notice of our approach to an European capital. At a distance of about nine miles from the place where we had left the yacht, we landed among some tall bamboos, and walked near a quarter of a mile to the front of a dingy, deserted looking house, not very unlike a country gentleman's house in Russia, near some powder mills; here we found carriages waiting for us, drawn by small horses with switch tails, and driven by postillions with whiskers, turbans, bare legs and arms, and blue jackets with tawdry yellow lace. [21] A "Saees," or groom, ran by the side of each horse, and behind one of them were two decent looking men with long beards and white cotton dresses, who introduced themselves as my "Peons" or "Hurkarus;" their badges were a short mace or club of silver, in a crooked form, and terminating in a tyger's head, something resembling a Dacian standard as represented on Trajan's pillar, and a long silver stick with a knob at the head. We set out at a round trot; the saeases keeping their paces very nimbly on each side of us, though on foot, along a raised, broadish, but bad road, with deep

ditches of stagnant water on each side, beyond which stretched out an apparently interminable wood of fruit-trees, interspersed with cottages : some seemed to be shops, being entirely open with verandahs, and all chiefly made up of mats and twisted bamboo. The crowd of people was considerable, and kept up something like the appearance of a fair along the whole line of road. Many were in bullock-carts, others driving loaded bullocks before them, a few had wretched poneys, which, as well as the bullocks, bore too many and indubitable marks of neglect and hard treatment ; the manner in which the Hindoos seemed to treat even their horned cattle, sacred as they are from the butcher's knife, appeared far worse than that which often disgusts the eye and wounds the feelings of a passenger through London.

Few women were seen ; those who appeared had somewhat more clothing than the men,—a [22] coarse white veil, or "chud-dah," thrown over their heads without hiding their faces, their arms bare, and ornamented with large silver "bangles," or bracelets. The shops contained a few iron tools hanging up, some slips of coarse coloured cotton, plantains hanging in bunches, while the ground was covered with earthen vessels, and a display of rice and some kind of pulse heaped up on sheets, in the midst of which, smoking a sort of rude hookah, made of a short pipe and a coco-nut shell, the trader was squatted on the ground.

By degrees we began to see dingy brick buildings of more pretensions to architecture, but far more ugly than the rudest bamboo hut,—the abodes of Hindoos or Mussulmans of the middle class, flat-roofed, with a narrow casement windows, and enclosed by a brick wall, which prevented all curious eyes from prying into their domestic economy. These were soon after mingled with the large and handsome edifices of Garden Reach, each standing by itself in a little woody lawn (a "compound" they call it here, by an easy corruption from the Portuguese word *Campana*.) and consisting of one or more stories, with a Grecian verandah along their whole length of front. As we entered Kidderpoor, European carriages were seen, and our eyes were met by a Police soldier, standing sentry in the corner of the street, nearly naked, but armed with a sabre and shield,—a pagoda or two,—a greater variety of articles in the shops,—

a greater crowd in the streets,—and a considerable number [23] of “caranchies,” or native carriages, each drawn by two horses, and looking like the skeletons of hackney coaches in our own country.

From Kidderpoor we passed by a mean wooden bridge over a muddy creek, which brought us to an extensive open plain like a race-course, at the extremity of which we saw Calcutta, its white houses glittering through the twilight, which was now beginning to close in, with an effect not unlike that of Connaught-place and its neighbourhood, as seen from a distance across Hyde Park. Over this plain we drove to the fort, where Lord Amherst has assigned the old Government-house for our temporary residence. The fort stands considerably to the south of Calcutta and west of Chowringhee, having the Hooghly on its west side. The degree of light which now remained rendered all its details indistinguishable, and it was only when we began to wind through the different works, and to hear the clash of the sentries presenting arms as we passed, that we knew we were approaching a military post of great extent and considerable importance. We at length alighted at the door of our temporary abode, a large and very handsome building in the centre of the fort, and of the vast square formed by its barracks and other buildings. The square is grassed over, and divided by broad roads of “pucka,” or pounded brick, with avenues of tall trees stocked with immense flights of crows, which had not yet ceased their evening concert when we arrived. We found at the door two sentries, resembling Europeans in [24] every thing but complexion, which, indeed, was far less swarthy than that of the other natives whom we had hitherto seen, and were received by a long train of servants of cotton dresses and turbans; one of them with a long silver stick, and another with a short mace, answering to those of the Peons who had received us at the landing place.

The house consisted of a lofty and well-proportioned hall, 40 feet by 25, a drawing-room of the same length, and six or seven rooms all on the same floor, one of which served as a Chapel, the lower story being chiefly occupied as offices or lobbies. All these rooms were very lofty, with many doors and windows on every side; the floors of plaister, covered with mats; the ceilings of bricks plaistered also, flat, and supported by massive beams,

which were visible from the rooms below, but being painted neatly had not at all a bad effect. Punkas, large frames of light wood covered with white cotton, and looking not unlike enormous fire-boards, hung from the ceilings of the principal apartments, to which cords were fastened, which were drawn backwards and forwards by one or more servants, so as to agitate and cool the air very agreeably. The walls were white and unadorned, except with a number of glass lamps filled with coco-nut oil, and the furniture, though sufficient for the climate, was scanty in comparison with that of an English house. The beds instead of curtains had mosquito nets; they were raised high from the ground and very hard, admirably adapted for a hot climate.

[25] I had then the ceremony to go through of being made acquainted with a considerable number of my Clergy. Among whom was my old school-fellow at Whitchurch, Mr. Parsons, some years older than myself, whom I recollect when I was quite an urchin. Then all our new servants were paraded before us under their respective names of Chobdars¹, Sotaburdars¹, Hurkarus¹, Khansaman², Abdar³, Sherabdar⁴, Khidmutgars⁵, Sirdar Bearer⁶, and Bearers, cum multis alii. Of all these, however, the Sircar⁷ was the most conspicuous,—a tall fine looking man, in a white muslin dress, speaking good English, and the editor of a Bengalee newspaper, who appeared with a large silken and embroidered purse, full of silver coins, and presented it to us, in order that we might go through the form of receiving it, and replacing it in his hands. This, I then supposed, was a badge of his office, but I afterwards found that it was the relic of the ancient Eastern custom of never approaching a superior without a present, and that, in like manner, all the natives who visited me offered a “nuzzur,” or offering, of a piece of gold or silver money.

1. Men who carry silver stricks before people of rank; or Messengers, all bearing the generic appellation of Peons.

2. Steward. 3. Water cooler. 4. Butler. 5. Footmen.

6. Head of all the Bearers, and Valet de Chambre.

7. Agent.—Ed.

CHAPTER II—CALCUTTA

Calcutta—Description of Calcutta: Cathedral: Environs. Quay—Child-murder—Barrackpoor: Menagerie—Female Orphan Asylum—Consecration of Churches—Nach—Free School—Botanical Garden—Bishop's College—Native Female Schools—Distress among Europeans. (pp. 26-58).

[26] OCTOBER 11.—In the morning as the day broke, (before which time is the usual hour of rising in India) we were much struck by the singular spectacle before us. Besides the usual apparatus of a place of arms, the walks, roofs, and ramparts, swarmed with gigantic birds, the "hurgila," from "hur", a bone, and "gilana," to swallow, larger than the largest turkey, and twice as tall as the heron, which in some respects they much resemble, except that they have a large blue and red pouch under the lower bill, in which we were told they keep such food as they cannot eat at the moment.¹ These birds share with the jackalls, who enter the fort through the drains, the post of [27] scavenger, but unlike them, instead of flying mankind and daylight, lounge about with perfect fearlessness all day long, and almost jostle us from our paths. We walked some time round the square, and were amused to see our little girl, walking with her nurse, in great delight at the animals round her, but rather encumbered with the number of servants who had attached themselves to her. For her especial service, a bearer, a khitmutgar, a hurkaru, and a cook were appointed, and there were besides the two former, one of the silver sticks with her, and another bearer with a monstrous umbrella on a long bamboo pole, which he held over her head in the manner represented on Chinese screens;—my wife soon reduced her nursery establishment,—but we afterwards found that it is the custom in Calcutta to go to great expense in the equipage of children.

A lady told us she had seen a little boy of six years old, paraded in a poney phaeton and pair, with his "Ayah," or nurse,

1. It has since been ascertained by dissection, that this pouch has no connection with the stomach,—but has a very small tube opening into the nostril,—through which it is supposed air is admitted to enable the bird to breathe when the orifice of the throat is closed by any large substance, which it attempts, for some time in vain, to swallow. At such time the pouch is in this way inflated with air, and respiration goes on unimpeded.—Ed.

coachman, "Chattahburdar," or umbrella-bearer, a saees on each side, and another behind, leading a third poney, splendidly caparisoned, not in case the young Sahib should choose to ride, he was too young for that,—but, as the saees himself expressed it "for the look of the thing." This, however, rather belong to old times, when as a gentleman assured me, he had himself heard at the dinner party of one of the Company's civil servants, a herald proclaiming aloud all the great man's titles; and when a palanquin with the silk brocade, and gilding which then [28] adorned it, frequently cost 3000 rupees²; at present the people are poorer and wiser.

The approach to the city from the fort is striking;—we crossed a large green plain, having on the left the Hooghly, with its forest of masts and sails seen through the stems of a double row of trees. On the right hand is the district called Chowringhee, lately a mere scattered suburb, but now almost as closely built as, and very little less extensive than, Calcutta. In front was the esplanade, containing the Town Hall, the Government-house, and many handsome private dwellings,—the whole so like some parts of Petersburg, that it was hardly possible for me to fancy myself any where else. No native dwellings are visible from this quarter, except one extensive but ruinous bazar, which occupies the angle where Calcutta and Chowringhee join. Behind the esplanade, however, are only Tank-square, and some other streets occupied by Europeans,—the Durrumtollah and Cossitollah are pretty equally divided between the different nations, and all the west of Calcutta is a vast town, composed of narrow crooked streets, brick bazars, bamboo huts, and here and there the immense convent-like mansion of some of the more wealthy 'Baboos' (the name of the native Hindoo gentleman, answering to our Esquire) or Indian merchants and bankers. The Town-hall has no other merit than size, but the Government-house [29] has narrowly missed being a noble structure; it consists of two semicircular galleries, placed back to back, uniting in the centre in a large hall, and connecting four splendid suites of apartments. Its columns are, however, in a paltry style,

2. The highest price of an English built palanquin in the present day is 300 rupees.

and instead of having, as it might have had, two noble stories and a basement, it has three stories, all too low, and is too much pierced with windows on every side. I was here introduced to Lord Amherst ; and afterwards went to the Cathedral, where I was installed. This is a very pretty building, all but the spire, which is short and clumsy. The whole composition, indeed, of the Church, is full of architectural blunders, but still it is, in other respects, handsome. The inside is elegant, paved with marble and furnished with very large and handsome glass chandeliers, the gift of Mr. M'Clintoch, with a light pulpit, with chairs on one side of the chancel for the Governor-General and his family, and on the other for the Bishop and Archdeacon. We dined to-day at the Government-house ; to a stranger the appearance of the bearded and turbaned waiters is striking.

October 12.—This was Sunday. I preached, and we had a good congregation.

SUBURBS

[30] *October 13.*—We drive out twice a day on the course ; I am much disappointed as to the splendour of the equipages, of which I had heard so much in England ; the horses are most of them both small and poor, while the dirty white dresses and bare limbs of their attendants, have, to an unaccustomed eye, an appearance of anything but wealth and luxury. Calcutta stands on an almost perfect level of alluvial and marshy ground, which a century ago was covered with jungle and stagnant pools and which still almost every where betrays its unsoundness by the cracks conspicuous in the best houses. To the East, at the distance of four miles and a half, is a large but shallow lagoon of salt water, being the termination of the Sunderbunds, from which a canal is cut pretty nearly to the town, and towards which all the drainings of the city flow—what little difference of level there is, being in favour of the banks of the river. Between the salt lake and the city, the space is filled by gardens, fruit-trees, and the dwellings of the natives, some of them of considerable size, but mostly wretched huts ; all clustered in irregular groups round large square tanks, and connected by narrow, winding, unpaved streets and lanes, amid tufts of bamboos, coco-trees and plantains, picturesque and striking to the sight, but extremely offensive to

the smell, from the quantity of putrid water, the fumes of wood smoke, coco-nut oil, and, above all the ghee, which is to the Hindoo his principal luxury. Few Europeans live here, and those few, such as the Missionaries employed by the Church Missionary Society in Mirzapoor, are said to suffer greatly from the climate. Even my Sircar, though a native, in speaking of the neighbouring district of Dhee Intally, said that he himself never went near the "bad water" which flows up from the salt-water lake, without sickness and head-ache.

To the South, a branch of the Hooghly flows [31] also into the Sunderbunds. It is called by Europeans Tolly's nullah, but the natives regard it as the true Gunga, the wide stream being, as they pretend, the work of human and impious hands, at some early period of their history. In consequence no person worships the river between Kidderpoor and the sea, while this comparatively insignificant ditch enjoys all the same divine honours which the Ganges and the Hooghly enjoy during the earlier parts of their course. The banks of the Tolly's nullah are covered by two large and nearly contiguous villages, Kidderpoor and Allypoor, as well as by several considerable European houses, and are said to be remarkably dry and wholesome. To the North is a vast extent of fertile country, divided into rice-fields, orchards, and gardens, covered with a thick shade of fruit-trees, and swarming with an innumerable population, occupying the large suburbs of Cossipoor, Chitpoor, etc. This tract resembles, in general appearance, the eastern suburb, but is drier, healthier, and more open; through it lie the two great roads to Dum Dum and Barrackpoor. Westward flows the Hooghly, at least twice as broad as the Thames below London Bridge, covered with large ships and craft of all kind, and offering on its farther bank the prospect of another considerable suburb, that of Howrah, chiefly inhabited by ship-builders, but with some pretty villas interspersed. The road which borders Calcutta and Chowringhee, is called whimsically enough, "the circular road," and runs along nearly the same line which was once occupied by a wide ditch [32] and earthen fortification, raised on occasion of the Maharatta war. This is the boundary of the liberties of Calcutta, and of English law. All offences committed within this line are tried by the "Sudder Adawlut," or Supreme Court of Justice: those beyond, fall, in the first instance, within the

cognizance of the local magistracy, and in case of appeal are determined by the "Sudder Dewanee," or Court of the People in Chowringhee, whose proceedings are guided by the Koran and the laws of Menu.

From the North-west angle of the fort to the city, along the banks of the Hooghly, is a walk of pounded brick, covered with sand, the usual material of the roads and streets in and near Calcutta, with a row of trees on each side, and about its centre a flight of steps to descend to the river, which in the morning, a little after sun-rise, is generally crowded with persons, washing themselves and performing their devotions, of which indeed, ablution is an essential and leading part. The rest consists, in general, in repeatedly touching the forehead and cheeks with white, red, or yellow earth, and exclamations of Ram ! Ram ! There are some Brahmins however, always about this time seated on the bank under the trees, who keep counting their beads, turning over the leaves of their banana-leaf books, and muttering their prayers with considerable seeming devotion, and for a long time together. These are "Gooroos," or Religious Teachers, and seem considerably respected. Children and young persons are seen [33] continually kneeling down to them, and making them little offerings, but the wealthier Hindoos seldom stop their palanquins for such a purpose. Where the esplanade-walk joins Calcutta, a very handsome quay is continued along the side of the river ; resembling in every thing but the durability of material, the quays of Petersburg. It is unhappily of brick instead of granite, and is as yet unfinished, but many houses and public buildings are rising on it, and bids fair to be a very great additional ornament and convenience to Calcutta. Vessels of all descriptions, to the burden of 600 tons, may lie almost close up to this quay, and there is always a crowd of ships and barks, as well as a very interesting assemblage of strangers of all sorts and nations to be seen. Of these, perhaps the Arabs, who are numerous, are the most striking, from their comparative fairness, their fine bony and muscular figures, their noble countenances and picturesque dress. That of a wealthy Arab "Nacode," or captain, is pretty much what may be seen in Neibuhr's Travels, as that of an emir of Yemen. They are said to be extremely intelligent, bold, and active, but very dirty in their ships, and

excessively vain and insolent whenever they have the opportunity of being so with impunity.

The crowd on this quay, and in every part of Calcutta, is great. No fighting, however, is visible, though we have a great deal of scolding. A Hindoo hardly ever strikes an equal, however severely he may be provoked. The Arabs, as well as the Portuguese, are less patient, and at night frays [34] and even murders in the streets are of no unfrequent occurrence, chiefly, however, among the two descriptions of persons whom I have named. There are among the Hindoos very frequent instances of murder, but of a more cowardly and premeditated kind. They are cases chiefly of women murdered from jealousy, and children for the sake of the silver ornaments with which their parents are fond of decorating them. Out of thirty-six cases of murder reported in the province of Bengal, during the short space of, I believe, three months, seventeen were of children under these circumstances.

Though no slavery legally exists in the British territories at this moment, yet the terms and gestures used by servants to their superiors, all imply that such a distinction was, at no distant date, very common. "I am thy slave,"—"Thy slave hath no knowledge," are continually used as expressions of submission and of ignorance. In general, however, I do not think that the Bengalee servants are more submissive or respectful to their masters than those of Europe. The habit of appearing with bare feet in the house, the manner of addressing their superiors by joining the hands as in the attitude of prayer, at first give them such an appearance. But these are in fact nothing more than taking off the hat, or bowing, in England; and the person who acts thus, is as likely to speak saucily, or neglect our orders, as any English footman or groom. Some of their expressions, indeed, are often misunderstood by new comers as uncivil, [35] when nothing less than incivility is intended. If you bid a man order breakfast, he will answer, "Have I not ordered it?" or, "Is it not already coming?" merely meaning to express his own alacrity in obeying you. They are, on the whole, intelligent, and are very attentive to supply your wishes, even half, or not at all expressed. Masters seldom furnish any liveries, except turbans or girdles, which are of some distinctive colour and lace; the rest of the servant's dress is the cotton shirt, caftan, and trowsers of the country.

and they are by no means exact as to its cleanliness. The servants of the Governor-General have very handsome scarlet and gold caftans.

The Governor-General has a very pretty country residence at Barrackpoor, a cantonment of troops about 16 miles north of Calcutta, in a small park of (I should guess) from 2 to 300 acres, on the banks of the Hooghly, offering as beautiful a display of turf, tree, and flowering shrub, as any scene in the world can produce. The view of the river, though less broad here than at Calcutta, is very fine; and the Danish settlement of Serampoor, which stands on the opposite bank, with its little spire, its flag-staff, and its neat white buildings, is at this distance a very pleasing object. The house itself of Barrackpoor is handsome, containing three fine sitting-rooms, though but few bed-chambers. Indeed, as in this climate no sleeping-rooms are even tolerable, unless they admit the southern breeze, there can be but few in any house. Accordingly, that of Barrackpoor barely accommodates Lord Amherst's own family; and his Aides-de-camp and visitors sleep in bungalows, built at some little distance from it, in the park. "Bungalow," a corruption of Bengalee, is the general name in this country for any structure in the cottage style, and only of one floor. Some of these are spacious and comfortable dwellings, generally with high thatched roofs, surrounded with a verandah, and containing three or four good apartments, with bath-rooms and dressing-rooms enclosed from the eastern, western, or northern verandahs. The south is always left open. We went to Barrackpoor the 28th of October. The road runs all the way between gardens and orchards, so that the traveller is seldom without shade. Our journey we made before eight o'clock, no travelling being practicable at this season of the year with comfort, afterwards. We staid two days, and were greatly pleased with every thing we saw, and above all with the kindness of Lord and Lady Amherst.

At Barrackpoor, for the first time, I mounted an elephant, the motion of which I thought far from disagreeable, though very different from that of a horse. As the animal moves both feet on the same side at once, the sensation is like that of being carried on a man's shoulders. A full-grown elephant carries two persons in the "howdah," besides the "mohout," or driver, who sits on his neck, and a servant on the crupper behind with an

umbrella. The howdah itself, which Europeans use, is not unlike the body of a small gig, but with-[37] out a head. The native howdahs have a far less elevated seat, and are much more ornamented. At Calcutta, or within five miles of it, no elephants are allowed, on account of the frequent accidents which they occasion by frightening horses. Those at Barrackpore were larger animals than I had expected to see, two of them were at least ten feet high. That which Lord Amherst rode, and on which I accompanied him, was a very noble fellow, dressed up in splendid trappings, which were a present from the king of Oude, and ornamented all over with fish embroidered in gold, a device which is here considered a badge of royalty. I was amused by one peculiarity, which I had never before heard of; while the elephant is going on, a man walks by his side, telling him where to tread, bidding him "take care,"—"step out," warning him that the road is rough, slippery, &c. all which the animal is supposed to understand, and take his measures accordingly. The *mohout* says nothing, but guides him by pressing his legs to his neck, on the side to which he wishes him to turn, urging him forwards with the point of a formidable goad, and stopping him by a blow on the forehead with the butt end of the same instrument. The command these men have over their elephants is well known, and a circumstance lately occurred of one of them making a sign to his beast, which was instantly obeyed, to kill a woman who had said something to offend him. The man was executed before our arrival.

[38] Capital punishments are described as far from frequent, and appear to be inflicted for murder only; for smaller crimes, offenders are sentenced to hard labour, and are seen at work in the public roads, and about the barracks, in groupes more or less numerous, each man with fetters on his legs, and watched by police-men, or Sepoys. These poor creatures, whatever their original crimes may have been, are probably still more hardened by a punishment which thus daily, and for a length of time together, exposes them, in a degraded and abject condition, to the eyes of men. I never saw countenances so ferocious and desperate as many of them offer, and which are the more remarkable as being contrasted with the calmness and almost feminine mildness which generally characterize the Indian expression of features. What indeed can be expected in men who have neither

the consolation of Christianity nor the pity of their brethren,—who are without hope in this world, and have no just idea of any world but this?

BARRACKPORE MENAGERIE

The cantonment of Barrackpore is very pretty, consisting of a large village inhabited by soldiers, with bungalows for the European officers and other white inhabitants, who are attracted hither by the salubrity of the air, the vicinity of the Governor's residence, or the beauty and convenience of the river. In the Park several uncommon animals are kept: among them the Ghyal, an animal of which I had not, to my recollection, read any account, though the name was not unknown to me. It is a [39] very noble creature, of the ox or buffalo kind, with immensely large horns, and a native of Thibet and Nepaul.

It is very much larger than the largest Indian cattle, but hardly I think equal to an English bull: its tail is bushy, and its horns form almost a mass of white and solid bone to the centre of its forehead. It is very tame and gentle, and would, I should think, be a great improvement on the common Indian breed of horned cattle. There is also another beautiful animal of the ass kind, from the Cape of Good Hope, which is kept in a stall, and led about by two men to exercise daily. They complain of its wild and untameable spirit, and when I saw it, had hampered its mouth with such an apparatus of bit and bridle that the poor thing was almost choked. It is extremely strong and bony, of beautiful form, has a fine eye and good countenance, and though not striped like the zebra is beautifully clouded with different tints of ash and mouse colour. We met two lynxes, or "siya gush," during our ride, also taking the air, led each in a chain by his keeper, one of them in body clothes, like an English greyhound, both perfectly tame, and extremely beautiful creatures, about the size of a large spaniel, and in form and colour something between a fox and a cat, but with the silky fur and characteristic actions of the latter. The other animals, consisting of two or three tygers and leopards, two different kinds of bears—one Bengalee, the other from Sincapoor, a porcupine, a kangaroo, monkeys, mouse-deer, birds, &c. are [40] kept in a menagerie, their dens all very clean, and, except one of the

bears and one hyaena, all very tame. The Bengalee bears are precisely of the same kind with that which is described and drawn, but without a name, in "Bewick's Quadrupeds," as said to be brought from Bengal. They are fond of vegetables, and almost exclusively fed on them; three of these are very good-natured, and shew their impatience for their meals, (after which they are said to be very greedy). only by a moaning noise, raising themselves upright against the bars of the cage, and caressing, in a most plaintive and coaxing way, any person who approaches them. The fourth is a very surly fellow, always keeps himself in a corner of his den, with his face turned away from the light and the visitants, and if at all teased, turns about in furious wrath. The Singapoor bear is smaller than the others, and a very beautiful animal, with a fine, black, close fur, a tan muzzle and breast, very playful, and not greedy. All of them climb like cats, notwithstanding their bulk, which equals that of a large Russian bear. They were at one time supposed to be ant-eaters, but, Dr. Abel says, erroneously. They burrow in the ground, have longer snouts and claws than our European bears, and struck me forcibly as a link between the badger and the common bear, though in every thing but their vivacity they bear a general resemblance to the sloth, or bradypus.

While we were at Barrackpoor, a cobra de capello was killed close to our bungalow; it was talked of by the natives in a manner which proved [41] them not to be common. In Calcutta poisonous snakes are very seldom seen; nor are they any where to be much apprehended, except one goes into old ruins, neglected pagodas, or dry and rubbishy places, where Europeans have not often occasion to tread. The water-snakes, which are met with in moist places, are very seldom dangerous. Alligators sometimes come on shore to bask, and there is one in a small pond in the park. They are of two kinds, one, which seems like the common crocodile of the Nile, has a long nose, and is harmless, unless provoked. The other is somewhat smaller, has a round snubbed head, and frequently attacks dogs and other similar animals, and is sometimes dangerous to men who go into the river. I suspect that both these kinds are found in Egypt, or have been so in ancient times. I cannot also account for the remarkable discrepancy of the relations which are given us respecting their ferocity and activity, their tameness and slug-

gishness. The ancients seem to have paid most attention to the formidable species. The other is that which has been seen by Bruce and Sonnini.

November 2nd was Sacrament Sunday at the Cathedral, and there was a considerable number of Communicants.—In the evening we went to see the school for European female orphans. an extensive and very useful establishment, supported by subscriptions, of which Mrs. Thomason is the most active manager. It is a spacious and handsome though irregular building, airy, and well adapted to its purpose, situated in a large compound in the [42] Circular Road. The neighbourhood has been fancied unhealthy but we saw no appearance of it in the girls. The establishment seems well conducted; the girls are not encouraged to go out as servants; when they have relations in England, they are usually sent thither, unless eligible matches occur for them among the tradesmen of Calcutta, who have, indeed, few other opportunities of obtaining wives of European blood and breeding. Even ladies going out are not always permitted to take white maids, and always under a bond, that in a year or two they shall be sent back again. The consequence is, that the free mariners and other persons who go out to India, are induced to form connections with women of the country; yet I never met with any public man connected with India, who did not lament the increase of the half-caste population, as a great source of present mischief and future danger to the tranquility of the Colony. Why then forbid the introduction of a class of women who would furnish white wives to the white Colonists; and so far, at least, diminish the evil of which they complain? Security to a moderate amount, that the person thus going to India should not become burdensome to the Colony, would be enough to answer every political purpose of the present restrictions.

Of opportunities for education there seems no want, either for rich or poor; there are some considerable schools for the children of the former, of both sexes. There is an excellent Free School for the latter, and the children of soldiers and officers [43] have the Military Orphan Asylum, from which, where legitimacy exists, no tint or complexion is excluded.

DUM DUM—ST. STEPHEN'S CHURCH

November 4.—I went to consecrate a new Church at Dum Dum, having previously obtained the sanction of Government for the performance of the ceremony, both here and at St. James's in Calcutta, as also a written assurance from the Governor in Council, that the buildings should thenceforward be appropriated to the worship of God after the forms and laws of the English Church. This I thought a sufficient title, and it was certainly all that could be obtained in this country. Accordingly I determined not to lose the opportunity of giving the sanction of a most impressive form of dedication to these two Churches, as likely to do good to all who shared in the service, and to offend nobody, while if, which is utterly unlikely, any future Governor should desecrate the piles, on his own head be the transgression.

The road to Dum Dum is less interesting than that to Barrackpore; like it, it is a military village, the principal European artillery cantonment in India. It consists of several long, low ranges of buildings, all on the ground-floor, ornamented with verandahs, the lodging of the troops, and some small but elegant and convenient houses occupied by the officers, adjoining an open space like the "Maidan" or large plain of Calcutta, which is appropriated to the practice of artillery. The Commandant, General Hardwicke, with whom we spent the day, resides in a large house, built on artificial [44] mound, of considerable height above the neighbouring country, and surrounded by very pretty walks and shrubberies. The house has a venerable appearance, and its lower story, as well as the mound on which it stands, is said to be of some antiquity, at least for Bengal, where so many powerful agents of destruction are always at work, that no architecture can be durable,—and though ruins and buildings of apparently remote date are extremely common, it would, perhaps, be difficult to find a single edifice 150 years old. This building is of brick, with small windows and enormous buttresses. The upper story, which is of the style of architecture usual in Calcutta, was added by Lord Clive, who also laid out the gardens, and made this his country house. We here met a large party at breakfast, and afterwards proceeded to the Church, which is a pretty building, divided into aisles by two rows of Doric

pillars, and capable of containing a numerous congregation. It was now filled by a large and very attentive audience, composed of the European regiment, the officers and their families, and some visitors from Calcutta, whom the novelty of the occasion brought thither. The consecration of the cemetery followed, wisely here, as in all British India, placed at some distance from the Church and the village. On our return to General Hardwicke's, we amused ourselves till dinner-time with looking over his very extensive museum, consisting of a great number of insects in excellent preservation, and many of them of rare beauty, collected during a long residence in [45] India, or sent to him from most of the Oriental Islands; a larger stuffed collection of birds and animals, perfect also, notwithstanding the great difficulty of preserving such objects here, besides some living animals, a very pretty antelope, a vampire-bat, a gibbon, or long-armed ape, a gentle and rather pretty animal of its kind, a cobra de capello, and some others. The vampire-bat is a very harmless creature, of habits entirely different from the formidable idea entertained of it in England. It only eats fruits and vegetables, and indeed its teeth are not indicative of carnivorous habits, and from blood it turns away when offered to it. During the day-time it is, of course, inert, but at night it is lively, affectionate, and playful, knows its keeper, but has no objection to the approach and touch of others. General Hardwicke has a noble collection of coloured drawings of beasts, birds, fishes, and insects, to the amount of many hundreds, drawn and arranged with great beauty and regularity. We returned to Calcutta after dinner.

ST. JAMES CONSECRATED

November 12.—I consecrated St. James's Church, before an equally numerous congregation, but more miscellaneous in its character than that at Dum Dum, and containing a large number of half-castes. It stands in the centre of the poorest and most numerous Christian population of Calcutta, and thus attended, is indeed most valuable; a great many sailors also come to this Church. Mr. Hawtayne officiates here; he can boast the honour of [46] having converted a Hindoo of decent acquirements and respectable caste, who was baptized a few days ago. The Portu-

guese are numerous, and have two large Churches here. The one I have seen, which is not however the largest of the two, is very handsome, exactly like the Roman Catholic Churches of Europe, and as being something more obscure and shadowy in its interior, is both more solemn and better adapted to the climate than the Protestant places of worship. Their Clergy wear their canonical dress of white cotton. A Roman Catholic Bishop, titularly of Thibet, whose station is in the upper provinces, about this time passed through Calcutta. I did not see him, but he called on Lord Amherst. He is an Italian by birth, but has passed almost his whole life as a priest in Brazil, and since as a Bishop in the Portuguese settlements of Congo and Loango. From thence a translation must, I should have thought, have been a great happiness. yet, Lord Amherst said, he spoke of his past and future prospects with a sort of doubtful regret and uneasy anticipation, and seemed to stand in very needless fear both of the English and Native governments. He is, I believe, the only Bishop of his Church in this country, though there are two or three more in the southern extremity of the Peninsula.

NIKI'S NAUTCH

November 18.—My wife went to a Nach given by one of the wealthy natives, Baboo Rouplall Mullich, whose immense house with Corinthian pillars, we had observed more than once in our [47] passage along the Chitpoor road. She has given a full account of it in her journal.

I joined Lady Macnaghten and a large party this evening to go to a Nach given by a rich native, Rouplall Mullich, on the opening of his new house. The outside was brilliantly illuminated, and as the building is a fine one, the effect was extremely good. The crowd without the gates was great. We were ushered into a large Hall, occupying the centre of the house, round which run two galleries with a number of doors opening into small apartments, the upper ones being for the most part inhabited by the females of the family, who were of course invisible to us, though they were able to look down into the Hall through the venetians. This Hall is open to the sky, but on this as on all public occasions, it was covered in with scarlet cloth, with which the floor was also carpeted. All the large native houses are built on this principle, and the fathers, sons, and grandsons, with their respective families, live together, till their numbers become too great, when they

separate like the Patriarchs of old, and find out new habitations. The magnificence of the building,—the beautiful pillars supporting the upper galleries,—and the expensive and numerous glass chandeliers with which it was lighted,—formed a striking contrast with the dirt, the apparent poverty, and the slovenliness of every part that was not prepared for exhibition; the rubbish left by the builders had actually never been removed out of the lower gallery,—the banisters of the stair-case, in itself paltry, were of common unpainted wood, and broken in many places; and I was forced to tread with care to avoid the mass of dirt over which we walked.

On entering we found a crowd collected round a songstress of great reputation, named Niiki, the Catalani of the East, who was singing in a low but sweet voice some Hindoostanee songs, accompanied by inartificial and unmelodious native music. As the crowd was great, we adjourned into a small room opening out of the upper gallery, where we sat listening to one song after another, devoured by swarms of mosquitos, till we were heartily tired, when her place was taken by the Nach, or dancing-girls,—if dancing that could be called which consisted in strained movements of the arms, head, and body, the feet, though in perpetual slow motion, seldom moving from the same spot. Some story was evidently intended to be told from the expression of their countenances, but to me it was quite unintelligible. I never saw public dancing in England so free from every thing approaching to indecency. Their dress was modesty itself, nothing but their faces, feet, and hands being exposed to view. An attempt at buffoonery [48] next followed, ill-imagined and worse executed, consisting of a bad imitation of English country dances by ill-dressed men. In short, the whole exhibition was fatiguing and stupid,—nearly every charm but that of novelty being wanting.

To do us greater honour, we were now shown into another room, where a supper-table was laid out for a select few, and I was told the great supper-room was well supplied with eatables. I returned home between twelve and one, much tired, and not the least disposed to attend another Nach.

I was kept [48] away by a regard to the scruples of the Christian and Mahomedan inhabitants of Calcutta, many of whom look on all these Hindoo feasts as indiscriminately idolatrous, and offered in honour of some one or other of their deities. The fact is, that there are some, of which this was one, given chiefly if not entirely to Europeans by the wealthy Hindoos, in which no religious ceremony is avowed, and in which if any idolatrous offering really takes place, it is done after the white guests are departed.

About this time I attended the first meeting of the Governors of the Free School which had occurred since my arrival. I, on this occasion, saw the whole establishment ; it is a very noble institution, consisting of a school where 247 boys and girls are lodged, boarded, and clothed, and some received as day-scholars. They are all instructed in English, reading, writing, cyphering, and their religious faith and duties, for which purpose the different Catechisms and other compendia furnished by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge are employed. Some few of the day-scholars are Armenian Christians, whose parents [49] object to these formulæ ; and there are one or two Hindoos, who are allowed to attend, and who also stand on one side when the Catechism is repeated, though they say the Lord's Prayer and read the Scriptures without scruple. The children of Roman Catholics, of whom there are also several, apparently make no such difficulties, and even attend Church with the rest of the scholars. They are in fact so ignorant and neglected, that many of them have scarcely any idea of Christianity but what they acquire here. The girls' school is a separate building of somewhat less extent than the boys' ; both are surrounded by good compounds, and built on the highest spot on this flat district.

The system of Dr. Bell is pursued in these schools, except that the climate requires more sitting than he allows, and this therefore is arranged according to the Lancasterian system. The boys are very well taught ; many of them write beautiful hands, and are excellent accountants, for both which, indeed, they have a strong natural turn. Their reading is not so good, since in fact almost all of them have to learn English as well as reading, it being a curious fact that scarcely any children brought up in this country, either high or low, speak any thing, even with their parents, but the broken Hindoostanee, and Vulgar Bengalee, which they learn from their nurses ; while of these poor children, most have Bengalee mothers. They exhibit, according to the head-master, most of them considerable quickness, and a good memory ; but are deficient, when compared with English [50] boys of the same age and rank in life, in common sense, courage, and honesty, as well as in bodily strength. They seldom fight, and are much afraid of pain, but when provoked scold each other fluently, and use very indecent and bad language. This is a crime which they but too

naturally learn from their heathen neighbours, and for which it is most frequently necessary to punish them. The next most frequent crime is theft from each other. Lying to conceal their faults, and under fear of punishment, is also very prevalent ; but on this I cannot lay much stress, since even in English schools, among little boys of the lower rank, I know it is so common as hardly to be exceeded.

Leprosy, in both its most formidable kinds, elephantiasis, and leontiasis, is said to be almost as common here as in Syria and Arabia ; and I have seen instances of both kinds among the beggars in the streets, though certainly not so many as the accounts which I had heard would have led me to expect. The swollen legs of the former complaint I have noticed in three or four excursions ; of the latter only two instances have occurred to me,—one a miserable native beggar, the other an European of lower rank. The first has lost all his fingers, his nose, and several of his toes ; the second is of a hideous mealy white complexion. Among Europeans it is allowed to be very unusual, but when it comes, it answers in all respects to the fatal disease described by Michaelis in his "Ammerkungen uber die Mosaische Gericht." &c. and can [51] be only palliated and a little delayed in its course, by any remedies which medicine can supply.

BOTANICAL GARDENS

November 20.—We went to see Botanical Garden with Lady Amherst. Captain Manning took us down in his ship's cutter to the "Ghat" or landing-place, at the Garden Reach, which is on the opposite side of the river, and where we met Lady and Miss Amherst who were waiting for us with one of the Governor's boats. Of these there are two ; the largest is called the Sunamooke, and is a splendid but heavy gilt and painted barge, rigged like a ketch, with a dining-room and bedroom. The other, on which we were now to embark, is the "Feel Churra," elephant bark, from having its head adorned with that of an elephant, with silver tusks. It is a large, light, and beautiful canoe, paddled by twenty men, who sit with their faces towards the head, with one leg hanging over the side of the boat, and the great toe through a ring fastened to its side. They keep

time with their paddles, and join occasionally in chorus with a man who stands in the middle, singing what I was assured were verses of his own composition; sometimes amatory, sometimes in praise of the British nation, the "Company Sahib," and the Governor-General; and in one or two instances were narrations of different victories gained by our troops in India. The tunes of many of them are simple and pleasing, but the poet has not a good voice. His appearance is singular,—a little, thin, squinting man, extremely conceited, with large silver manacles, like those of women, round [52] his naked ancles, which he jingles in cadence to his story. In the forepart of the boat is a small cabin, very richly ornamented, like the awnings in English barges, but enclosed with Venetian blinds; and between this and the head the mace-bearers of the Governor stand. The Union Jack is hoisted at the head and stern of the boat, and the Company's flag in the centre. With oars it would go at a great rate, but the inferiority of paddles was now fairly proved, by the far more rapid progress of Captain Manning's boat, though quite as heavy, and with only ten rowers.

The Botanical Garden is a very beautiful and well-managed institution, enriched, besides the noblest trees and most beautiful plants of India, with a vast collection of exotics, chiefly collected by Dr. Wallich himself, in Nepaul, Pulo Penang, Sumatra, and Java, and increased by contributions from the Cape, Brazil, and many different parts of Africa and America, as well as Australasia, and the South Sea Islands. It is not only a curious but a picturesque and most beautiful scene, and more perfectly answers Milton's idea of Paradise, except that it is on a dead flat instead of a hill, than any thing which I ever saw. Among the exotics I noticed the nutmeg, a pretty tree, something like a myrtle, with a beautiful peach-like blossom, but too delicate for the winter even of Bengal, and therefore placed in the most sheltered situation, and carefully matted round. The sago-palm is a tree of great singularity and beauty, and in a grove or avenue produces an effect of striking [53] solemnity, not unlike that of Gothic architecture. There were some splendid South American creepers, some plaintains from the Malayan Archipelago, of vast size and great beauty; and, what excited a melancholy kind of interest, a little wretched oak, kept alive with difficulty under a sky and in a temperature so perpetually stimu-

lating, which allowed it no repose, or time to shed its leaves and recruit its powers by hybernation. Some of the other trees, of which I had formed the greatest expectations, disappointed me, such as the pine of New Caledonia, which does not succeed here, at least the specimen which was shown me was weak-looking and diminutive in comparison with the prints in Cook's Voyage, the recollection of which is strongly imprinted on my mind, though I have not looked at them since I was a boy. Of the enormous size of the *Adansonia*, a tree from the neighbourhood of Gambia and Senegal, I had heard much; the elephant of the vegetable creation! I was, however, disappointed. The tree is doubtless wonderful, and the rapidity of its growth is still more wonderful than its bulk: but it is neither particularly tall nor stately. Its bulk consists in an enormous enlargement of its circumstance immediately above the roots, and for a comparatively small height up its stem, which rather resembles that disease of the leg which bears the elephant's name, than tallies with his majestic and well-proportioned, though somewhat unwieldy stature. Dr. Wallich has the management of another extensive public establishment at Titty-ghur, ([54] near Barrack-poor, of the same nature with this, but appropriated more to the introduction of useful plants into Bengal. He is himself a native of Denmark, but left his country young, and has devoted his life to Natural History and Botany in the East. His character and conversion are more than usually interesting; the first all frankness, friendliness, and ardent zeal for the service of science; the last enriched by a greater store of curious information relating to India and the neighbouring countries, than any which I have met with.

These different public establishments, used to be all cultivated by the convicts in chains, of whom I have already spoken. In the Botanical Garden their labour is now supplied by peasants hired by the day or week, and the exchange is found cheap, as well as otherwise advantageous and agreeable; the labour of freemen here, as elsewhere, being infinitely cheaper than that of slaves.

During Lady Amherst's progress through the gardens, I observed that, besides her usual attendants of gilt-sticks and maces, two men with spears, also richly gilt, and two more with swords and bucklers, went before her. This custom is, so far as I have

seen at present, confined to the Governor and his family ; but I understand it used to be the case with most persons of condition in Calcutta.

To the north of the Botanical Garden, and separated from it by an extensive plantation of teak-trees, stands the new College, founded by the So-[55]ciety for the Propagation of the Gospel, under the management, and at the suggestion of Bishop Middleton, in a beautiful situation, and the building, from a little distance, beautiful also, in the Gothic of queen Elizabeth's time.

MRS. WILSON'S SCHOOL

December 12, (1823).—I attended, together with a large proportion of the European society of Calcutta, an examination of the Native Female Schools, instituted by Mrs. Wilson, and carried on by her, together with her husband and the other Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society. The progress which the children as well as the grown pupils had made, was very creditable ; and it may show how highly we ought to appreciate Mrs. Wilson's efforts, when I mention, that when she began her work there was no known instance of an Indian female having been instructed in reading, writing, or sewing ; and that all those who knew most of the country regarded her attempt to bring them together into schools as idle as any dream of enthusiasm could be.* She is a sensible and amiable young woman, with patience and good temper sufficient to conquer most obstacles, who has acquired an influence over these poor little girls and their parents, as well as over her grown pupils, which at first sight seems little less than magical. It was very pretty to see [56] the little swarthy children come forward to repeat their lessons, and show their work to Lady Amherst, blushing even through their dark complexions, with their muslin veils thrown carelessly round their slim, half-naked figures, their

* At the end of the year, 1826, Mrs. Wilson had about 600 scholars in various schools in the suburbs of Calcutta. When the Central School is completed, these will all be concentrated. At the commencement of this experiment, Mrs. Wilson thought herself fortunate when she had obtained the attendance of six or seven children.—Ed. (p. 55).

black hair plaited, their foreheads specked with white or red paint, and their heads, necks, wrists, and ankles loaded with all the little finery they could beg or borrow for the occasion. Their parents make no objection to their learning the catechism, or being taught to read the Bible, provided nothing is done which can make them lose caste. And many of the Brahmins themselves, either finding the current of popular opinion too strongly in favour of the measures pursued for them to struggle with, or really influenced by the beauty of the lessons taught in Scripture, and the advantage of giving useful knowledge and something like a moral sense to the lower ranks of their countrymen and countrywomen, appear to approve of Mrs. Wilson's plan, and attend the examination of her scholars. There is not even a semblance of opposition to the efforts which we are now making to enlighten the Hindoos; this I had some days ago an excellent opportunity of observing, in going round the schools supported by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, with Mr. Hawtayne, and seeing with how much apparent cordiality he was received, not only by the children themselves and the schoolmasters, though all Hindoos and Mussulmans, but by the parents and the neighbouring householders of whatever religion.

[57] On all these points, however, and on the great change which seems to be taking place in the character of this vast nation, or at least in the province of Bengal, I had written at considerable length to my friends in England, and therefore, shall not repeat my opinions and observations here.

December 25.—This being Christmas-day I had a large congregation and a great number of communicants, I think above 300. Now, and at Easter-day, it is the custom in Calcutta to give very splendidly to the communion collection, which is the fund for the support of the European poor (for there are no poor rates), and is managed with great judgment and attention by a body of gentlemen, calling themselves the select vestry of the Cathedral. There is a good deal of distress among the Europeans and half-castes here, arising from various causes, especially from the multitude of speculations which have been tried of late years in indigo and other establishments. If a man once begins falling so far as to borrow money, it is hardly possible for him to recover himself, the interest of loans is so

high, and the necessary expences of living so great, while a return to England, except in forma pauperis and at the Company's cost, is too expensive to be thought of by persons under such circumstances. Nor are they luxuries only that ruin the colonist in Calcutta. House-rent is enormous, and though the poorer classes of Europeans and half-castes live in wretched dwellings, in very unwholesome parts of the town, they are [58] often obliged to pay for these as much as would rent an excellent house in most of the market-towns of England, and would furnish them with very tolerable dwellings even in London. Clothes too are dear. On the other hand provisions, by those who will stoop so low, are to be had for almost nothing from the remains of the dinners of the principal European families, which the climate will not suffer to be kept till another day, and are therefore disposed of by the Khansamans at a very low rate indeed. Still there is much real want, and I apprehend that a man who gives as a Christian ought to give, will in Calcutta find little opportunity for saving, and still less for amusement and needless luxury; *Deus faxit ut quod ei debeo absolvam!*

My wife went a few days ago on a cruise to the Sand-heads, for the benefit of our child's health.

Captain Manning joined his ship at Saugor at the same time, with a promise that when he next returns here, he is again to become our guest. He is an excellent man, warm and single-hearted beyond most I know, of considerable talent in his profession and in mechanics, and of very pleasing unaffected manners. During the time he has been with us, I have had an opportunity of knowing his character thoroughly, and am very glad to be able to rank him among the number of my friends.

CHAPTER III

[59] On the 27th of December I paid a visit of two days to the Governor at Barrackpoor. I went by water early enough in the morning to preach to the congregation, which, for want of a church, assembles in the great hall of the Government-house. The distance is about 24 miles, which, with a favourable tide and a good set of rowers, may be ascended in two hours and a half, and descended in less than two hours. The river continues of nearly the same width as at Calcutta; its banks are

covered with fruit-trees and villages, with many very handsome pagodas, of which buildings Calcutta only offers some small, mean, and neglected specimens. The general style of these buildings is, a large square court, sometimes merely surrounded by a low wall, with brick balustrades plastered so as to resemble stone, or indented at the top, with two or sometimes four towers at the angles, generally, in the present day, of Grecian architecture, and ornamented with pilasters, balustrades, and friezes. In the centre of the principal front is, for the most part, an entrance resembling in its general character, and style of arrangement, the beautiful Propylæum at Chester castle. When the pagoda adjoins the river, a noble flight of steps, the whole breadth of the portico, generally leads from the water to this entrance. Sometimes the whole court is surrounded by a number of square towers, detached by a small interval from each other, and looking not unlike tea-canisters, having such a propylæum as I have described in the centre of the principal front.

In the middle of the quadrangle, or at least in the middle of one of its sides, opposite to the main entrance, is the temple of the principal deity, sometimes octagonal, with pinnacles and buttresses, greatly resembling a Gothic Chapter House, but in some instances taller and larger, with three domes, one large in the centre, and a smaller at each side, with three gilded ornaments on the summit of each side, extremely like the old churches in Russia. All these buildings are vaulted with brick, and the manner in which the Hindoos raise their square or oblong domes seems to me simple and ingenious, and applicable to many useful purposes.

It is very seldom that any thing like a congregation assembles in these temples. A few priests and dancing women live in them, whose business it is to keep the shrines clean, to receive the offerings of the individuals who come from time to time to worship, and to beat their gongs in honour of their idols, which is done three or four times in the twenty-four hours. On more solemn occasions, however, wealthy Hindoos give money to illuminate the building, and throw up fire-works which [61] are to be had in Calcutta of great excellence and beauty. And in one instance, which I omitted to mention before, on the celebration of the festival of the goddess Kali at the pagoda of Kalighat, near Russipugla, I saw the towers at the corners of

the building hung round with an immense quantity of gilt paper, tinsel, and flowers, the court crowded with coloured plaster statues as big or bigger than life, representing Sepoys, horse and foot, drawn up in the act of presenting arms, and a figure in their front on an elephant, to represent the Governor-General, also in the act of taking off his cocked hat. In the middle of the court, and before the gate of the sanctuary, was a very large temporary pavilion, I should suppose 60 feet long by 20, composed of coarse white cotton, but glittering with ribbands, gilding, tinsel, and flounces of various coloured silks, with slender gilded pillars, overshadowing a vast *Plateau*, for it had exactly this appearance, of plaster filled with painted gods and goddesses, Kali and all her family with all their respective heads and arms, while the whole building rang with the clamour, tinkling, and strumming of gongs, bells, and stringed instruments. Yet there were not many worshippers even then. These pagodas are often endowed with lands as well as rent-charges on lands, though some of them depend entirely on voluntary contributions. Most of the larger ones are kept extremely very neat, and diligently white-washed, while the Grecian ornaments of which I have spoken, and which must have been borrowed [62] from the Europeans, are so many evidences of the repairs bestowed on them occasionally and of late years.

During my stay at Barrackpoor, I witnessed one custom of the Hindoos which I could not comprehend; a jackall was caught in a trap and killed, and as soon as the breath was out of his body, all the servants of that religion ran forward to wash their hands in his blood,—which I am told they always do whenever they kill, or witness the death of a wild beast.

The Indian squirrel, which abounds in the park, is smaller than ours, more of an ash colour, with two black and white streaks down its back; and not only lives in trees, but in the thatch of houses. I saw several playing about the eaves of my bungalow, and at first mistook them for rats, which at a small distance they much resemble

[65] . . . I had about this time an opportunity of observing a custom which prevails with different classes of Hindoos and Mussulmans, of making presents to their masters or superiors at Christmas, of fruit, game, fish, pastry, and sweetmeats. Some gifts of [66] this sort came to us from different Baboos of our

acquaintance. Our head-servants sent presents of plum-cakes, fish, and fruit ; and even our poor bearers came in a body, their faces decorated with an extra quantity of raddle, chalk, and tinoil, to beg my acceptance of a basket of plaintains and oranges. The outer gates of most of the houses in Calcutta and Chowringhee are decorated with garlands of flowers, tinsel, and gilt-paper. These Christmas-boxes are said to be an ancient custom here, and I could almost fancy that our name of box for this particular kind of present, the derivation of which is not very easy to trace in the European languages, is a corruption of "Buckshish," a gift or gratuity, in Turkish, Persian and Hindoostanee. There have been undoubtedly more words brought into our language from the East than I used to suspect. "Cash," which here means small money, is one of these ; but of the process of such transplantation I can form no conjecture

[66] . . . *January 1, 1824.*--I this day preached at the Cathedral, it being an old and good custom in India always to begin the year with the solemn observation of the day of the Circumcision ; there was a good congregation. I received to-day an explanation of some very singular images, which stand in different streets of Calcutta and its neighbourhood, representing a female figure, or at least the figure of a youth, rudely carved in wood and painted, standing erect on the back of a disproportionately little elephant, and with a monstrous [67] sort of spire or shrine on his head. They are used, it appears, as a sort of hatchment, being erected on the death of wealthy Hindoos, near their dwelling-houses but, differing in this respect from hatchments, are generally suffered to remain till they fall in pieces. These are of wood. Most of the Hindoo idols are of clay, and very much resemble in composition, colouring, and execution, though of course not in form, the more paltry sort of images which are carried about in England for sale by the Lago di Como people. At certain times of the year, great numbers of these are, in fact, hawked about the streets of Calcutta in the same manner, on men's heads. This is before they have been consecrated, which takes place on their being solemnly washed in the Ganges by a Brahmin Pundit. Till this happens, they possess no sacred character, and are frequently given as toys to children, and used as ornaments of rooms, which when hallowed they could not be, without giving great offence to every Hindoo who

saw them thus employed. I thought it remarkable that though most of the male deities are represented of a deep brown colour, like the natives of the country, the females are usually no less red and white than our porcelain beauties as exhibited in England. But it is evident from the expressions of most of the Indians themselves, from the style of their amatory poetry, and other circumstances, that they consider fairness as a part of beauty, and a proof of noble blood. They do not like to be called black, and though the Abyssinians, who are sometimes met with in the country, [68] are very little darker than they themselves are, their jest books are full of taunts on the charcoal complexion of the "Hubshee"

[69] . . My wife and little girl having returned from their cruise to the Sandheads much benefited by the change of air, we went on the 7th January, [70] 1824, to Titty-ghur, a convenient and comfortable house, in a beautiful situation, most kindly lent to us for a couple of months, by Dr. Wallich. It is on the banks of the river, about two miles from Barrackpoor, and in the middle of the Company's experimental botanic garden. The weather is now very delightful, and we are comparatively free from the dense fogs which at this season beset Calcutta and Chowringhee.

SATI

[70] *January, 1824.*—Returning one day from Calcutta, I passed by two funeral piles, the one preparing for a single [71] person, the other nearly consumed, on which a Sutte had just taken place. For this latter purpose a stage had been constructed of bamboos about eighteen inches or two feet above the ground, *on* which the dead body had been laid and *under* which, as my native servants told me, the unhappy widow had been stretched out, surrounded with combustibles. Only a heap of glowing embers was now seen here, besides two long bamboos, which seemed intended to keep down any struggles which nature might force from her. *On* the stage was what seemed a large bundle of coarse cotton cloth, smoking and partially blackened, emitting a very offensive smell. This my servants said was the husband's body. The woman they expressly affirmed had been laid *below* it, and ghee poured over her to hasten her end, and

they also said the bamboos had been laid *across her*. I notice these particulars, because they differ from the account of a similar and recent ceremony, given by the Baptist Missionaries, in which it is said that the widow is laid by the side of the husband, on the platform, with her arm embracing him, and her face turned to him. Here I asked repeatedly, and received a different account. Yet the Missionaries have had every possible opportunity of learning, if not of actually witnessing, all the particulars of the ceremony which they describe. Perhaps these particulars vary in different instances. At all events it is a proof how hard it is to gain, in this country, accurate information as to facts which seem most obvious to the senses. I felt very sick at heart, and [72] regretted I had not been half an hour sooner, though probably my attempts at persuasion would have had no chance of success. I would at least have tried to reconcile her to life. There were perhaps twenty or thirty people present, with about the same degree of interest, though certainly not the same merriment, as would have been called forth by a bonfire in England. I saw no weeping, and heard no lamentations. But when the boat drew near, a sort of shout was raised, I believe in honour of Brahma, which was met by a similar outcry from my boatmen.

January, 15.—Dr. Marshman, the Baptist Missionary from Serampoor, dined with me. Dr. Carey is too lame to go out. The talents and learning of these good men are so well known in Europe, that I need hardly say that, important as are the points on which we differ, I sincerely admire and respect them, and desire their acquaintance. In speaking of the Suttee of yesterday, Dr. Marshman said that these horrors are of more frequent occurrence within these few last years, than when he first knew Bengal; an increase which he imputes to the increasing luxury of the higher and middling classes and to their expensive imitation of European habits, which make many families needy, and anxious to get rid, by any means, of the necessity of supporting their mothers, or the widows of their relations. Another frequent cause is, he thinks, the jealousy of old men who, having married young wives, still cling to their exclusive possession even in death, and leave injunctions, [73] either with their wives themselves to make the offering, or with their heirs to urge them to it. He is strongly of opinion that the practice

might be forbidden in Bengal, where it is of most frequent occurrence, without exciting any serious murmurs. The women, he is convinced, would all be loud in their praises of such a measure, and even of the men, so few would have an immediate interest in burning their wives, mothers, or sisters-in-law, that they would set themselves against what those who had most influence with them would be so much interested in having established. The Brahmins, he says, have no longer the power and popularity which they had when he first remembers India, and among the laity many powerful and wealthy persons agree, and publicly express their agreement, with Rammohun Roy, in reprobating the custom, which is now well known to be not commanded by any of the Hindoo sacred books, though some of them speak of it as a meritorious sacrifice. A similar opinion to that of Dr. Marshman I have heard expressed by the senior Judge of the Sudder Dewannee Adawlut. Others, however, of the members of the Government think differently. They conceive that the likeliest method to make the custom more popular than it is, would be to forbid and make it a point of honour with the natives; that, at present, no woman is supposed to be burnt without her own wish certified to the magistrate, that there are other and less public ways to die (on that account more liable to abuse than the Suttees) which might be resorted to if this were [74] forbidden, and that if we desire to convert the Hindoos, we should above all things be careful to keep Government entirely out of sight in all the means which we employ, and to be even, if possible, overscrupulous in not meddling with, or impeding those customs which, however horrid, are become sacred in their estimation, and are only to be destroyed by convincing and changing the popular mind. When Christian schools have become universal the Suttee will fall of itself. But to forbid it by any legislative enactment would, in their opinion, only give currency to the notion, that we mean to impose Christianity on them by force, and retard its progress to an almost indefinite period.

BORE TIDE

January 21.—We had this morning an opportunity of hearing the remarkable phenomenon, not uncommon in the Ganges,

called the Bore, or rush of the spring-tide up the river, with a great elevation of wave, and tremendous noise and rapidity. The sound resembled that of a steam-boat, but was infinitely louder; we were awakened by it, but before I could get out, it had either passed, or else, as it always runs close to one or other of the sides of the river, the high crumbling bank prevented my seeing it. Nothing at least was visible but the water shining beautifully bright under a full moon in a cloudless sky, though the noise continued to be audible for some time longer.

I went this day to Calcutta, to attend a meeting of the Church Missionary Society, and returned, after an early dinner, with Archdeacon Corrie.

A very beautiful civet cat was caught this morn-[75]ing in one of the walks of the garden, and was overpowered by a number of men and dogs, after a severe chase from one tree to the other, and a gallant resistance. It is a very pretty animal, like a cat in all respects except its size, which nearly equals that of a small fox, and its long pointed nose. The common wild cat often occurs in this neighbourhood, and the civet is not unfrequent. During the fruit season, the garden is sadly pillaged by swarms of monkeys, which then make their appearance from the jungles, as well as by the huge bats, which entirely live on fruits and vegetables, their vampire habits, as I have before observed, being utterly fabulous. Though they then abound, not one is now to be seen: they probably sleep during the cool weather.

There is another powder-mill in this neighbourhood besides those near Garden Reach, and half-way between this place and Calcutta. The immense quantities of salt-petre found in Bengal account for their frequency. The tendency of the soil to produce it is very annoying to the builders and the occupants of houses. It can scarcely be prevented from encroaching in a few years on the walls and floors of all lower rooms, so as to render them unwholesome, and eventually uninhabitable. Half the houses in Calcutta are in this predicament, and their ground-floors useless. Cellars are unknown in this part of India.

January 25.—On my return from Calcutta this morning, where I went to preach at the Cathedral, I found that I had a fresh reason for thankfulness [76] to God in my wife's safety, and the birth of a fine and promising little girl, to the exceeding delight of our dear Emily, who rejoices in her new play-thing, kissing

her little sister over and over again. God grant that they may both grow up in mutual love and equal virtue!

February 2.—I went to Calcutta for a Confirmation, which I held the next day in the Cathedral; the number of persons who attended were 236,—a good many more than were expected, as barely two years have elapsed since the last performance of the ceremony by Bishop Middleton.

Most of them were half-castes; but there were, however, several officers, and from 20 to 30 European soldiers, and three grown up women of the upper ranks. They were apparently very seriously impressed with the ceremony, which to me, I will own, was almost overpowering. God Almighty grant his indulgence to me, and his blessing on those for whom I then prayed, for Jesus Christ's sake!

DURBAR AT GOVT. HOUSE

[79] *February 7.*—I went down to Calcutta this morning, to attend a "Durbar," or native levee of the Governor's, which all the principal native residents in Calcutta were expected to attend, as well as the vakeels from several Indian princes. I found on my arrival the levee had begun, and that Lord Amherst, attended by his Aides-de-camp and Per-[80]sian secretary, had already walked down one side, where the persons of most rank, and who were to receive "khelats," or honorary dresses, were stationed. I therefore missed this ceremony, but joined him and walked round those to whom he had not yet spoken, comprising some persons of considerable rank and wealth, and some learned men, travellers from different eastern countries, who each in turn addressed his compliments, or petitions, or complaints to the Governor. There were several whom we thus passed who spoke English not only fluently but gracefully. Among these were Baboo Ramchunder Roy and his four brothers, all fine, tall, stout young men, the eldest of whom is about to build one of Mr. Shakespear's rope-bridges over the Caramnasa.

After Lord Amherst had completed the circle, he stood on the lower step of the throne, and the visitors advanced one by one to take leave. First came a young Raja of the Rajpootana district, who had received that day the investiture of his father's territories, in a splendid brocade khelat and turban; he was a

little, pale, shy-looking boy, of 12 years old. Lord Amherst, in addition to these splendid robes, placed a large diamond aigrette in his turban, tied a string of valuable pearls round his neck, then gave him a small silver bottle of attar of roses, and a lump of pawn, or betel, wrapped up in a plaintain leaf. Next came forwards the "vakeel," or envoy of the Maharaja Sindia, also a boy, not above sixteen, but smart, self-possessed, and dandy-looking. His khelat and presents were a little, and but a [81] little splendid than those of his precursor. Then followed Oude, Nagpoor, Nepaul, all represented by their vakeels, and each in turn honoured by similar, though less splendid, marks of attention. The next was a Persian Khan, a fine military-looking man, rather corpulent, and of a complexion not differing from that of a Turk, or other southern Europeans, with a magnificent black beard, and a very pleasing and animated address. A vakeel from Sind succeeded, with a high red cap, and was followed by an Arab, handsomely dressed, and as fair nearly, though not so good-looking, as the Persian. These were all distinguished, and received each some mark of favour. Those who followed had only a little attar poured on their handkerchiefs, and some pawn. On the whole it was an interesting and striking sight, though less magnificent than I had expected, and less so I think than the levee of an European monarch. The sameness of the greater part of the dresses (white muslin) was not sufficiently relieved by the splendour of the few khelats; and even these which were of gold and silver brocade were in a great measure eclipsed by the scarlet and blue uniforms, gold lace, and feathers, of the English. One of the most striking figures was the Governor-General's native Aide-de-camp, a tall, strong-built, and remarkably handsome man, in the flower of his age, and of a countenance at once kind and bold. His dress was a very rich hussar uniform, and he advanced last of the circle, with the usual military salute; then, instead of the offering of money which each of the rest made, he [82] bared a small part of the blade of his sabre, and held it out to the Governor. The attar he received, not on his handkerchief, but on his white cotton gloves. I had on former occasions noticed this soldier from his height, striking appearance, and rich uniform. He is a very respectable man, and reckoned a good officer.

CHAPTER IV

[85] . . . My wife tells me a curious circumstance which has occurred in my absence, illustrative of the timid character which seems to belong to the Bengalees. The coachman had asked leave to go with me to Calcutta ; and as the carriage-horses were consequently idle, she ordered the saeeses to lead them out for exercise. Some demur took place, and on asking the reason, she was actually told that they were afraid ! She insisted, however, and the horses, when they appeared, were quiet as lambs. The men at first, out of pure precaution, had buckled up their heads so tight, that they could scarcely breathe, and when ordered to unloose them, held them as if they had tygers in a leash ; yet the horses, as I have before observed, were quiet, and these are men who have been all their lives in the stable ! I have, indeed, understood from many quarters, that the Bengalees are regarded as the greatest cowards in India ; and that partly owing to this reputation, and partly to their inferior size, the Sepoy regiments are always recruited from Bahar and the upper provinces. Yet that little army with which Lord Clive did such wonders, was chiefly raised from Bengal. So much [86] are all men the creatures of circumstance and training.

I had frequently heard of the admiration which the Indians feel for corpulency, but no instance had occurred within my knowledge. I am assured, however, that a young man, whose height and bulk I had noticed to-day at the Durbar, takes a large draught of ghee every morning, in order to contribute to the bulk of which he is vain, and that very frequently the natives contract liver complaints by their anxiety to fatten themselves.

KHARDA TEMPLE

March 1.—We bade adieu to Tittyghur with regret, but just as we were on the point of setting out, a severe storm of thunder, rain, and wind came on, which detained us about an hour, being the first regular north-wester which we had seen. It fairly lashed the river into high waves, and produced a delightful effect on the air, laying the dust, and refreshing vegetation, as if by magic. My wife and children went by water, and I took our Sircar with me in the carriage. He is a shrewd fellow, well acquainted with

the country, and possessed of a sort of information which is likely to interest travellers ... [87] ... Land in this neighbourhood sells at about fifty rupees the begah, but did not fetch near so much before the roads were opened, which has been a measure of exceeding utility to the landholders here. The Baboo pointed out two or three large houses which we passed as the residences of wealthy Zamindars, but who had also still more splendid houses in Calcutta. One of these, who was dignified by Lord Wellesley with the title of Raja, has a really fine villa, surrounded with a sort of park, the borders of which are planted with a handsome myrtle-leaved tree, about as large as an English horse-chestnut, which is here very common, but which he has defaced by clipping each individual tree into a regular conical shape. This the Baboo pointed out as a piece of extreme neatness and elegance. Another gateway on the left hand, in a very picturesque wood of coco-trees and bamboos, was guarded by an immense wooden idol of a young man, having only sandals and a sash painted black, the rest being flesh-colour. It must have [88] been I should think thirty feet high. The Sircar said smiling, "that great idol stands sentry to all the gods and goddesses within". It was in fact the entrance to the pagoda at Kaide*, which I had previously seen from the river. A little further by the road-side was a huge tower-like structure, about sixteen feet high, supported on eight or ten massive but low wheels, of wood painted red, and adorned with a good deal of clumsy carving.—"That," he said, again smiling, "is our god's carriage; we keep it on the main road, because it is too heavy for the lanes of the neighbouring village. It is a fine sight to see the people from all the neighbourhood come together to draw it, when the statue is put in on solemn days." I asked what god it belonged to, and was answered "Brahma". He added, it required between two and three hundred people to move it, which I do not believe, though I can easily suppose that number may usually assist. I asked if self-immolation ever took place here as at Juggernaut, but he assured me "never that he had heard of." As we passed through Chitpoor, he showed me the house of the "Nawab of Chitpoor." Of this Potentate I had not heard before. He is now called by Europeans the Nawab

* Read Khanda (P.T.N.)

of Moorshedabad, where he resides, and is, it seems, the descendant of the Mohemmedan nobleman who was the Lord of the district before our conquest, and still retains a considerable appanage of lands and pensions, to the amount of about 1,00,000 S. rupees monthly, with an honorary guard of Sepoys, and many of the exteriors of royalty.

[89] While he resided in his house at Chitpoor he was always received by the Governor on state days at the head of the stairs, and conducted, after an embrace, to a sort of throne at the upper end of the room, and when he took his leave, he was distinguished by a salute from the fort, and turning out the guard. The Baboo told me all this, and did not fail to point out the different measure which the Mussulmans in India had received from that they had given to his countrymen. "When they conquered us, they cut off the heads of all our Rajas whom they could catch. When the English conquered them, they gave them lands and pensions!" I do not exactly know whether he said this by way of compliment or no. I have reason to believe that the sentiment is very common among the Hindoos, and I doubt even, whether they would or would not have been better pleased had we, in such cases, been less lenient and liberal. Nevertheless it is evident that in thus keeping up, even at a considerable expense, these monuments of the Mahommedan power, our nation has acted wisely as well as generously. It is desirable that the Hindoos should always be reminded that we did not conquer them, but found them conquered, that their previous rulers were as much strangers to their blood and to their religion as we are, and they were notoriously far more oppressive masters than we have ever shewn ourselves.

In passing through the village of Chitpoor, I was surprised to see a jackall run across the street, though it was still broad day, and there was the [90] usual crowd of market-people and passengers. A man followed him laughing, and shaking his apron to frighten him, which the animal however to all appearance scarcely heeded. Some carrion had probably attracted him, but it is seldom that they venture to shew themselves so early and in such public places. A little further we passed a sort of Sepoy, dressed very splendidly in the native style, with a beautiful Persian gun and crooked hanjar, but no bayonet. My companion pointed him out with much glee, as one of the

attendants of Baboo Budinath Roy*, who lives in this neighbourhood, and has a menagerie of animals and birds only inferior to that at Barrackpocr. This privilege of being attended by armed men is one greatly coveted by the wealthy natives of India, but only conceded to the highest ranks. Among the Europeans no person now claims it in Calcutta, save the Chief-justice and the Commander-in-chief, each of whom is attended in public, besides his silver sticks, by four or five *spears*, very elegantly worked, the poles of silver, and the blades generally gilt, with a place for the hand covered with crimson velvet, and a fringe of the same colour where the staff and the blade join. The natives, however, like to have swords and bucklers, or musquets carried before them, and some have lately ventured to mount *sen*-[91] tries at their gates, equipped very nearly like the regular troops in the pay of Government. One of these the Baboo soon afterwards pointed out to me, at the great house of the Mullich family, near the entrance of Calcutta. I had afterwards however reason to know, that this was without permission, and that Rooplal Mullich got severely censured for it by the Persian secretary, whose functions extend to the regulation of precedence among the natives throughout India, and indeed to many of the duties of our Heralds' College.

March 5, Friday.—This evening I preached the first of a course of Lent Lectures on the Sermon on the Mount. Unfortunately I have all these to write *de novo*, my books and papers being as yet inaccessible, and I have very little time for either reading or composition. I must however do my best. The Church was extremely well attended, far indeed beyond my expectations. In our way there we passed a marriage procession. The sort of palanquin in which the bridegroom was carried was according to the old Indian fashion, much handsomer than that now in use, but probably not so convenient. The vehicle of the bride was a common mehannah palanquin, closed up, and looking like a coffin. The number of torches carried before and on every

* He was subsequently made Raja Bahadur by Lord Amherst, and by his munificent donation of 20,000 S. rupees, is the erection of the Central School for the Education of Native Females in Calcutta, mainly to be attributed. Other charitable institutions are likewise largely indebted to his liberality.—ED.

side of the bridegroom was a practical illustration of the glorious simile of the rising sun in the Psalms.

RADHAKANTA DEB

[92] . . *March 8.*—I had an interesting visit this morning from Rhadacant Deb, the son of a man of large fortune and some rank and consequence in Calcutta, whose carriage, silver sticks, and attendants were altogether the smartest I had yet seen in India. He is a young man of pleasing countenance and manners, speaks English well, and has read many of our popular authors, particularly historical and geographical. He lives a good deal with Europeans, and has been very laudably active and liberal in forwarding, both by money and exertions, the education of his countrymen. He is secretary, gratuitously, to the Calcutta School Society, and has himself published some elementary works in Bengalee. With all this, he is believed to be a great bigot in the religion of his country's gods,—one of the few sincere ones, it is said, among the present race of wealthy Baboos. When the meeting was held by the Hindoo gentlemen of Calcutta, to vote an address of thanks to Lord Hastings on his leaving Bengal, Rhadacant Deb proposed as an amendment that Lord Hastings should be particularly [93] thanked for the protection and encouragement which he had afforded to the ancient and orthodox practice of widows burning themselves with their husbands' bodies,—a proposal which was seconded by Hurree Mohun Thakoor, another wealthy Baboo. It was lost however, the cry of the meeting, though all Hindoos, being decidedly against it. But it shows the warmth of Rhadacant Deb's prejudices. With all this I found him a pleasing man, not unwilling to converse on religious topics, and perhaps even liking to do so from a consciousness that he was a shrewd reasoner and from anxiety which he expressed strongly, to vindicate his creed in the estimation of foreigners. He complained that his countrymen had been much misrepresented, that many of their observances were misunderstood both by Europeans and by the vulgar in India; that for instance, the prohibition of particular kinds of food, and the rules of caste had a spiritual meaning, and were intended to act as a constant mementos of the duties of temperance, humanity, abstraction from the world, etc. He

admitted the beauty of the Christian morality readily enough, but urged that it did not suit the people of Hindostan; and that our drinking wine and eating the flesh of so useful and excellent a creature as the cow, would, in India, be not only shocking, but very unwholesome. I said that nobody among us was *required* to eat beef if he did not like it. He however shook his head, and said that the vulgar of India *would* eat beef readily enough if they were allowed to do so. He asked me several questions respecting the [94] doctrines of the Church of England, on which I hope I gave him satisfactory information, (preferring to remove his prejudices against us, rather than to make any direct attack on his own principles). His greatest curiosity, however, was about the Free-masons, who had lately been going in solemn procession to lay the first stone of the new Hindoo College. "Were they Christians?" "Were they of my Church?" He could not understand that this bond of union was purely civil, convivial, or benevolent, seeing they made so much use of prayer; and was greatly surprised when I said, that in Europe both Christians and Mussulmans belonged to the Society, and that of the gentlemen whom he had seen the other day, some went to the Cathedral, and some to Dr. Bryce's Church. He did not, indeed, understand that between Dr. Bryce and the other chaplains any difference existed; and I had no desire, on finding this, to carry my explanations on this point further. He asked, at length, "If I was a Mason?" "If I knew their secret?" "If I could guess it?" "If I thought it was any thing wicked or Jacobinical?" I answered, that I was no Mason; and took care to express my conviction that the secret, if there was any, was perfectly harmless; and we parted very good friends, with mutual expressions of anxiety to meet again. Greatly indeed should I rejoice, if any thing which I can say should be of service to him.

[96] . . The external meanness of all the shops, depositories, and warehouses in this great city is surprising. The bazars are wretchedness itself, without any approach to those covered walks, which are the chief glory of the cities of Turkey, Russia, and Persia, and which, in a climate like this, where both the sun and the rains are intolerable, would be more than any where else desirable. Yet I have read magnificent accounts of the shops and bazars of Calcutta. But they were in the same

authors who talk of the picturesque appearance of its "*Minarets*," whereas there is absolutely no single minaret in Calcutta ; nor so far as I have seen or heard, in any of its neighbouring towns. Hamilton's book, where this is mentioned, is generally regarded as very correct. How could such a mis-[97]take occur in a matter, of all others, the most obvious to the eye ? There are many small mosques, indeed, but the Muezzins all stand at the door, or on some small eminence adjoining. Minarets there are none. Perhaps he confounded the church and steeple, and supposed that mosque and minaret were synonymous. But none of the mosques are seen in any general view of Calcutta, being too small, too low, and built in too obscure corners to be visible, till one is close upon them. They rather, indeed, resemble the tombs of saints, than places for public worship, such as are seen in Turkey, Persia, and the south of Russia. Though diminutive, however, many of them are pretty, and the sort of eastern Gothic style in which they are built, is to my eye, though trained up to reverence the pure English style, extremely pleasing. They consist generally of a parallelogram of about thirty-six feet by twelve, or hardly so much, surmounted by three little domes, the apex of each terminated by a flower, with small but richly ornamented pinnacles in the angles. The faces of the building are covered with a good deal of Arabesque tracery, and pierced with a small door, of Gothic form, in the centre of one of the largest faces, and a small window, of almost similar form, on each side. Opposite to the door, which opens eastward, and on the western side, is a small recess, which serves to enshrine the Koran, and to direct the eyes of the faithful to the "Kibla" of Mecca. The taste of these little oratories is better than their materials, which are unfortunately, in this part of India, no-[98]thing but brick covered with plaister ; while they last, however, they are really great ornaments to the lanes and villages where they occur, and might furnish some advantageous hints, I think, to the Christian architects of India. . . .

CHARAK PUJA

April 9.—The Indian festival of "Churruck Poojah" commenced to-day, of which, as my wife has given an account in her journal, I shall only add a few particulars.

One of the Hindoo festivals in honour of the goddess Kali commenced this evening. Near the river a crowd was assembled round a stage of bamboos, 15 feet high, composed of two upright, and three horizontal poles, which last were placed at about five feet asunder. On this kind of ladder several men mounted, with large bags, out of which they threw down various articles to the bystanders, who caught them with great eagerness; but I was too far off to ascertain what they were. They then one by one raised their hands over their heads, and threw themselves down with a force which must have proved fatal had not their fall been broken by some means or other. The crowd was too dense to allow of my discovering how this was effected; but it is certain they were unhurt, as they immediately re-ascended, and performed the same ceremonies many times.

On the 10th we were awakened before daybreak, by the discordant sounds of native musical instruments, and immediately mounted our horses and rode to the Meidan. As the morning advanced we could see an immense crowd coming down the Chowringhee road, which was augmented by persons joining it from all the streets and lanes of the city. We entered the crowd, taking the precaution of making the saces walk close by my horse's head, who was frightened at the music, dancing, and glare of torches, accompanied at intervals by the deep sound of the gong

"The double double peal of the drum was there.

And the startling sound of the trumpet's blare.

And the gong, that seemed with its thunders dread

To stun the living, and waken the dead"

[99] In the midst of this crowd walked and danced the miserable fanatics, torturing themselves in the most horrible manner, and each surrounded by his own particular band of admirers, with music and torches. . . . Their countenances denoted suffering, but they evidently gloried in their patient endurance, and probably were supported by the assurance that they were expiating the sins of the past year by suffering voluntarily, and without a groan, this agony

We had considerable difficulty in making our way through the crowd; but when we arrived at a short distance from the scene of action, the *coup d'oeil* was beautifully picturesque, and forcibly reminded me of an English race-course: flags were flying in every direction,—booths were erected with stages for dancing; the flowing white garments of the natives gave the impression of a numerous assemblage of well-dressed women; and though on a nearer approach their dingy complexions destroyed the illusion, yet the scene lost nothing of its beauty. I never saw in England such a multitude collected together; but this is one of their most famous festivals, and the people had assembled from all the neighbouring villages. The noise of music continued till about noon, when the

devotees retired to heal their wounds. These are said to be dangerous, and occasionally to prove fatal. One of our servants, a "Musalchee", or torch-bearer, of the lowest caste, (for it seems that none of a higher sort practise these cruelties,) ran about the house with a small spear through his tongue, begging money from his fellow-servants; this man appeared stupified with opium, which I am told is generally taken by these poor wretches, to deaden their feelings, and the parts through which the spears are thrust are said to be previously rubbed for a considerable time, till numbness ensues.

In the evening the Bishop walked to the Boitaconnah, the part of the city where the trees for swinging are erected; they are not suffered to be placed near the European residences. He arrived in time to be a spectator of the whole ceremony. The victim was led, covered with flowers, and without any apparent reluctance, to the foot of the tree: hooks were then thrust through the muscles of his sides, which he endured without shrinking, and a broad bandage was fastened round his waist, to prevent the hooks from being torn through by the weight of his body. He was then raised up, and whirled round; at first the motion was slow, but by degrees was increased to considerable rapidity. In a few minutes it ceased; and the by-standers were going [100] to let him down, when he made signs that they would proceed: this resolution was received with great applause by the crowd, and after drinking some water he was again spun round.

The crowd on the Meidan was great and very picturesque. The music consisted chiefly of large double drums, ornamented with plumes of black feathers like those of a hearse, which rose considerably higher than the heads of persons who played on them; large crooked trumpets, like the "litui" of the ancients, and small gongs suspended from a bamboo, which rested on the shoulders of two men, the last of whom played on it with a large, thick, and heavy drum-stick, or cudgel. All the persons who walked in the procession, and a large majority of the spectators, had their faces, bodies, and white cotton clothes daubed all over with vermillion, the latter to a degree which gave them the appearance of being actually dyed rose-colour. They were also crowned with splendid garlands of flowers, with girdles and baldrics of the same. Many trophies and pageants of different kinds were paraded up and down, on stages drawn by horses, or bullocks. Some were mythological, others were imitations of different European figures, soldiers, ships, etc. and, in particular, there was one very large model of a steam-boat. The

devotees went about with small spears through their tongues and arms, and still more with hot irons pressed against their sides. All were naked to the waist, covered with flowers, and plentifully raddled with vermillion, while their long, black, wet hair hung down their backs, almost to their loins. From time to time, as they passed us, they laboured to [101] seem to dance, but in general their step was slow, their countenances expressive of resigned and patient suffering, and there was no appearance, that I saw, of anything like frenzy or intoxication. The peaceableness of the multitude was also as remarkable as its number, no troops were visible, except the two sentries, who at all times keep guard on two large tanks in the Meidan; no police, except the usual "Chokeydar," or watchman*, at his post, near Ally-poor Bridge; yet nothing like quarrelling or rioting occurred, and very little scolding. A similar crowd in England would have shewn three boxing-matches in half an hour, and in Italy there would have been half a dozen assassinations before night. In the evening I walked in another direction, towards the Bottaconnah, and the streets chiefly occupied by natives. Here I saw the "swinging," which may be best understood from a sketch, however rude.

TATTIES

April 15.—The weather is now very hot, unusually so, as we are told, owing to the want of that refreshment which north-westerners usually bestow at this time of year, but my wife and I, by rising at four o'clock, continue to enjoy a delightful ride every morning, though by a little after six the sun is so hot as to drive us in again. We have tried to keep our rooms cool with "tatties," which are mats formed of the kuskos, a peculiar sweet-[102]scented grass, set up before an open window, in the quarter of the prevailing wind, and kept constantly wet by a "bheestie," or water-carrier, on the outside. They are very

* These watchmen are less numerous, and not more efficient than their brethren in the streets of London. They do not cry the hour, but proclaim their wakefulness by uttering loud howls from time to time. They are armed with pistol, sword, and shield.—Ed.

pleasant when there is a strong wind, but this year four days out of five we have no wind at all. They have also this inconvenience, that if the bheestie neglects his work for a few minutes (and unless one is always watching him he is continually dropping asleep), a stream of hot air enters, which makes the room and the whole house intolerable. We are, therefore, advised to shut up *all* our windows about eight o'clock every morning, merely agitating the air within by punkahs, and getting rid as much as possible of all outward breezes. Thus we certainly find that the atmosphere within doors is preserved at a much lower temperature than the outward air, *i.e.* at eighty or eighty-five degrees instead of a hundred. Thus confined, it is, however, close and grave-like ; but if we go to any window or door, it is literally like approaching the mouth of one of the blast-furnaces in Colebrook Dale.

April 21.—I entered into my 42nd year. God grant that my future years may be as happy, if he sees good ! and better, far better spent than those which are gone by ! This day I christened my dear little Harriet. God bless and prosper her with all earthly and heavenly blessings ! We had afterwards a great dinner and evening party, at which were present the Governor and Lady Amherst, and nearly all our acquaintance in Calcutta. To the latter I also asked several of the wealthy [103] natives, who were much pleased with the attention, being in fact one which no European of high station in Calcutta had previously paid to any of them. Hurree Mohun Thakoor observing "what an increased interest the presence of females gave to our parties," I reminded him that the introduction of women into society was an ancient Hindoo custom, and only discontinued in consequence of the Mussulman conquest. He assented with a laugh, adding, however, "it is too late for us to go back to the old custom now." Rhadacant Deb, who overheard us, observed more seriously, "it is very true that we did not use to shut up our women till the times of the Mussulmans. But before we could give them the same liberty as the Europeans they must be better educated." I introduced these Baboos to the Chief-justice, which pleased them much, though perhaps they were still better pleased with my wife herself presenting them pawn, rose-water, and attar of roses before they went, after the native custom.

FAUNA OF BENGAL

.... "the gigantic cranes, most of whom disappeared during the drought (i.e. hot weather in Calcutta), have winged their way back from the Sunderbunds (their summer retreats); the white and red paddy birds are fluttering all over the Meidan; and the gardens, fields, and ditches, (and the ground-floors of some of the houses too,) swarm with the largest and noisiest frogs I ever saw or heard." (pp. 104-105).

I have as yet seen in Calcutta neither snake, scorpion, or centipede, nor any insect more formidable than a long thin starveling sort of hornet, or rather wasp, which has now disappeared. Of the fruits which this season offers, the finest are leeches, and mangoes; the first is really very fine, being a sort of plum, with the flavour of a Frontigniac grape. The second is a noble fruit in point of size, being as large as a man's two fists; its flavour is not unlike an apricot, more or less smeared with turpentine. It would not, I think, be popular in England, but in India it may pass for very good, particularly when the terebinthian flavour does not predominate. When not quite ripe it makes an excellent tart. (p. 105).

A Bengalee boat is the simplest and rudest of all possible structures. It is decked over, throughout its whole length, with bamboo; and on this is erected a low light fabric of bamboo and straw, exactly like a small cottage without a chimney. This is the cabin, baggage-room, &c.; here the passengers sit and sleep, and here, if it be intended for a cooking boat, are one or two small ranges of brick-work, like English hot-hearths, but not rising more than a few inches above the deck, with small, round, sugar-loaf holes, like those in a lime-kiln, adapted for dressing victuals with charcoal. As the roof of this apartment is by far too fragile for men to stand or sit on, and as the apartment itself takes up nearly two-thirds of the vessel, upright bamboos are fixed by its side, which support a kind of grating of the same material, immediately above the roof, on which, at the height probably of six or eight feet above the surface of the water, the boatmen sit or stand to work the vessel. They have, for oars, long bamboos, with circular boards at the end, a longer one of the same sort to steer with, a long rough bamboo for a mast, and one, or sometimes two sails, of a square form,

(or rather broader above than below), of very coarse and flimsy canvass. Nothing can seem more clumsy or dangerous than these boats. Dangerous I believe they are, but with a fair wind they sail over the water merrily. (pp. 108-109).

About ten o'clock, some fishermen brought a very noble fish alongside of us for sale, of exactly the shape and appearance of a chub, but weighing at least 20 or 25 pounds. After a good deal of haggling they sold it for 12 anas (about eighteen-pence). The Khansaman proposed salting the greater part, but I made the servants very well pleased, by saying that I would only have a little boiled for ourselves, and that the rest should be divided among them for their Sunday dinner, an arrangement which seemed to offend no religious prejudices either of Hindoo or Mussulman, inasmuch as the different messes seemed all eager to receive their portions, and in the evening at our bivouac, their kettles were all supplied with it. The fish was very good, exceedingly firm and white, like a jack, which it a good deal resembled, except that the bones were larger and less numerous. Its name is "rahoo". (pp. 133-134).

The barges, which are very numerous, bring salt from Calcutta, and carry back chiefly mustard-seed, which, in the shape of oil, is one of the most indispensable necessities in a Hindoo family. "We eat mustard-oil, (said my sircar to me one day, when lamenting an additional tax which had been imposed on this commodity), we burn it,—we rub ourselves with it,—it is quite as useful as rice." (p. 137).

A very handsome and sleek young bull, branded with the emblem of Siva on his haunches, was grazing in the green paddy. He crossed our path quite tame and fearless . . . These bulls are turned out when calves, on different solemn occasions, by wealthy Hindoos, as an acceptable offering to Siva. It would be a mortal sin to strike or injure them. They feed where they choose, and devout persons take great delight in pampering them. They are exceeding pests in the villages near Calcutta: breaking into gardens, thrusting their noses into the stalls of fruiterers and pastry-cooks' shops, and helping themselves without ceremony. Like other petted animals, they are sometimes mischievous, and are said to resent with a push of their horns any delay in gratifying their wishes. (p. 145).

Then followed long ridges of pawn, which grows something like a kidney-bean, and is carefully covered above and on every side with branches of bamboo, forming a sort of hedge and roof, as high as a man's head. When these branches and leaves become withered, (which they soon do) they look exactly like a high mud wall, so like indeed, that when we first saw them in the course of this morning, we both thought they were garden walls, and that the pawn was cultivated within instead of under them. Pawn seems one of the most highly valued productions of India, if we judge either by the pains taken in its cultivation, or the price which it bears; we were told that its retail price was sixty leaves, (each as large as bay-leaf), for an ana ($1\frac{1}{2}$ d.) no contemptible rate in a country where all products of agricultural labour are so cheap, and where rice may be had at less than half an ana the seer, a weight of nearly two pounds. Yet the only use of pawn (which has a hottish spicy flavour) is to wrap the betel-nut which the natives of India delight in chewing, and for which I should have thought many other leaves would answer as well. Our servants, indeed, have an idea that the root of the pawn is collected by the apothecaries as medicine, and sold at a high rate for exportation, but I never remember hearing of it. I tried chewing the betel to-day, and thought it not unpleasant, at least I can easily believe that where it is fashionable, people may soon grow fond of it. The nut is cut into small squares and wrapped up in the leaf together with some chunam. It is warm and pungent in the mouth, and has the immediate effect of staining the tongue, mouth, and lips, of a fiery orange colour. The people here fancy it is good for the teeth, but they do not all take it. I see about half the crew without the stain on their lips, but I do not think the teeth of the others are better. (pp. 163-164).

Rhadacant Deb had assured me that no Hindoo ought or would on any account, take spirits, or even any liquid medicine, from the hands of an European. Yet these people were all Hindoos; so that it appears that the fear of death conquers all the rules of superstition, or else that these people in general really care less about the matter than either Europeans, or such bigots as Rhadacant Deb would have us believe. (p. 170).

It is impossible to pass it without recollecting that what Gour is, Calcutta may any day become, unless the river in its fresh

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river. The surrounding country is like all the rest of lower Bengal, green, perfectly level, overflowed annually by the river, and distributed in rice-fields, scattered in patches amid almost interminable groves of fruit-trees and palms. We found it much cooler than Calcutta, and less infested with musquitos; but during the greater part of the year both this place and all the country round Diamond Harbour, and thence towards the sea, is intensely unwholesome. Were it otherwise, [199] this would be a good place for a Missionary, and has been thought of for that purpose. The population of the whole neighbourhood appears to swarm like an ant-hill, but they are all cottagers; no traces of even moderate wealth appear among them, though their dwellings are clean, and their poverty, to a person acquainted with the few and simple wants of this climate, does not seem abject. Perhaps they do not fare the worse for having the majority of their Zemindars non-resident.

.. [200] .. Nothing can be more foolish, or in its effects more pernicious, than the manner in which spirits are distributed to European troops in India. Early every morning a pint of fiery, coarse, undiluted rum is given to every man, and half that quantity to every woman; this, the greater part of the new comers abhor in the first instance, or would, at all events, if left to themselves, mix with water. The ridicule of their seasoned companions, however, deters them from doing so, and a habit of the worst kind of intemperance is acquired in a few weeks, more fatal to the army than the swords of the Jats, or the climate of the Burmese. If half the quantity of spirit, well watered, were given at a more seasonable hour, and, to compensate for the loss of the rest, a cup of strong coffee allowed to each man every morning, the men would be quite as well pleased, and both their bodies and souls preserved from many dreadful evils. (pp. 200-201).

FROM BISHOP HEBER'S CORRESPONDENCE (Volume III)

SAUGOR ... "During the night of our anchoring under its lee (Saugor), few of us went to bed without reluctance, since, besides the interest which men feel in looking on land at all, after so long an absence, I never saw such magnificent sheet-lightning in my life as played over it all night. When coupled

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riages, glass, furniture, &c. are, in Calcutta, generally paltry and extravagantly dear. In fact, as my shipmate, Colonel Pennington truly told me, 'the real luxuries of India, when we can get them, are cold water and cold air.' But though the luxury and splendour are less, the society is better than I expected." (III, p. 228)

"The state in which the high officers of Government appear, and the sort of deference paid to them in society are great, and said to be necessary in conformity with native ideas and the example set by the first conquerors, who took their tone from the Mussulmans whom they supplanted. All members of council, and others, down to the rank of puisne judges inclusive, are preceded by two men with silver-sticks, and two others with heavy silver-maces, and they have in society some queer regulations, which forbid any person to quit a party before the lady or gentleman of most rank rises to take leave." (III, p. 228).

"There are some circumstances in Calcutta dwellings which at first surprise and annoy a stranger. The lofty rooms swarm with cockroaches and insects; sparrows and other birds fly in and out all day, and as soon as the candles are lighted, large bats flutter on their indented wings, like Horaces's *cura*, round our *laqueata tecta*, if this name could be applied to roofs without any ceiling at all, where the beams are left naked and visible, lest the depredations of the white ant should not be seen in time. (III, pp 228-229).

"The country round Calcutta is a perfect flat, intersected by pools and canals, natural and artificial, teeming with population like an ant-hill, and covered with one vast shade of fruit-trees, not of low growth like those of England, but, generally speaking, very lofty and majestic. To me it has great interest; indeed, such a scene as I have described, with the addition of a majestic river, may be monotonous but cannot be ugly." (III, p. 229).

BARRACKPORE: "Barrackpoor, the governor's country-house, is really a beautiful place, and would be thought so in any country. It has, what is here unexampled, a park of about 250 acres of fine turf, with spreading scattered trees, of a character so European, that if I had not been on an elephant, and had not from time to time seen a tall coco-tree towering above all the rest, I could have fancied myself on the banks of the Thames instead of the Ganges." (III, p. 229).

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though some of them have made enquiries through my sircar, whether such visits would be agreeable to me, to which I, of course, answered, 'extremely so.' Their progress in the imitation of our habits is very apparent, though still the difference is great. None of them adopt our dress, (indeed their own is so much more graceful, and so much better adapted to the climate, that they would act very absurdly in doing so). But their houses are adorned with verandahs and Corinthian pillars; they have very handsome carriages, often built in England; they speak tolerable English, and they shew a considerable liking for European society, where (which unfortunately is not always the case.) they are encouraged or permitted to frequent it on terms of any thing like equality. Few of them, however, will eat with us; and this opposes a bar to familiar intercourse, which must, even more than fashion and John Bullism, keep them at a distance." (III, 231-232).

"They are described, especially the Hindoos, as not ill-affected to a government under which they thrive, and are allowed to enjoy the fruits of their industry, while many of them still recollect the cruelties and exactions of their former rulers.

"Lord Hastings appears to have been very popular here, and to have done much good. The roads which he made in different parts of Calcutta and its neighbourhood, his splendour, and his extreme courtesy, made him liked both by natives and Europeans." (III, p. 232).

From letter from Fort William, dated December 1, 1823
addressed to C.W.W. Wynn.

HURREE MOHUN THAKOOR—"Since my last letter, I have acquainted with some of the wealthy natives, of whom I spoke, and we are just returned from passing the evening at one of their country-houses. This is more like an Italian villa, than what should have expected as the residence of Baboo Hurree Mohun Thakoor. Nor are his carriages, the furniture of his house, or the style of his conversation, of a character less decidedly European. He is a fine old man, who speaks English well, is well informed on most topics of general discussion, and talks with the appearance of much familiarity on Franklin, chemistry, natural philosophy, &c. His family is Brahminical and of singular purity of descent; but about 400 years ago, during the Mahommedan inva-

sion of India, one of his ancestors having become polluted by the conquerors intruding into his Zennanah, the race is conceived to have lost claim to the knotted cord, and the more rigid Brahmins will not eat with them. Being, however, one of the principal land-holders in Bengal, and of a family so ancient, they still enjoy to a great degree the veneration of the common people, which the present head of the house appears to value,—since I can hardly reconcile in any other manner his philoso-[235]phical studies and imitation of many European habits, with the daily and austere devotion which he is said to practise towards the Ganges, (in which he bathes three times every twenty-four hours), and his veneration for all the other duties of his ancestors. He is now said, however, to be aiming at the dignity of Raja, a title, which at present bears pretty nearly the same estimation as a peerage in England, and is conferred by government in almost the same manner." (234-235)

"The house is surrounded by an extensive garden, laid out in formal parterres of roses, intersected by straight walks, with some fine trees, and a chain of tanks, fountains, and summer-houses, not ill adapted to a climate where air, water, and sweet smells, are almost the only natural objects which can be relished during the greater part of the year. The whole is little less Italian than the facade of his house, but on my mentioning this similarity, he observed that the taste for such things was brought into India by the Mussulmans. There are also swings, whirli-gigs, and other amusements for the females of his family, but the strangest was a sort of 'Montagne Russe' of masonry, very steep, and covered with plaister, down which he said the ladies used to *slide*. Of these females, however, we saw none,—indeed they were all staying at his town-house in Calcutta. He himself received us at the head of a whole tribe of relations and descendants on a handsome flight of steps, in a splendid shawl, by way of mantle, with a large rosary of coral set in gold, leaning on an ebony crutch with a gold head. Of [236] his grandsons, four very pretty boys, two were dressed like English children of the same age, but the round hat, jacket, and trowsers, by no means suited their dusky skins so well as the splendid brocade caftans and turbans covered with diamonds, which the two elder wore. On the whole, both Emily and I have been greatly interested with the family, both now and during our previous interviews. We have several other

eastern acquaintance, but none of equal talent. though several learned Moollahs, and one Persian doctor, of considerable reputed sanctity, have called on me. The Raja of Calcutta, and one of the sons of Tippoo Sultan, do not choose, I am told, to call till I have left the fort, since they are not permitted to bring their silver-sticks, led horses, carriages, and armed attendants within the ramparts. . . ." (III. pp. 235-236)

From a letter to Miss Dod, dated Calcutta, Dec. 15, 1823.

CALCUTTA : "Calcutta, when seen from the south, on which side it is built round two sides of a great open plain, with the Ganges on the west, is a very noble city, with tall and stately houses ornamented with Grecian pillars, and each, for the most part, surrounded by a little apology for a garden. The churches are not large, but very neat and even elegant buildings, and the Government House is, to say the least of it, a more shewy palace than London has to produce. These are, however, the *front lines* ; behind them ranges the native town, deep, black and dingy, with narrow crooked streets, huts of earth baked in the sun, or of twisted bamboos, interspersed here and there with ruinous brick bazars, pools of dirty water, coco-trees, and little gardens, and a few very large, very fine, and generally very dirty houses of Grecian architecture, the residence of wealthy natives. There are some mosques of pretty architecture, and very neatly kept, and some pagodas, but mostly ruinous and decayed, the religion of the people being chiefly conspicuous in their worship of the Ganges, and in some ugly painted wooden or plaister idols, with all manner of heads and arms, which are set up in different parts of the city. Fill up this outline with a crowd of people in the streets, beyond anything to be seen even in London, some dressed in tawdry silks and brocades, more in white cotton garments, and most of all black and naked, except a scanty covering round the waist, besides figures of religious mendicants with no clothing but their long hair and beards in elf locks, their faces painted white or yellow, their beads in one ghastly lean hand, and the other stretched out like a bird's claw to receive donations ; marriage processions, with the bride in a covered chair, and the bridegroom on horseback, so swathed round with garlands as hardly to be seen ; tradesmen sitting on the ground in the midst of their different commodities, and old men, lookers

sion of India, one of his ancestors having become polluted by the conquerors intruding into his Zennanah, the race is conceived to have lost claim to the knotted cord, and the more rigid Brahmins will not eat with them. Being, however, one of the principal land-holders in Bengal, and of a family so ancient, they still enjoy to a great degree the veneration of the common people, which the present head of the house appears to value,—since I can hardly reconcile in any other manner his philoso-[235]phical studies and imitation of many European habits, with the daily and austere devotion which he is said to practise towards the Ganges, (in which he bathes three times every twenty-four hours), and his veneration for all the other duties of his ancestors. He is now said, however, to be aiming at the dignity of Raja, a title, which at present bears pretty nearly the same estimation as a peerage in England, and is conferred by government in almost the same manner." (234-235)

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equipages ; and the furniture [241] of Calcutta, are all as far from magnificent as any that I am acquainted with. Our way of life in other respects is sensible and suited to the climate. The general custom is to rise at six in the cold season, and half-past four in the morning during the hot weather, and to take exercise on horseback till the sun is hot, then follow a cold-bath, prayers, and breakfast. This last is a sort of public meal, when my clergy and other friends drop in, after which I am generally engaged in business till two, when we either dine, or eat our tiffin ; we then go out again at five or six, till darkness drives us home to dress for dinner, or pass a tranquil evening. Our rooms are large and lofty, with very little furniture ; the beds have no drapery but a mosquito net, and now the climate is so cool as even to require a blanket.

We have excellent turf for galloping and excellent roads for driving on the great plain of which I have spoken. But there is no necessity for confining ourselves to it, the roads round Calcutta as soon as its boundary is passed, wind through beautiful villages, overhung with the finest and most picturesque foliage the world can shew, of the banyan, the palm, the tamarind, and, more beautiful perhaps than all, the bamboo. Sometimes the glade opens to plains covered, at this time, with the rice harvest, or to a sight of the broad bright river, with its ships and woody shores ; sometimes it contracts into little winding tracks, through fruit-trees, gardens, and cottages ; the gardens fenced in with hedges of aloe and pine-apple ; the cottages [242] neater than those of Calcutta, and mostly of mats and white wicker-work, with thatched roofs and cane verandahs, with gourds trailing over them, and the broad tall plaintains clustering round them.

From the letter to the Very Reverend the Dean of St Asaph, dated Fort William, December 16, 1823

MISSIONARY SCHOOLS—[244] There are now in Calcutta, and the surrounding villages, twenty boys' schools, containing from sixty to one hundred and twenty each ; twenty-three girls', each of twenty-five or thirty. The latter are under the management of a very clever young woman, who came out under the patronage of the Lancasterian School Society, but, in consequence of their having pledged themselves to allow no Scripture lessons in their schools, and her preferring the system pursued by the

sion of India, one of his ancestors having become polluted by the conquerors intruding into his Zennanah, the race is conceived to have lost claim to the knotted cord, and the more rigid Brahmins will not eat with them. Being, however, one of the principal land-holders in Bengal, and of a family so ancient, they still enjoy to a great degree the veneration of the common people, which the present head of the house appears to value,—since I can hardly reconcile in any other manner his philoso-[235]phical studies and imitation of many European habits, with the daily and austere devotion which he is said to practise towards the Ganges, (in which he bathes three times every twenty-four hours), and his veneration for all the other duties of his ancestors. He is now said, however, to be aiming at the dignity of Raja, a title, which at present bears pretty nearly the same estimation as a peerage in England, and is conferred by government in almost the same manner." (234-235)

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mon on the Mount as well as they repeated it, he would choose all the handmaids for his daughters, and his wives, from the English school." I do not say, nor do I suppose, that any large proportion of these children will become Christians. Even if they were to offer it now, we should tell them, "Wait till you are of age, and get your father's leave : " and it is likely that many, on leaving school, will leave many of their good impressions behind them. But it is certain, that, whether they became Christians or no, they may be great gainers by what they learn ; and it is probable that some, at least, in the present generation, and probably far more among *their* children, will be led to compare our system with their own, and seriously, and in a real zeal for their own salvation, to adopt the truth. In the mean time, I am assured that the pains now taken [247] have materially increased the popularity of the English in Bengal. . . .

From a letter to R.J. Wilmot Horton, Esq., dated, Calcutta, December (?), 1823.

YOUNG BENGAL . . [250] . . Nor, to those who like wandering about an immense conservatory, or who are pleased and interested with cane-work, cottages, little gardens of plaintains and pine-apples, and the sight of a very poor but simple, and by no means inelegant race of peasants, are there prettier rides than those afforded by the lanes and hedgerows round Calcutta.

[252] Some of the best informed of their nation, with whom I have conversed assure me that half their (Hindoos') most remarkable customs of civil and domestic life are borrowed from their Mohammedan conquerors ; and at present there is an obvious and increasing disposition to imitate the English in every thing, which has already led to very remarkable changes, and will, probably, to still more important. The wealthy natives now all affect to have their houses decorated with Corinthian pillars, and filled with English furniture. They drive the best horses and the most dashing carriages in Calcutta. Many of them speak English fluently, and are tolerably read in English literature ; and the children of one of our friends I saw one day dressed in jackets and trowsers, with round hats, shoes and stockings. In the Bengalee newspapers, of which there are two or three, politics are canvassed with a bias, as I am told, inclining to Whiggism, and one of their leading men gave a great dinner not long since, in

sion of India, one of his ancestors having become polluted by the conquerors intruding into his Zennanah, the race is conceived to have lost claim to the knotted cord, and the more rigid Brahmins will not eat with them. Being, however, one of the principal land-holders in Bengal, and of a family so ancient, they still enjoy to a great degree the veneration of the common people, which the present head of the house appears to value,—since I can hardly reconcile in any other manner his philoso-[235]phical studies and imitation of many European habits, with the daily and austere devotion which he is said to practise towards the Ganges, (in which he bathes three times every twenty-four hours), and his veneration for all the other duties of his ancestors. He is now said, however, to be aiming at the dignity of Raja, a title, which at present bears pretty nearly the same estimation as a peerage in England, and is conferred by government in almost the same manner." (234-235)

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help fancying myself sometimes in Russia. The architecture of the principal houses is the same, with Italian porticos, and all white-washed or stuccoed, and the width and straightness of the principal streets, the want of pavement, the forms of the peasants' carts, and the crowds of foot-passengers in every street, as well as the multitude of servants, the want of furniture in the houses, and above all, the great dinner-parties, which are one distinguishing feature of the place, are all Muscovite." (pp. 267-268)

From a letter to the Rev. C. Cholmondeley and Mrs. Cholmondeley, dated, Lucknow, October 19, 1824.

"Bengal is not included within the bounds of Hindoostan, and the term of Bengalee is used to express any thing which is roguish and cowardly ; such as they are, however, I am far from disliking them." (p. 316)

"I ought not to omit, that the language of Bengal, which is quite different from Hindoostanee, is soft and liquid. The common people are all fond of singing, and some of the airs which I used to hear from the boatmen and children in the villages, reminded me of the Scotch melodies." (p. 317)

From a letter to Wilmot, dated Barreach (Guzerat) dated March (?), 1824

Burmese war. "And the inhabitants of Calcutta, who, about this time of year, were asking leave to send their property into the citadel, and packing off their wives and children across the river, will hardly again look forward to seeing their war-boats on the salt-water lake, or the golden umbrellas of their chiefs erected on the top of St. John's Cathedral. I was then thought little better than a madman for venturing to Dacca." (pp. 366-367)

NOTES

1. *Biodata of Bishop Heber*: "Reginald Heber, born at Malpas, Cheshire, in 1783 ; wrote his prize poem *Palestine* at Oxford (1803). Inducted into the family-living of Hodnet in Shropshire (1807), he was a frequent contributor to the *Quarterly Review*, and in 1812 published a volume of Hymns. He was appointed Bampton lecturer in 1815, a prebendary of St. Asaph in 1817, and

preacher of Lincoln's Inn in 1822. In 1823 he accepted the see of Calcutta. Consecrated Bishop of Calcutta on 1st June 1823. Sailed for India on June 10, arrived in Calcutta in October. His first visitation of North India commenced on 15th June 1824. His Chaplain Mr Stowe died at Dacca on 17th July. He arrived in Bombay on 20th April 1825. Mrs. Heber left Calcutta on 2nd March and joined him in Bombay on 26th April. Together they left Bombay on 15th August, reached Ceylon on 27th August, and arrived back in Calcutta on 21st October 1825. He left on his second visitation of South India on 2nd February 1826, reached Madras on 25th Feb., and died in Trichinopoly on 3rd April 1826. He published sermons, *A Journey Through India, &c.*, and edited Jeremy Taylor's *Works* (1822). See lives by his widow (1830) and G. Smith (1895).

12

CALCUTTA IN 1824*

By William Huggins

[2] . . After sailing five months through the ocean ; after enduring the ennui to which landsmen are subject on board of a ship, the voyager looks forward with a longing eye as he approaches Bengal. The entrance to this fertile province is choked up by numerous sandbanks, which render the navigation very difficult ; upon approaching them, a pilot is taken in. The Bengal pilots have to pass a considerable period in subordinate duties before they are appointed to this situation, which is one of great trust, owing to the dangerous navigation, from the sands, up to Calcutta. They are paid by government, and receive a handsome salary, which is earned by hard labour and long service. The first land which presents itself to view, at your arrival on the Bengal coast, is Saugur Island, which is covered with jungle ; and affords a retreat to tigers, and such other wild beasts as are common in the jungles of India. A company, composed of Calcutta agents and merchants, associated about six years ago, to clear out this island, and render the lands fit for cultivation ; expecting, from its proximity to the sea, that at some future period it might become a point of attraction to invalids, and persons who wish to enjoy the sea air : however, [3] I imagine the period is remote when Saugur Island will be metamorphosed into a Brighton, for the inhabitants of Bengal, as many years must elapse before the jungle can be cleared away. During a period of five years, they have rendered a very small space (perhaps seven miles in circumference) fit for cultivation, which must make a

* From "*SKETCHES IN INDIA, Treating on Subjects connected with the Government ; Civil and Military Establishments ; characters of the European, and Customs of the Native Inhabitants*" by William Huggins, late an Indigo Planter in the district of Tirhoot (London, 1824 ; John Letts, Jun., 32, Cornhill ; 237 pages, size octavo). The book is written in the form of letters.

poor return for the money and life expended in this undertaking. It is necessary to inform you, that residing among the jungle is highly dangerous both to Europeans and natives of the country, in consequence of jungle fever, which is a disease of the greatest malignity, and carries off its victims in a few days ; whilst this disorder is spreading destruction amongst the miserable workmen, no immediate benefit is derived by the projectors ; and I consider this undertaking to be one of those air bubbles which speculators are so much addicted to forming. The clearing of Saugur appears to be distant, and almost hopeless ; for, allowing those who have undertaken it every merit, they are not like to persevere against obstacles and losses ; though we should rejoice at the success of a project, which would change the tiger's den into a dwelling for man, and transfer a noxious wilderness into a seat of plenty. After passing Saugur, you enter the Hoogly, and sail up it through a country which [4] cultivates scarcely any crop but rice, and affords a very dull prospect to an English eye, accustomed to those varied landscapes which home presents where the earth is robed in verdant meadows and golden crops. Before the season for sowing rice has arrived, the fields, parched by a burning sun, present an arid, hard surface to the eye, without a blade of grass, and the stranger asks in astonishment, "Is this the fertile India ? Are these her productive plains ?" They are ; and those very lands which are then so unpromising after the rains commence, without labour, and with very little trouble, will pour upon their possessors an abundant harvest. Upon approaching Calcutta, Garden Reach is the first object of interest which appears, rising like a fairy isle, in the midst of a desert, and offering to the view a succession of beautiful villas, surrounded by groves of lofty trees ; to these the wealthy inhabitants of Calcutta retire, in order to enjoy a relaxation from the fatigues of business, and possess accommodation fit for realising the poet's wish ; and fit, *ducere sollicitae jucunda obliviae vitae*. Surrounded by every comfort and every luxury India affords. British merchants, in this agreeable retreat, breathe an air unpolluted by the smoke and effluvia of Calcutta ; light, airy buildings, gardens tastefully laid out, and [5] walks agreeably shaded, along the river side, render an abode in this quarter highly agreeable. The company has a botanical garden here, which is maintained at a heavy expense, and superintended by a medi-

cal gentleman, who is a good botanist. It abounds with flowers and plants, both indigenous and exotic, interspersed tastefully in beds, surrounded by groups of trees, and is a point of attraction, to Sunday parties, who come to gaze upon, and enjoy its beauties. From Garden Reach to Calcutta is a pleasant sail of half an hour, during which the eye wanders in admiration over those beautiful structures, which tower above the river's banks.

NOBLE BUILDINGS

(Letter II) A stranger, on his arrival in Calcutta, is delighted, perhaps astonished at the mass of noble buildings, which crowd upon him in every direction. The Fort first attracts his notice, built on a spot somewhat elevated above the river and plain which surrounds it, possessed of deep fosses which can [6] be always flooded, and great artificial strength. Although its elevation is inconsiderable, there is no spot adjacent which commands it. The opposite side of the river is lined with gentlemen's houses, extensive buildings, cotton factories, &c. which occupy his attention until he arrives at Chaudpaul Ghaut. He lands, gazes at the edifices which compose Government Row, until he arrives at the government palace. This magnificent structure, which would not sink in a comparison with most palaces in Europe, owes its rise to the princely disposition of Marquis Wellesley. Setting aside the royal palaces in London, which do not compete with this, I have seen the Thuilleries and palace of Versailles, and think neither of them equals the government house in uniformity and majesty of design; the building of it is said to have cost upwards of a million sterling, and to have excited considerable discontent at the India House. I shall here observe, if the East-India company are so mercenary as to deny the expenses necessary for erecting magnificent buildings, their empire may endure, and may perish without leaving a trace of its grandeur behind, or mark to show the tide of its prosperity. What has distinguished the conquests of the Greek and Romans from those of Timur and Zinghis Khan?—What but the arts, the improvements, the [7] civilization, and the monuments which time has not been able to destroy, but after a lapse of ages remain to excite our emulation, and instruct our minds. Pal-

myra still towers amidst the desert, and speaks the magnificence of Zenobia, whilst the track of Timur is not seen upon the sand—his armies annihilated and mingled with the dust. If the company, from another motive, from a spirit of avarice, walk in the track of this waster, and refuse to impress a single stamp of greatness upon the empire they have seized, their conduct is much more culpable. They are not Tartars of the desert, but men instructed in the arts of civilized life—in the history of past ages, aware of the duties which attach to rule and improvements due to their empire; if, then, from the wretched love of gold, they deviate from these, their conduct is highly censurable. The marquis had collected materials at Barrackpore for erecting another magnificent building there, and had commenced the foundations when his government expired. In consequence of the avarice I have condemned, this design was given up by his successors, and Lady Hastings erected a greenhouse from the neglected pile. Speaking of the houses belonging to Europeans generally, they are very commodious, and perhaps no class of men in the world, of equal condition, is better lodged; how-[8]ever, to descend from generals to particulars, by describing one, you may form an idea of the whole. A gentleman's house in Calcutta is a large, square building, covered with a composition which resembles freestone, and gives an uniform, agreeable appearance to the building, as if formed of cut stone; the roof is flat, and distinct from the body of the house runs a colonnade, which serves to decorate it, and encloses a space pleasant to walk in, called a veranda; venetians painted green serve for windows; in fine, with some exceptions, its form and general appearance resemble an English castle, or rather the hotel of a rich Parisian, enclosed by a wall or metal railing. You may easily conceive the fine *coup d'oeil* of a wide and regular street, composed of houses, such as that I have described; indeed the English town merits an appellation, of which its inhabitants are ambitious, viz.—the City of Palaces, there are several squares, but that called Tank Square is the largest; it derives this name from a tank or pond of water in the area. You must not imagine Calcutta is composed entirely of buildings, like that I have described; on the contrary, take it all in all, perhaps no city in the world deserves to be called a mass of misery and magnificence more justly. After leaving

the grand streets, and approaching the abodes of its native population, a [9] very different spectacle meets the eye. Huts built of mud, or bamboo and grass, low, filthy, and crowded with people, constitute the habitations of poor natives. The population that resides within a square of these huts is very great, and would create surprise in any one who has not witnessed such a scene. During the monsoons fires frequently occur among these huts, and endanger the stately dwellings of their English neighbours; however, in an occurrence of this kind, the police hasten with their fire engines, and prevent the extensive injury which would otherwise be occasioned. Some rich natives dwell in elegant mansions, built after the English style; others, inferior to them, erect large houses, which in their internal construction resemble the old abbeys or castles we read of in romances. Narrow intricate passages, winding alleys, here and there a little dark apartment, low doors, and flights of stairs, small venetians, or, if near the haram, loop holes demonstrate the suspicious, narrow mind of its inmate.

[10] (Letter III) . . . The governor of Bengal is also governor general of India, being possessed of a controlling and directing power over the inferior presidencies of Madras and Bombay. He is assisted by a council, in which all state affairs are debated and decided by a majority . . . [39] Great offenders, such as those who have been frequently convicted for robbery, who belong to organised banditti, called dekoits, are sent to Calcutta and imprisoned for life. I have seen the prison in which these malefactors are immured, and, excepting the irons they wear, and walls by which they are surrounded, it has very little the appearance of a Newgate. The building is a handsome one, surrounded by a large court or yard, in which there [40] is a tank of water; every thing is neat, comfortable, almost elegant, and reflects high credit upon those who have the management of them. Such a prison as this would form a fine contrast with the cells and dungeons to which men far less criminal are confined in Europe; and shews that, in India, humanity is nobly extended to the most degraded of our species. The prisoners gain a plentiful subsistence by their own labour, and pass that life, which has been heretofore sullied with crimes, in a quiet seclusion from the world, without annoyance and without pain . . .

WRITERS

[63] . . . These young gentlemen (Writers), generally the sons of respectable families, have received the rudiments of a good education at home ; perhaps the height of their ambition and extent of their means in England was to purchase a dandy coat, and strut upon the flags ; or on a journey to the country, to travel in a mail-coach. But in India how altered !—Arabs, English blood-horses, Pegu ponies, curricles and phaetons, come prancing before them with most bewitching fascination [64]. Their pay, three hundred rupees per month, is quite sufficient to keep them respectable, but not at all sufficient to purchase all these fine things. How are they to be procured ?—These young gentlemen who have got excellent situations in expectancy, upon their arrival in Calcutta, generally find some wealthy baboo to advance them large sums at an exorbitant interest, or else obtain a credit with some house of agency ; so that like young birds, which dirty their wings in the mire, and are rendered incapable of flying, these youngsters incur a burthen, galling to them many a day afterwards ; they make their appearance at the course on highmettled horses, or in equipages ; go to balls, dressed out in all the puppyism of dandies ; keep the first company ; drink claret and champagne ; have houses at Garden Reach ; in fine, live far beyond their means ; debts accumulate, and the economising judge often regrets the follies of the writer. There is a college founded by that liberal and high-minded nobleman, the Marquis of Wellesley, to which these young men are attached, for learning the languages of India ; here Arabic, Persian, Sanscrit, Hindostanee, and the other dialects are taught. Every writer must make some proficiency in them, and undergo an examination, before he can be appointed to any employment ; there are [65] some who live within their income, attend to their studies, and are sure to be rewarded with speedy appointments ; young men of capacity are not uncommon among them ; so that, endowed with classic and eastern literature, they possess a variety of knowledge not sought after, and not obtained in Europe. To sum up these young gentlemen's character, barring the ridiculous extravagance to which I have alluded, their manners are in other respects inoffensive. The innocent levities of foppery and voluptuous lounge, supersede those rows and quar-

rels so frequent among young men in Europe. The acerbity of boyish humours mellows into mildness amidst those enjoyments by which they are surrounded; and they possess as much refinement as young men can be expected to have.

... [67] ... "There are surgeon merchants, surgeon agents, &c. in Calcutta, who wander about from profession to profession, as Saul, the son of Kish, wandered after his father's asses, but seldom find any that suits them, because, in fact, they are not fit for any."

AMUSEMENTS

(Letter XVI, pp. 106-113). [105] The places of public resort and amusement in Calcutta, are the course, the ball-room, and the theatre. The course is a fine broad road, which leads out to the suburbs of the city, and on which the fashionables figure in the evening. Here landaus, coaches, chariots, curricles, phaetons, &c. press forward in close ranks, full of gentlemen and ladies, well dressed: on every side you behold equipages, horses, ostrich feathers, and dandies. Over this scene of magnificence and show, a thick dust is spread, as if sent by some envious power to embitter its sweets, as if to mortify human vanity, by soiling those elegancies in which it takes pride. Here the Calcutta ladies come to court the gaze of admiration, and display their charms; to court, too, the tepid breezes of a climate; which, alas, soon wither their bloom, and plants the drooping lily where the rose was wont to dwell. Many a lady would think this gaiety and splendour dearly bought at such a sacrifice; perhaps, too, they are. The gentlemen who bestride steeds are well dressed, and ride well; the course in gaiety and splendour, horses and equipages, beaux and belles, resembles Hyde Park, only wanting the cool breezes of England to make it equally agreeable. Public balls are [106] given in the Town Hall, and, like the course attract the most respectable inhabitants. Stewards are appointed beforehand to make what arrangements may be necessary, so that every thing is conducted with great order. Quadrilles and country dances are generally practised; however waltzing has been lately introduced. Here the prettiest faces and finest waists in India are to be seen; pleasure and gaiety hold their court; the dance flies, and all seem happy.

This scene of festivity is peculiarly grateful to the young beauties and young beaux of India, as such public occasions for exhibition are rare, and therefore valuable. The lustre of chandeliers, dress, address, dancing, and music, animate the dulllest tempers. Such a scheme is pleasant to contemplate, and should be encouraged; where man forgets his labours, difficulties, and cares; bounds from the load that presses on his heart, and enjoys happiness, even for an hour. The public dances are in an elegant style, and attended by the fashionable or accomplished, as persons in humble circumstances seldom make their appearance there.

The stage in Calcutta has not arrived at any great eminence, and the duties of the Chowringhee theatre are performed principally by amateur actors, for wealthy as this city is, it cannot afford to keep a regular company; or rather the emolu-[107]ments are not sufficient to recompense their labours notwithstanding the exorbitant price of admission. This want of support for the theatre, arises from various causes: the terms of admission are too high for persons of confined income to indulge much in theatrical amusements, whilst other modes of diversion abound, and can be enjoyed without expense. The dances at schools, private parties, and convivial pleasures occupy this part of the community, so that the audience is composed of persons whose circumstances put them above thinking of the charge for admittance. They, too, have their routs and assemblies, which prevent a regular attendance at the theatre, were they so disposed. After the performance of a play, a bombastic account appears next day in the India Gazette, which praises the actors and acting in both prose and verse; those who have performed well are nonparells, and inimitable; those who have done tolerably, are admirable; and badly, excellent. The editor fatigues himself by looking for bewitching poetry to dress their merits in, and serves his reader with a dish of as sweet-tasted flummery as he can possibly desire; flowers and graces, and attractions and dignity, flow like a torrent upon the gaping reader; Garrick or Kemble were never so bepraised; these gentlemen, too, have not a single fault. To give the [108] real state of the case, among these amateurs, there are two or, perhaps, three actors of eminence, who perform very well, but the rest—how shall I express the rest? One simpers and looks

foolish when he should be grave, another bawls with such energy, that nervous people are stunned by the noise ; a third stammers and shuffles in this gait, and has the air of a culprit going to the gallows ; a fourth is annihilated by the consciousness of his own incompetency, and curses his folly for going there ; so that, from this mixture of good and bad, a tragedy on the Chowringhee boards has the effect of a tragi-comedy : whilst some characters are performed well, and affect the auditor, others are mouthed so as to melt him into—fits of laughter. It becomes a kind of tragic farce, in which one eye weeps and the other smiles. Before these amateur actors can be rendered good, or even tolerable, they must be criticised properly ; their faults must be exposed, and errors corrected ; but amateurs would not submit to this ; then, I answer, it's better for them not to act at all, than to act badly. Such as required and provoked the lash, would go ; but others, more competent, might supply their place. I would not be as severe on these gentle actors as upon hired ones, but confine my strictures within delicate bounds, so as to produce a reformation [109] without hurting their feelings ; and, according to this system, though Calcutta cannot afford to pay for good actors, she would enjoy good ones gratuitously ; officers, young civilians, and tradesmen, constitute the company. I shall, for a moment, digress upon the temper, tone of feeling, and enjoyment, that prevail among Europeans in Calcutta. The climate of India tends to nourish irascibility of temper in those who are naturally inclined that way ; so that persons of a fiery, hasty turn, are by no means rare. The attendance and establishment, so different from what they have been accustomed to at home, engender pride : so that proud, precise people are common enough. I don't mean by this a noble pride which scorns submission and humiliation, but a paltry pride that requires—"yes, sir," and "no, sir," to its affirmatives and negatives. These two vices are, I think, fairly chargeable on the good people of Calcutta, who can strike a consumah with impunity amidst the whirl of their mighty rage, or dismiss young fellows from their employment who do not bow low enough. On a close sultry day, after spending a restless night, tormented by mosquitos, a person's blood ferments with heat ; his humours are jaundiced or full of disgust, so that the least impropriety, or his own caprices, set him in a flame ;

this is an effect of [110] the climate, operating thus upon ardent temperature, and he is to be pitied who labours under it (if pity can be extended to violence). Again, sircars, kismutgars, and the like, are so dependent, that "whom they order to go, goeth. and whom they order to come, cometh." Hence the love of obedience or compliance, becomes paramount passion with them. I know of no place where hospitality is more prevalent and more munificent than in Calcutta: a man of property has generally a number of guests at this house, sees company frequently, and keeps an excellent table, at which luxuries abound of every kind; the choicest wines of Europe are served up (be their price ever so high), and the most delicious meats which can be procured; every thing that can delight the palate is supplied, on which the nicest epicure might banquet with pleasure, and conviviality is carried to a sociable and proper length, without deviating into bacchanalian riot. Men of rank keep a sumptuous table, those of small income a good one; so that a stranger or a guest are well treated wherever they go. Persons to whom fortune has acted as a churlish stepdame, and left without employment; generally find a friend to receive and entertain them, until more favourable circumstances occur; so that the hospitality of Europeans at Calcutta is, in an eminent degree, [111] generous and kind. It gives me pleasure to pass this eulogium, unmingled with the smallest taint of censure: indeed, it is one which cannot be often enjoyed by a painter, whose sketches are guided by the fingers of truth. Without indulging in sycophancy on one side, or cynical moroseness on the other, he describes best who looks straight forward to facts, and paints them as they present themselves to his view. He may be deceived, his colourings may be inappropriate, but the outlines are correct; he does not err wilfully. Those who shine amidst the gaieties of the course, the ball-room, and the theatre, are not always, are not often happy. To a casual spectator, who is struck by the show and magnificence which everywhere appears, their lot is an enviable one—to an observer it appears different. Exile from home, to those who have never endured it, may seem a slight punishment; to him who has, it is a heavy one, and that too in a climate so different from home, where a European is a kind of prisoner at large, incapable of exertion, almost of motion. Many whose circumstances are affluent, but

will not admit of their leaving India, cherish a longing for England which gnaws within them, like a worm, and disturbs their peace. Others with whom the climate does not agree, carry pallid faces, and sinking frames, and hollow [112] spirits, to the places of amusement; what is their enjoyment? Grief garbed in a smile. He who feels a fever burning within his veins, or whose liver is twitched with torture, cannot have much pleasure from sitting in an elegant landau; nay, with those who are best pleased, how stands the case? As long as these things are novel and striking they are agreeable, but when the novelty wears off, after they become common, their pleasure departs. The climate throws a languor over a man's feelings and frame that communicates itself to external objects: so that those things sicken and pall with disgust, which in another country would impart pleasure and happiness. To collect my ideas in a point, there is a great deal of splendour and appearance, but very little enjoyment among the higher classes in Calcutta. I consider the lot of a civil servant, stationed in a healthy province up the country, is far preferable to theirs who reside in that sickly city; the authority he possesses is grateful to an ambitious mind; the society he enjoys is limited, and perhaps agreeable; the climate more moderate and healthy than that of Bengal. The country affording rural amusements and field sports, from tiger hunting to quail shooting, a man so situated may, in my opinion, be very happy. A magistrate, possessed of a respectable office, dispensing [113] justice to those around him, and living in an agreeable country is, I consider, a happier man than the greatest or wealthiest in Calcutta. One should not find fault with things because they are different from what he has been accustomed to; a man of sense should discard little local prejudices, and adapt his manners to the customs of that country in which he resides; but with every effort and every adaption, Europeans, in Bengal, will find sufficient cause of annoyance and disagreement.

RELIGION AND POLICE

(Letter XVII). I shall conclude my notices of Calcutta by some observations upon religion and the police. The police establishment of Calcutta is greatly complained of, and is very defective, both as regards surveillance and efficient useful regu-

lations. The magistrates are not civilians, possessing permanent appointments, but persons who receive their situations from, and hold them at the pleasure of government, in consequence of which they are, and must be its creatures. Such an order of things may be both necessary and proper in England, [114] where the members of administration can be supposed to have very little intercourse with a police magistrate, in whose conduct any impropriety would be speedily exposed and punished; but in India it is totally different, and there the members of government have got connexions amongst merchants and other respectable inhabitants, so that their direct influence may screen these latter indirectly. Again, the society of Calcutta is so confined, speaking comparatively with other large towns, that the police magistrates are personally acquainted with the most respectable inhabitants, and will undoubtedly favour their friends when accused by a stranger; nay, they do it, they do it in the most shameful manner, of which I shall relate an instance that occurred some time ago, and was noticed in the Journal:—two gentlemen were taking their evening drive in a gig, when a coach came forward from a gateway with great rapidity. The coachman drove toward them without slackening his pace, or attending to their perilous situation, upset and broke their gig, from which they were thrown and received personal injury. Upon enquiry, they discovered whose servant the driver was, and summoned him before a magistrate; the man came, produced a letter from his master, a military officer of rank; upon perusing which, this worthy magistrate dismissed [115] the parties, and told them he could give them no redress! From this anecdote, you will have an idea of these gentlemen's characters, who are dependent men, both from their situation and circumstances liable to influence; so that very little good can be expected and very little is derived from them. The persons employed as watchmen, are called chokedars, and the watchhouse a chokey.

Disputes frequently occur between them and sailors in consequence of their mutual ignorance respecting each other's language, and the latter are often extremely ill-used by them; for it is a common practice among them to beat prisoners of this description, whether provoked by opposition or not. These persons, however, are protected by their superior, the magistrate, from whom it would be vain to look for redress, as he

will protect his understrappers whether right or wrong. In Calcutta the police regulations common to great towns are unknown. There is no registry of vehicles or conveyances for public accommodation, such as hackries, palanquins, boats upon the river, &c. which should be all under proper regulations. Police interference is confined almost solely to keeping the peace, and the removal of nuisances; in other respects it is not known. That system which should prevail in every metropolis, [116] and which is so rigidly adhered to in London, remains still to be introduced. A registry should be made out of public accommodations, numbers affixed to them, and reasonable charges established. Police orders and institutions should be felt by all ranks of men, within the city, to be really useful; and police magistrates should be independent men, holding permanent situations resumable only on account of misconduct in office. Men are naturally enough inclined to be subservient to superiors, without being weighed down by the additional burthen of absolute dependence. Make them independent if you would have them to administer justice. Let the Calcutta magistrates be so; form suitable police regulations, and those causes of complaint which prevail at present will be removed. Let corrupt favouritism, or corrupt practices of any kind be severely punished; so that, as by a wholesome regimen, these gentlemen may be restored to a second tone of feeling, and a reform will follow immediately. Religion in Calcutta, is as various in the manner and objects of devotion as the people who inhabit it. There, all worship God after their own heart, and after the forms of their ancestors, without dreaming of that odious persecution which was once so sanguinary, and still prevails among Christian nations. For my own part I cannot [117] conceive a greater satire upon our holy religion than for its servants to come forward with a Bible in one hand and axe in the other, to proclaim the religion of peace and commit murder in a breath; to preach charity and forgiveness of injuries in the pulpit, to light the faggot, and enact penal statutes out of it. Statutes which are disgraceful to a civilized nation and Christian people, which convert their boastings of liberality and justice into the ravings of absurdity and folly. Calcutta is an episcopal see, its first bishop. Dr. Middleton, died lately, from a stroke of the sun, which he got by crossing the Hoogly, on a very sultry morning, to examine the new

college erected near the Company's garden. He possessed talents, and the pride of talents, and was unpopular among the inhabitants of Calcutta, because he kept them at a proper distance, because he would not humble his mitre before their mercantile haughtiness. A short time afterwards the archdeacon was carried off by the cholera morbus.

The cathedral is a handsome building. There is a Scotch kirk, which is also a handsome building. Beside these there are a number of missionary chapels, and a strong corps of this class of clerical gentlemen to be met with, both here and at Serampore. In Bengal, and, curious to relate, in the immediate vicinity of Calcutta, the culpable points of Hindoo superstition are carried in greater excess than in any other part of India. It is here that those miserable persons who are languishing under severe sickness, are hurried down to the Ganges, from which they must not return alive. but are suffocated by their friends with mud and water. It is here that the widow sacrifices herself upon the burning pile of her deceased husband, and by this self-devotion affords us an example that superstition is often stronger than the love of life or fear of death. This practice is confined principally to certain families of high caste, who consider the adherence to it as a point of honour, which confers lustre on their name, and is carefully inculcated in their daughter's minds, so that it is not the result of a momentary impulse. but of a long resolved determination, and, therefore, the victims do not conduct themselves like mad enthusiasts, but collected martyrs. No drugs are administered, no intoxicating spices to inspire her with false courage; but with calm and collected fortitude, this child of error and victim of family pride, embraces her husband's corpse, and clasps the faggot of death. Music drowns her cries, bamboos are thrown across to prevent her convulsive struggles, or escape; and her form is quickly changed to a heap of ashes. At [118] a distance from Calcutta it is not practised, even in the upper parts of Bengal it is not; however, our government has so far interfered with it as to oblige persons, on an occasion of this kind, to obtain permission from a magistrate. At Kalee Ghaut is a famous temple where the Hindoos worship, and practise different modes of self-torture, such as boring the tongue and sides, and passing spears, bamboos, or other things through the wound—this is as bad as the

monkish flagellation. The principal religious ceremony is that of the doorga pooga : upon this occasion respectable people make a structure of wood, paper, &c. ornamented and gilt, as an offering resembling a pagoda or tower, which they carry in procession, amidst the noise of drums, trumpets, hautboys, and throw into the river as a conclusion of the scene. Ignorant fellows, and poor fellows who get paid for it, suspend themselves by hooks, stuck into the back, and whirl round at a height of thirty feet from the ground. At night baboos receive Europeans, who visit them from curiosity. These gentlemen indulge with dancing girls, music, and perfumes ; the temples are filled with worshippers, who express their devotion by shouting, uproar, and beating their breasts. These penances of Hindooism are more prevalent about Calcutta than any part of the interior that [120] I am acquainted with ; so that a stranger who stops there, for a short time, will see and hear of more absurdity than is to be met with in most other places.

FLOATING CORPSES

[130] .. (From letter XVIII) ... Here he sees the bramins duck and paddy bird, sauntering at the water side ; there, the crow, pariar dog, and vulture, banquetting. Good heaven ! how shocking it is to humanity, how sickening to behold the remains of their feast ! a hand or an arm—a leg, or, perhaps, the head are left—whilst the other parts are picked bare to the bone. A skeleton would not affect one so, but the skeleton with a sound member strikes a knell of mortality to one's heart ; the process of destruction is going on, a bird of prey is tearing that limb which was once animated with life like yours and mine ; the hand that remains entire seems left as a witness, to testify how low the power, and pride, [131] and strength of man, will be reduced at last. This custom of committing bodies to the river prevails principally about Calcutta and the lower parts of Bengal, where wood is dear, and poor people either cannot, or will not purchase it, to perform the funeral rites of their deceased friends ; there it is a great nuisance, and bodies are seen floating down the river entangled about ships, or else thrown ashore by the tide ; nothing inspires Englishmen with more horror than a sight like this. Casting the body to dogs and birds of prey, was a prophetic denunciation uttered against their most criminal

kings among the Jews, and has, in childhood or manhood, struck terror into our hearts ; here we behold the punishment, and our mind, impelled by a nervous excitement of deeply graven impressions, imagines the crimes and enormities which led to it. Higher up the country, and on the banks of small rivers, I have never known it to be practised ; there they always consume their dead upon a funeral pile, and scatter their ashes in the river. In Tirhoot, if a man be too poor to purchase wood for this ceremony, any respectable person will give him a tree, or he may cut one with impunity for the necessity of the case, and the reverence due to the dead, shield him alike from question or reproach.

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PANCHSOWES : [132] . . . The boats used for this internal navigation are called panchsowes, and are very clumsy ; they are almost flat-bottomed in order to draw less water, as during the dry season many places are scarce navigable ; the boatmen, too, should be acquainted with the river, on account of the shoals and currents which are very numerous, and would [133] cause great difficulty or inconvenience to an inexperienced person. To sit upon one's budgerow in the evening, enjoying the fresh breeze, and viewing a fleet of these little vessels scud before the wind, is pleasant enough ; their tattered, ragged sails, and rough unadorned sides, in my mind, make a more various and picturesque appearance than boats would elegantly rigged. These are the productions of art, and convey to the mind an idea of labour ; those the rude workmanship of nature, which please even in their defects ; the careless chisel that dressed them, and unskilled hand that shaped them out, representing industry consummating her wishes without constraint. . . .

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[137] Amongst the native inhabitants of Calcutta and the low parts of Bengal, sircars, and persons of respectability are soft featured and good looking, but the lower and working classes are by no means comely ; their complexion is sooty, their person ill-turned, and gait shuffling ; the women are dirty in their appearance, and worse looking than the men ; you will often behold among them that part we call a bosom in England, hanging down in a shrivelled hag-like manner, and very offensive to an eye that regards either beauty or decency.

13.

CALCUTTA IN 1827*

By *Naufragus*¹

[27] On the 25th of January 1812, we hove in sight of the Little Andamans . . . In a few days a heavy swell announced our near approach to the sand-heads²; and soon afterwards a lascar at the foretopmasthead gave us the joyful news of a pilot schooner being in sight. At this intelligence the captain, who was all anxiety to see his wife and family, was delighted. In an instant our union jack was unfurled at the fore, while in less than an hour a beautiful brig hove to, close on our weather-bow, and sent a pilot on board. He was a fine young man, apparently about three-and-twenty, remarkable for his *penchant* for cheroots; never for a moment was he without one in his mouth, giving orders at the same time, and chatting to us all, with ease and good nature: the pilot-schooner kept us company.

As we advanced, the Saugor sands became more and more conspicuous; at last a loud, rumbling noise, resembling that of thunder, which, as we approached the sands, increased to a terrific roar, the surge at the same time dashing over the breakers to an appalling height, inspired us with feelings not at all in unison with those of the pilot, whose features indicated complete self-possession. We were now hailed from the mast-head with "land in sight"; anxious to see Bengal, I ran up to the foretop-gallant yard-arm, and my longing eyes were satisfied with a distinct view of Saugor Island on our starboard bow: shortly after, the East Indiamen, lying in Saugor roads, appeared in sight; and at six o'clock we came to an anchor. The captain was so overjoyed, that he had "Away with melancholy" three

* From *THE ADVENTURES OF NAUFRAGUS*. written by himself, London, 1827 (Smith, Elder & Co., 65 Cornhill, pp. xiii + 225, 1/8th royal size). "Naufragus" was the pseudonym of Moffat James Horne, who after his stormy career in the East Indies worked in the India Office.

times that [28] night, and his other favourite songs in proportion; and the pilot, when joining in the chorus, convinced us of the strength of his lungs.

At daylight we weighed anchor, and passed Saugor Island, with a fair wind. In a little time the small craft, lying off Kedgerree, appeared on our larboard bow: with the wind and current in our favour, we soon came abreast of Kedgerree; and in a short-time it disappeared altogether. We sailed up the river with wonderful celerity.—“Now, Naufragus,” said our captain, “you will see the beauties of Hindostan, with its wonders, and all its princely luxuries;” while the pilot would ever and anon, as we approached the banks of the river, lend me his telescope to watch the approach of some thirsty tiger from the jungles, or crafty alligator from the river’s depths. Tassit, smoking his hookah on the hencoops, seemed wholly intent on the pleasure of a speedy interview with his beloved Sarsnee.

I went aloft, in the hope of a foretaste of the beauties of Hindostan; but I was disappointed: nothing but a low, flat, bushy country presented itself to my view in every direction.—“Where—where are the boasted beauties of India?” said I to Tassit.—“You will see—you will see,” was his reply. The tow-boats were now sent a-head to assist at slack tide. As we moved slowly and majestically up the river, by the light of a clear full moon, the silence around, interrupted by the regular splashing of the tow-boat’s paddles, and by the shouts of the boatmen, answering at intervals in a not unmusical voice, at first loud and cheering, then dying away gradually, the pilot’s call of “*Than-Brhabar!* pull a-head!” produced a rather pleasing impression, but left behind a melancholy one.

On the third day an Arab ship passed close to us, on board of which were three Circassian beauties, who were distinctly visible, with the aid of the telescope; they were in their cabin, looking at us with as much curiosity as we at them; and certainly their complexions were so transcendently fair, and their features so beautiful, I could not be surprised at the high estimation in which the Circassian women are held throughout Asia.

As evening drew to a close, we saw the “Company’s Gardens” to our left; and on our right “Garden-reach”. All at once, a scene of magic splendour, which took possession of my senses,

[29] burst upon my view, and astonished me : the gorgeous palaces, which were no more than the garden-houses of civil and military officers, and merchants, were on a scale of magnificence totally unexpected by me ; never had I beheld, nor have I ever since beheld, the habitations of men so intensely grand and imposing : the banks of the river, for a distance of three or four miles, were studded with palaces, disposed in an irregular line, some of them having each a peristyle of twenty-four columns, producing an inconceivably striking effect ; and the landscape seemed to vie in richness with the buildings.

In a little time, Fort William, considered to be the finest fortress out of Europe, presented itself to our sight, and astonished us by the grandeur of its appearance as seen above the ramparts. The Government House, and the town of Calcutta, hitherto concealed, next opened suddenly to our view, and elicited a spontaneous burst of admiration from me.—“Ah,” said I to Tassit, “how happy should I be to live in such a country as this ! it is far, far more beautiful than England, dressed in all its charms.” On the mention of England, there was something in the looks and manner of Tassit, which, though he was not a native, seemed to call up busy Memory’s dearest objects.—“Nay, Naufragus,” rejoined Tassit, “prefer not this gilded land to your native home : I know it better than you can know it : a land of luxury is not necessarily a land of happiness ; the hardy inhabitant of a bleak cliff in England may be blessed with a thousand charms—a thousand tender links to social comfort, which the owner of yonder palace may in vain pine to possess, setting aside contentment and rude health, both of which inestimable treasures are in this land almost strangers to us.” “If,” continued he, “it were not for my beloved Sarsnee, I should pine for the land in which I spent my boyish days so happily.” “Oh, Love ! potent tyrant ! nor country nor time can withstand thy sovereign away ; ay, youth—the world—and mammon too, bow down before thee, and must confess thee sovereign of all—the first and best of nature’s boons. Would that “the course of love always did run smooth !” but if it did, the earth would be too blest, and mortals wish to live for ever !

The ebb tide causing us to come to an anchor for the night, my good captain took leave of us, after having left with Tassit the [30] necessary instructions respecting his duty, and having

assured me "that he would take care I should be well paid for my services on board." The hearty squeeze of the hand which he gave me at parting, would, if any proof had been necessary, have convinced me of the sincerity of his professions of esteem and friendship. He then went on shore, taking Yadhoo with him : she eyed the surrounding wonders with an eager and impatient look, while a smile of satisfaction, arising probably from the prospect of a change of situation, lit up her countenance.— "There, Naufragus," said Tassit, pointing to our captain, who had got into a palanquin, and was by this time scarcely visible—"there goes as noble a fellow as ever stepped ; he carries within his bosom a heart of gold, a mine of inestimable wealth ; he lives, Naufragus, not so much for himself as for others ; withersoever he goes, his fellow-creatures have cause to rejoice at his presence. At this moment his heart is overflowing with the happy thought of meeting a beloved wife, in whose smiles alone he seeks reward for the incessant toils and dangers attending his profession. May he enjoy all the blessings of this life, and eternal joys in the next, say I !"—"Yes Tassit," said I, "and let us drink his health, and may he have a happy meeting with his family".—"With all my heart," rejoined Tassit. The pilot entered heart and soul into our feelings, and our worthy captain's health was drank with enthusiasm.

METRANEE

Tassit now proposed half an hour's recreation on shore, to which I joyfully acceded, being anxious to tread the land of Bengal. Scarcely had I time to look about me, on our landing, before my attention was arrested by a female form, of the middle stature, who walked by us with an air of elegance and dignity which surprised me. She was withal exceedingly lovely, and possessed, I thought, the finest form I had ever seen, set off to great advantage by her native dress, a fold of fine calico thrown loosely round her, yet gently compressing her waist, so as to display her shape to the utmost possible advantage ; one end of the calico was fastened with a pin to her jet-black hair ; her ears were ornamented with large ear-rings, and a profusion of trinkets ; her fingers covered with rings, and her wrists with bangles ; while her feet, and finely proportioned ankles, were left bare.

The intensity of my gaze so far attracted her notice, that to my delight [31] she smiled, but disappeared almost at the same instant. With ecstasy I turned to Tassit—"Ah, my dear friend, did you behold that angelic figure?—tell me, what was she?—a native princess—perhaps the heiress of this princely mansion? I am sure she must be a being of some superior order."—"Naufragus," interrupted. Tassit, "you are young—have not yet entered the third age, that age which a poet of your country pronounces to be as baneful to youth as sunken rocks to mariners: no, Naufragus, she is no princess—nor is she the heiress of yonder palace—no, nor a being of a superior order, as you vainly imagine; but, start not, she is neither more nor less than a *metrane*³."

In spite of my friend's philosophic advice, I could not, as we walked on the grass plat, before so stately a mansion, divest my mind of the idea of one whom I had considered so worthy to inhabit it. The time and place—surrounding objects—and, above all, the intoxicating fragrance of the gentle zephyrs, wafted from the Company's gardens opposite, aroused in me feelings which till then had lain almost dormant. I felt, as I imagine Adam must have felt in Paradise before Eve's creation, happy, but imperfectly so; there was still a vacuum, a something necessary to perfect bliss.

At daylight the next morning we again weighed anchor; at eight o'clock we brought up off Calcutta, and moored our brig close on shore, when the pilot took leave of us, with hearty demonstrations of friendship. Scarcely had he left us, before a tall and handsome copper-coloured youth, habited in white, and with a countenance as sedate as that of age, came on board, and was recognized by Tassit with a smile of delight. He was a domestic of his faithful Sarsnee, who brought beneath his vest a large plum-cake, two bottles of wine, and a kind invitation to come on shore. Tassit overwhelmed him with questions; and Moodoosoodan Cheterjee felt equally delighted to see his old friend Tassit safe and sound. It was agreed that we should both go on shore the following day. I slept but little that night, both because my imagination was busy with the expected novelties of the morrow, and because mosquitoes in swarms incessantly hummed about my eyes, nose, and ears. The annoyance to those sensitive organs I can [32] compare to nothing better

than to their being tickled with fine feathers. The bite of the mosquito is not dissimilar to that of a gnat, but it is attended with considerably greater inflammation, and leaves behind a very uneasy sensation for some time after. Moodoosoodan Cheterjee was sent the next day to procure me mosquito curtains, made of gauze, by which alone I was afterwards able to repel these indefatigable tormentors.

At length the time arrived for me to go on shore.—“*Naufragus*,” said Tassit, “different countries have different customs ; in England we walk—here we ride in palanquins ;” and indeed the moment we touched the shore, we were puzzled how to choose among so many : Tassit, however, very coolly stretched himself at his full length in the one nearest to him, and I followed his example, Moodoosoodan Cheterjee running by our side.

If I was pleased at the external appearance of the city, as seen from the river, how much was my expectation surpassed in beholding its interior ! The superb buildings, the bustle of industry, the creaking of hackeries, or carts drawn by bullocks, the jostling of innumerable palanquins, the jabbering of the Bengallees and palanquin-bearers, the novelty of their dress (nothing but a fold of white calico thrown loosely over the body, and on the head a turban)—altogether composed a scene which so enchanted my imagination, that I could hardly divest myself of the idea that I was in fairy land ; but my reverie was not long undisturbed, its charm being dissolved by a constant attendance at the side of my palanquin of importunate vendors of books, sandalwood boxes, bows and arrows, fans made of peacock’s feathers, and oriental curiosities.

We alighted at the house of Tassit’s friend, a Mr. Wetzler, who received him with open arms, and welcomed me most cordially, as his friend.—“But where, where is my Sarsnee ?” said Tassit. A pair of folding-doors then flew open, and a very lovely brunette appeared, and threw her arms very affectionately round Tassit’s neck. She was a sister of Mr. Wetzler’s, and I heartily congratulated my friend on the prospect he had of possessing such a treasure. I wish I could gratify my readers by setting off Tassit’s person and features to advantage ; but in this respect he was inferior to the charming woman whom he had chosen for his wife. His good sense, however, and the ex-

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bath awaited us ; and having dressed, we sat down at eight, to a substantial breakfast of rice, fish, coffee, tea, cold ham, fruit, and the hookah. "Now, Naufragus," said Tassit, "you shall see the renowned city of Calcutta." Stretched at full length in our palanquins, we were carried along at the rate of six or seven miles an hour ; but the drudgery of the poor blacks who bore me under a burning sun with such rapidity, greatly diminished the pleasure of the conveyance. Tassit pointed out to me the government-house, built by the Marquis of Wellesley, at an amazing expence, and worthy of the princely city of Calcutta. It is situated on the western side of the esplanade, and is a most august and beautiful fabric, from whatever point it is viewed. Over the four arches, or gates, that lead to it, are placed spinxes, with various figures and emblems, which produce a good effect. The king's and company's arms are emblazoned over the western and eastern gates. The black hole, where so many of my unfortunate countrymen died, victims to Indian tyranny, was then shewn me ; and a torrent of ideas rushed to my memory, as I surveyed the very spot where the agony of the dying had once shrieked in vain for succour. On the fatal spot is erected a monument, which is intended at once to hold up to execration the memory of Surajah-ud-Dowlah, and to commemorate the sufferings and fortitude of his victims. It is a pyramid, truncated at the top, and standing upon a square pedestal, having a design in sculpture on each of its sides, and an inscription in the English and Indian languages. It is surrounded with an iron railing, and exhibits a mournful appearance, not unsuitable to the event which it is intended to commemorate. Tank-square, the range of Writers'-buildings, St. John's cathedral, and the Scotch church, with numerous other buildings, both public and private, on a scale of gigantic magnificence, each in its turn, claimed my attention.

"Now, Naufragus," said my conductor, "I will shew you a sight, the relation of which would scarcely be believed in your happy country." We joined a dense mass of natives, and to my astonishment I beheld men suspended, thirty or thirty-five feet from the ground, at the end of poles, to which they were [35] hooked through the muscles of the back, and whirling round and round in the air, with incredible swiftness. It was the Hindoo festival of the "*Doorga Pooga*", and the bigoted victims of mis-

taken zeal seemed not only to bear their tortures with fortitude, but to hail them with exultation. The victim, during the period of his suspension, which is about two or three minutes, is employed in casting flowers, and copper or silver coin, to the applauding multitude beneath him; he is then let down, and dismissed in triumph. This species of self-infliction is generally practised in honour of the goddess *Mari-amma*, whose rites are among the most wicked and sanguinary of those which are observed in India. I turned aside with disgust, not unmixed with pity, at the infatuation of man, who could thus transform a land, replenished by the bountiful Creator with every necessary, and even every luxury of life, and that almost under a remission of the sentence—"By the sweat of thy brow," into a seat of deplorable superstition and bigotry.

Scarcely had our palanquins made way through the crowd which hemmed us in on all sides, before another spectacle intercepted our progress to the garden-house of our good captain, where we intended to spend the evening. This new object of attraction however, was more gratifying to our feelings than the first; it was the marriage festival of two young natives of rank, mere infants, accompanied with all the pomp which distinguishes the marriage ceremony in the east. A long procession preceded the infant bride and bridegroom; the individuals composing it carrying flowers and salvers of silver, gold, frankincense, myrrh, and sweetmeats, to be presented as gifts to the poor as well as the rich; and when the young bride and bridegroom, gorgeously arrayed, appeared, both in one palanquin, literally covered with gold, diamonds, and other precious stones, the noise from the cymbals and "tum-tums"⁵ was deafening. The bride was a fine child, of a fair complexion, about five or six years of age; but I could not get a distinct view of the bridegroom. The marriage cost no less than five lacs of rupees, (nearly sixty-three thousand pounds). What particularly struck my attention was the imposing beauty of a white Arab horse in procession; it was [36] gorgeously caparisoned in the eastern style, and ridden by a very handsome Hindoo. The haughty and measured pace of the noble animal, and its gaudy trappings, formed a striking contrast with the wild and turbulent scene around us.

It was evening when we were set down at the steps of a neat garden house, in *Intally*⁶; our friend gave us a cordial welcome,

and introduced us to his wife, an exceedingly fair Creole lady. She was dressed in fine white muslin ; her beautiful black tresses hung negligently down a well-proportioned neck, and a turban tastily formed, set off her fine expressive features to great advantage. She was busied in the duties of hospitality towards a party of her husband's friends, and received us with a degree of graceful dignity and ease, which at once charmed us and impressed us with respect. We could see by her eyes, the happiness which she felt in having her husband once more by her side ; and he seemed in an Elysium of joy, and infused a portion of it into us all.

In the midst of our enjoyment, a slender youthful female, habited with studied grace in the Malay style, entered the room, and handed round, in a massy silver salver, sweetmeats and vine. The captain and Tassit fixed their eyes steadfastly on me, but totally unconscious of their meaning, I turned to gaze on the attractive beauty of the girl

[53] After a pleasant passage of six weeks (from Point de Galle, Ceylon), I once more trod the streets of Calcutta ; but, alas ! what changes may a few "little months" produced ! and how frequently, on returning to a fixed abode, after a short absence, is this truth fatally impressed upon us. I found my esteemed friend and patron, Captain Lambert, numbered with the numberless dead ; and Tassit had left Calcutta, with his lovely bride, and one boy, the fruit of their union, to superintend an indigo factory, at some station up the country, but where I could not learn. Thus was I deprived of two friends, who, a few months before, had proved themselves the props of my existence, and on whom rested the realization of my future prospects. Let me, however, indulge the hope, that all endeared ties, connexions, and virtuous friendships, formed on earth, and on earth divided, may be renewed and matured "in another and a better world".

I was now comparatively rich, and rented a small house in [54] "Jaun's Bazar," at four gold mohurs' (£ 8) per month, and took Tassit's favourite sircar *Moodoosooden Chetarjee*, into my service. For some time I was divided in opinion as to whether I should proceed to my old markets, Lingin and Minto, as an officer, and wait patiently until further successes in trade had increased my capital, or at once purchase a brig, and command

her. I was at least a week in considering this matter, sometimes with my Jersey friend, Captain Thomson—sometimes alone, over a refreshing tumbler of "*Brandy pawnny*,"⁸ but most frequently when enjoying the fragrant sweets of the hookah⁹, to the vivifying charms of which I fancied myself indebted, if not for the *best* of my ideas, at least for the abundance of them. At length I decided on the purchase of a brig, and told Moodoosooden Chetarjee to look out for one, the price of which was not to exceed four thousand rupees,¹⁰ or five hundred pounds.

Moodoosooden Chetarjee was, as I before said, a sedate-looking youth ; his gait and manner had even an air of sanctity, much heightened by his dress, a garment of fine linen folded loosely over him, and hanging down to his sandaled feet, his turban being of rich muslin. On his entrance he would make his *salam* by raising his hands, in a graceful curve, to his forehead, touching it three times.—"Well, Moodoosooden," I would exclaim, "what news this morning?"—[With emphasis].—"All the best news, my lord!" "What is it, Moodoosooden?"—"Nothing [55] my lord!" This odd reply at first gave disappointment to inspired hopes ; and it was not until I got used to Moodoosooden's manner, that I could suppress the curiosity which his mode of answering was calculated to excite. In general, indeed, as may well be imagined, the natives puzzle Europeans, fresh from their native soil. Once, for instance, in a free trader's arrival off Diamond Harbour, from Europe, a baboo¹¹ having come on board, with his attendants, to make his *salam* to the commander, was addressed with—"Well, Ramcunny, [all flocking round him] what news in Calcutta?"—"Oh, bad, very bad news, my lord!"—"What is that, let's have it."—"Oh, *Colonel Forbis*, master, kill one crore¹² black, and plenty white man, every day," to the consternation of all—"Indeed!" said the pilot ; "that must have happened then, since I've come down." All were pretty well puzzled in endeavouring to ascertain who this desperate fellow—"Colonel Forbis," could be ; he was at length discovered to be a personification of the *cholera morbus*, which had just then made its appearance, and was raging with fatal violence.

On another occasion, an English gentleman, who was going on a visit for a few days to a friend at Hooghly, left his bungalow at Aleppe, in the charge of his sircar, with strict directions to write, should any thing happen. A day or two had

scarcely elapsed ere a letter came from blackee, who probably wrote from the dictionary, indited verbatim as follows :—

“My dear friend—We all wait you : come this day—the shutters quite abroad, and a nullity thereabouts : last night they had very great palpitation—Come directly. From your loving friend and servant,

RAMCUNNY BUTTERJEA”.

On receipt of this important epistle, the gentleman re-[56] paired to Aleppe, and found that the shutters of his bungalow had indeed had a “very great palpitation” for a hurricane had blown them completely off the hinges ; and moreover, they had gone “quite abroad,” or, in other words, were blown to the distance of twenty or thirty yards from the house. As for the “nullity thereabouts”, he interpreted that to refer to the bare appearance of the walls.

* * * * *

[57] “Before I proceed in my narrative, I cannot avoid remarking how lamentable it is, that one can hardly move a step in fair India’s shore, without having the feelings outraged, or the eye offended, by the savage exhibition of her barbarous superstitions and customs. Thus, when we reached the ghaut, we found a miserable, shrivelled old woman, whose natural life was apparently near its close, lying at low-water mark, with her feet towards the river, looking mournfully and in despair around her, and waiting only for the rise of tide to cover her from the world for ever. Her mouth and nostrils were nearly stuffed with mud ; and, incredible as it may appear, it was by her own children that she was left in that condition, and doomed to that fate. Having [57] placed her there, they went away, leaving a domestic of the family to watch, and to prevent any one from interfering with her. I asked Moodoosooden the reason of this, and if her fate could not be prevented?—“She might”, I added, “yet recover, if carried home, and proper attention were paid her ; or, if not, it would be an act of mercy to let the poor old creature die peaceably in her bed.”—“It is, my lord,” replied Moodoosooden, “the *custom* : if it is not her fate thus to die, she will get up and return home ; but if she cannot do that, her time is come, and nothing can protract it. “The waters of the

Hooghly", he added, "will purify her spirit, and fit her to enter Paradise: hundreds die thus every day."—"Why do not the police look to it, Moodoosooden?"—"The police," he rejoined, "do not interfere with matters of our religion". It was only the same morning, when, being at a different ghaut, and seeing a crowd of natives, who were forming a circle, and making a loud noise, to the sound of the tum-tum, I ventured to look in, and observe what was going forward. In the midst of the circle was a middle-aged female, who, having been wrought to a pitch of extraordinary excitement, probably by drugs, was wringing her hands and dancing in a wild frantic manner: at her feet was placed a cistern of red-hot charcoal, before which she first lay prostrate, and in the height of her frenzy, three times, for two or three seconds at a time, pressed her face closely on the fire, to the delight and admiration of the surrounding crowd, testified by the clapping of hands, and by discordant shouts and yells. She was taken up in a senseless state, and conveyed home in a palanquin. I could just see enough of her face to feel regret that my curiosity had prompted me to look at it at all.

* * * * *

[135] Bidding adieu to Calcutta, and all my friends, among others were Moodoosooden Chetarjee, and Thomson, who still remained out of employ, I hired two sets of palanquin-bearers, first having dispatched a long letter to my friend Endtfield, and commenced my journey towards Barrackpore, with Virginia, who was by my side in a separate palanquin. The road is a straight one for sixteen miles, of an imposing width, level as the surface of the sea in a dead calm, and shaded on either side with rows of trees, planted at the distance of twelve or fifteen feet from each other, without intermission the whole way. Barrackpore, since fatally celebrated on account of the recent mutiny of the sepoys, is situated on the eastern side of the river Hooghly. The Governor-General has a superb seat there, where he usually recreates from the toil and bustle attending the performance of the duties of his station at the presidency. The grounds around this retreat are laid out with infinite taste, in imitation of our parks in England, and produce a splendid effect on the eye, especially immediately after entering the gates. This park also contains a menagerie of wild beasts, birds, and quadrupeds, of oriental growth, including in it all that is rare and curious: the

whole is thrown open to the inspection of European visitors. The military, cantonments are in a healthy situation ; and the officers' seats, or bungalows, which are separated at convenient distances from each other, present an idea of comfort to the mind, rarely associated with the tastes and prejudices of Englishmen out of their own country. There is an excellent parade, commanding a view of the river Hooghly, and where the sepoys may be seen to exercise in the mornings, about sunrise. On the whole, it is a pleasant airy situation, and an enviable residence for an European, who wishes to enjoy the novel luxury attending a country residence in India.

NOTES (by Naufragus)

1. Miss Emma Roberts (*Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan*, 2nd edition, two volumes, 1837) has confirmed that *Naufragus* was MOFFAT JAMES HORNE (volume II, note on page 353). She says : "The name of the author of *Naufragus*, Moffat James Horne, is not generally known ; perhaps no work ever published has presented a truer picture of the romance of real life". About the *Adventures of Naufragus*, Miss Roberts says : "In a very interesting little volume, published a few years ago, entitled *Naufragus*, some details will be found, which afford a very correct representation of the mode of life and conduct of these indigo-planters who scruple at nothing in the furtherance of any guilty pursuit. The romance attached to this narrative has made many perhaps suppose that it is altogether of a fictitious nature, whereas the whole is a veritable history of the life and adventures of a singularly amiable young man, who at an early period of his life was sent to seek his fortune in the world. Many persons in Bengal are still living to corroborate his account of an indigo-planter, who did not scruple to incense a whole population against him, by forcibly carrying off the bride of a brahman, as she was proceeding to the home of her husband" (II, p. 353).

Naufragus in his Preface says : "It is a faithful narrative of the trials and adventures of a man, who feeling that his course had been no common one". He committed them into writing as "the information afforded is entirely the result of my own experience and observation".

2. Sands at the entrance of the river Hooghly, as fatal to mariners as the Godwins in the British Channel.
3. A female domestic employed sweep the house. They are usually of the lowest cast, denominated "pariahs".

4. A board, about twelve feet in length, three in width, and one inch in thickness, richly gilded and papered. It is fastened by ropes to the roof or ceiling, and kept in motion by means of a line attached to its centre, and pulled by a person who sits in a corner of the room. (p. 33)
5. A kind of kettle-drum.
6. In the suburbs of the town of Calcutta.
7. Gold mohur, a gold coin, not always of the same value, but in general about fifteen or sixteen sicca rupees.
8. Brandy and water.
9. The cost of a hookah complete is at least two hundred rupees (£ 28). The tobacco is first cleaned, then cut up, and mashed with plantain, or other fruits, into a cake; this, scented with musk, otto of roses, or other perfumes, is so bewitching to the smell, as almost to tempt the palate. I have heard that girls in England sometimes nibble Windsor soap, and to them this delicious compound would be a treat. The hookah-stand, usually of cut glass, is nearly full of pure water, through which the tobacco is drawn. it then enters a snake, or tube, from twelve to fifteen feet long, the end of which, tipped with a mouth-piece, is honoured by being received into the "white man's" mouth, who, to sit with the required dignity, must stretch out his legs as far as he well can, over, and if possible, right across the table. The mouth-piece is about five inches in length. If belonging to a native of rank, or wealthy merchant, it is extremely costly, being of gold, set with diamonds and other precious stones. The price of a hookah of this kind, with the snake and its accompaniments on a corresponding scale of magnificence, is known often to exceed a lack of rupees (£ 12,500).
10. The rupee is of silver, and varies in value according to the part of India in which it is coined. Its general value is two shillings and six pence.
11. The baboos of Calcutta are a very useful class of persons; their business is to dispose of the investments of European traders, to make purchases for them in the bazar, and, in short, to provide all their necessaries. They indeed, by their superior skill in the art of over-reaching, levy a duty on their employer beyond what he expected to be called upon to pay; but if *they* cheat him, they take care that no one else shall. The baboos of the lower description (or sircars), with the view of getting into their power any young European, fresh from Europe, readily come forward with advances of cash; in which case they seldom fail to realise a handsome interest on their money, charging an enormous profit of seventy-five or a hundred per cent. on every article furnished. (note p. 33)
12. One hundred lacks of rupees.

CALCUTTA IN 1827-1828*

By Mrs. Fenton¹

[8] *7th January, 1827.*—With what eager interests you watch the first objects which denote your arrival on a new soil, from the moment you see the Island of Sagur like a small cloud in the horizon! then you perceive it thick with mighty forests, you distinguish separate trees, and their luxuriant foliage is so refreshing to your eyes. Presently you are surrounded with bamboo boats filled with natives, presenting fish or fruit all equally strange. My gratification was quite childish: I sat hour after hour in the stern window, with a beautiful child belonging to a soldier, of whom we had made quite a plaything, and my delight was not less than his in watching the dandies cooking their curry! The Dak (*i.e.* post) boat soon came alongside. The postmaster at Kedgerree had perceived a lady on deck and politely sent her a basket of oranges, pummeloes, and bananas, none of which was I suffered to taste by the assiduity of the Doctor and [9] Niel. . . . Some cows were brought on board for the crew and troops, which appeared not much larger than English calves.

. . . I found Captain Steuart a very Highlander in everything, and determined to render me comfortable and at ease. We soon became familiar on the subjects of home and clanship. When the sun declined we found a seat on the top of the boat agreeable, and the novelty of the scene soon occupied all my attention. The distance between Diamond Harbour and Calcutta is about seventy miles; country boats run up in two tides; calculating all delays, generally twenty-four hours is enough. These simple

* From *THE JOURNAL OF MRS. FENTON—A Narrative of her life in India, the Isle of France (Mauritius), and Tasmania During the years 1826-1830*, with a Preface by Sir Henry Lawrence Bart.; London, Edward Arnold, Publisher to the India Office, 1901, pages viii+396, octavo, Part I: India.

structures, formed of bamboo and [10] sewed with cocoa-nut, have the advantage in point of lightness over those of more elegant appearance termed beauliahs. These latter are painted green, looking like a hut in a boat, the sides formed of Venetians.

Though the banks of the river are quite flat the luxuriant vegetation and the variety of tropical productions all interest the eye of a European, and certainly, in point of picturesque effect, the groups of bamboo huts are unrivalled; they are invariably shaded by trees of the most majestic growth, and interspersed with the slender stems of the cocoa, whose lofty and feathery boughs, or rather leaves, wave with the slightest impulse when all others are motionless. But it would be endless to enumerate all those features which constitute the beauty and the novelty of an Indian landscape. I was never weary of admiring the bamboo, it grows in clumps like the willow; the long and flexible branches stretch in a thousand fantastic shapes around the cottages, which are also built or woven of their boughs, for many of them are no more than basket work. In strong contrast with this delicate tree, and generally close in its vicinity, grows the plantain; the long, silky leaves of a beautiful pale green, provide the natives with an excellent substitute for paper or napkins; they put up all small things in them, and it is a comfort to reflect they are perfectly pure and clean; I have seen them two yards long. The fruit grows in clusters of pods, somewhat like a bean, of beautiful yellow or red; it eats like a mealy pear with less flavour. The leaves possess another recommendation in being the best remedy I know for the grievous visitation of mosquito bites, which if unguardedly inflamed become incredibly troublesome and often dangerous. After binding one on my foot for the night, I found the swelling so much abated that I could walk next day.

[11] The object which attracts you next may be a mosque or a pagoda, surrounded by mangoes or built under a majestic banyan tree, whose self-creating branches droop around into such beautiful arches. Then some rows of tamarind, the leaves much like the mountain ash; the fruit grows in pods, which when ripe are of a mahogany brown; they make a nice syrup. If it is the season for pummelo or citron, they seem of such a beautiful bright yellow you think of fables of golden apples and many other fanciful ideas. You can hardly believe their size; at first

I waited to see them fall. Then there is the papaw, resembling long melons, growing below the leaves round the stem of the tree.

But I must not keep you too long among the woods, especially as we are now sailing on the river and night making rapid advances. Twilight there is *none*, but the air was so balmy and warm we continued to sit on the top of the boat beneath the blue and starry skies. Allan Steuart had a country boat for his own accommodation during the night, and after doing all he could to arrange my mattress and make me comfortable we separated, hoping to be near the city of palaces by the morning. I lay down, first rolling a gauze handkerchief round my head to keep off the mosquitoes. I tried to sleep, but no! the motion of the boat, the jargon of the dandies, the wild, dire cries of the jackals on the banks all forbid it. Finding I could not sleep, I rose and opened the Venetian blinds, as the clearness of the air permitted me to distinguish the trees, mosques, and huts we sailed by. At last some of tide or wind obliged us to stop, and Captain Steuart's boat came alongside to know how I felt. He had been striving to keep his boat from outstripping mine, supposing I was enough of a lady to be afraid of being alone.

[12] I was glad when morning rose and gave me a clearer view of the surrounding scenery, as we were now before some large houses. In this climate, where all the productions of nature seem to flourish in lavish and enduring fertility, the rapid decay which attends each work of man is striking and somewhat melancholy. The style of building is light and generally elegant, the houses are surrounded by verandahs supported by pillars which give a graceful and elegant character to the whole fabric. The rains have such a destructive influence on everything that I am told each house requires an entire repair every three years, exhibiting on that time a more ruinous aspect than one in England neglected for centuries will do. The Venetian widows rot and fall out, the white or yellow walls become blackened and seem like houses destroyed by fire—the resting-place for birds and beasts of prey. The fearful familiarity of the former almost startles you; it would be difficult to fancy anything so ferocious as the vulture, especially if you see them first as I did, in the act of contending for and tearing their prey. Kites, crows, and hawks fly actually in clouds around you

ADJUTANT BIRDS

The adjutant stands from three to four feet high, something like a huge crane in colour and shape, the neck bare of feathers, the beak of a whitish hue and at least a quarter of a yard in length, embellished with a bag or pocket for bones, fish or anything they can find. A medical man on whose veracity I rely, told me he had been brought to attend a little girl who had been carried to the top of a house by one of these feathered monsters.

Do you recollect in that entertaining book, *Sayings and Doings*, the tale in which an eccentric Indian sends to the care of his elegant and rather simple niece two adjutants and a snake, and the well-bred despair of poor Mary who, instead [13] of what she was prepared to receive, two dashing officers, encountered the monsters she expected must devour her children? I am of opinion this production will outlive most that have been published for the last ten years, particularly the second series, containing the inimitable story of *Passion and Principle*. How often in the North-West gales off the Cape I thought of the sufferings of Fanny; I hope you may never know how faithfully the description is given.

As soon as my companion perceived I was dressed, he came to my boat and we resumed our seat on the top. Oh! how beautiful is the Indian sunrise—but more of this hereafter. As morning waned into day we both began to feel that breakfast would be an agreeable variation of our pursuits, of which there was but little prospect as we were yet ten or fifteen miles from Calcutta. So it was proposed by Captain Steuart that we should stop at the house of a lady with whom he was acquainted.

In about an hour after, a sudden reach of the river disclosed the City of Palaces. But much, very much, is lost of its effect by lying so low; the distant view, too, from the river is so mingled with the shipping that it is not very satisfactory. We were now before the ghaut at the residence of Mrs Cleland, to whom Allen Steuart went on to announce my arrival, and returned with a very kind and pressing invitation. I felt a curious sensation on treading for the first time on the ground, as we walked through the compound where the lady of the mansion waited, who was indeed most prepossessing in appearance, but

almost painfully delicate to look on, so fair, almost wan in complexion, which the contrast of being dressed in mourning increased. She offered me a bath and all the luxuries of her elegant mansion and, after we had breakfasted, insisted on my spending the rest of the day with her, arranging [14] that Captain Steuart should go in and bring his niece next morning at eight to breakfast and spend the morning. All this was concluded, and I saw my first acquaintance depart, and had to commence another with the two ladies with whom I was so abruptly domesticated. The second person was a Miss—who did not seem to me an attractive specimen of Indian young ladies, and you may guess my astonishment to see her deliberately sit down after breakfast to smoke a cheroot. As nature had not been very liberal of attraction I really thought she might have spared herself the effort of being more disagreeable. However, this was *her* concern, not mine, and shortly after my kind and gentle hostess advised me to undress and go to bed, as I must feel the effects of the journey, to which I willingly assented.

I think one of the first impressions on the mind of an English stranger is the utter want of comfort exhibited in an Indian sleeping apartment. *Your* idea of a bedroom—and it was *mine* also—is that of a retirement, a sanctuary where none can or will intrude! and how various are the situations in this life of many trials, when to shut the door and say, 'I am alone' is all the sick heart wants and all the solace it can receive. From long indulgence this feeling became second nature to me. I believe I often carried it too far and felt uncomfortable when either chance or necessity obliged me to dress or undress in the room with any other—even when ill I disliked an attendant.

THE AYAH

I can hardly tell you my perplexity when Mrs. C. brought me into a spacious room and wished me good repose. 'Ye Powers!' thought I, '*who* could sleep in a room where four doors and four windows all stand open?' My next determination was 'they shall be shut,' and I began to go round the room with this resolve, but found my labour in vain, as all [15] were unblest with either lock or bolt, indicating *too* plainly that Indian doors

were not supposed to shut. So not Richmond but the open doors 'did murder sleep'.

My bed stood in the middle of the floor without curtains, with pillows as hard as the table and about the size of a pin-cushion. There was only one chair in the room, and I looked in vain for some place to put my clothes, or a basin of water to wash. Observe, I had declined the service of Mrs. C.'s ayah, who with her attendant of lower caste is always supposed to stand at your side *to put on* and *take off* your clothes—a ceremony which nothing could ever induce me to comply with. I could not endure their hands about me; the oil which forms a part of their toilet, the pawn they eat, renders them so insatiably curious; they try to make it appear they are indispensable to your comfort, and fall on a thousand contrivances to keep always in your way and a perpetual watch on all you do. They attend you with the most disgusting servility if they have any end to attain, then perhaps decamp with whatever they can strip you of. They never work, and if you were in the utmost perplexity or want of a needlewoman, can render you no assistance. You need not wonder I have lost all good will for them, and much prefer the attendance of a bearer, who answers equally well to fetch or carry anything you want, and can be sent off when you are done with him.

However, to every lady I have met, but myself, these women are necessary. I am satisfied it is in many cases from ostentation, for I see those depend most on them whose early life was spent in menial offices at home, and whom nature never designed for anything higher. One of these said in my hearing the other day, 'she could not put on her [16] own stocking'. I had good reason to know she seldom had any to wear before she was sent to India.

This is a long digression but must have been told to explain why I felt so comfortless in my apartment. I looked into the next room where my ayah lay on the floor, on which was strewn many articles of a lady's dress; she seemed so like a dog keeping watch on them. There stood many articles of which I should have felt the comfort, but did not like to intrude. Nor did I then understand that close by was a bathing-room which would have added so much to my satisfaction. When I did lie down

I forgot the necessity of having the mosquito curtains arranged—the vile insects settled upon me; the adjutant flew down on the verandah off the trees, the crows perched on the windows,—and at last I rose in despair, giving up the point as hopeless, though so much exhausted by the preceding night's fatigue.

BOXWALLAHS

Everything seemed still within and about the house. The stillness of the noonday in India I often after found more dreary than night. The birds flew, the boats sailed languidly by the ghaut. Mrs. Cleland had said she hoped I should be sufficiently refreshed to join them at tiffin. It was now twelve, and I felt that sort of *mental confusion* and weakness which put *thinking* at defiance; so, peeping into the next apartment to be sure it was unoccupied, I made a hasty seizure of a book off the couch and a small punkah which instinct taught me was to aid me in defence of the mosquitoes. About the appointed hour I made my second appearance, found Mrs. C. at work and Miss—extended on a couch, busied in the contents of large box which two half-naked creatures brought in between them, containing lace, ribbons, muslin, and all sorts of European manufacture, which *only* is considered stylish here. A few moments taught me two [17] things—first, that these itinerant merchants were termed 'Box-wallers' (*sic*), and that the survey of their merchandise constitutes an important part of the daily employ of half the ladies in India. The mode of treatment to these poor wretches first *astonished* then *amused* me. The box-waller was informed by both ladies that he was a thief, to which he assented with profound salaams, observing that 'whatever Mem Sahib said was right'. He was then asked 'what brought him, as they did not want him', though the bearer had been told to send him up. He was next told to go away, and then to show his things, which all the time he had been quietly preparing to do. The first article, a piece of chintz he handed Miss,—she dismissed by throwing at his head, to my unequivocal horror. Another and another shared the same fate, until a petticoat of scarlet and blue was chosen for the ayah. Then came the tug-of-war, about the price, for fair ladies consider it highly meritorious to reduce their demands to the lowest possible. They

seemed to me so very poor, wretched and abject, I do believe if I had possessed any money I should have given it to them. After this divertisement was over we went downstairs to tiffin spread in the hall, which is no other than a small dinner, excepting that the dishes are placed on the table without a cloth, which at first has an unpleasant appearance.

On returning to the drawing-room I was very closely questioned as to the last English fashions, length of waists, and shape of sleeves and shoes. I was not then aware of the importance of possessing a stock of dresses fresh from the Regent Street mint. After a short interval I found the custom was for all to retire after tiffin until the evening ride or drive, which is never before four—here was another two hours to be disposed of. So again I undressed, first possessing [18] myself of another book, of which I soon tired, and began to wonder and to wish for Niel's appearance, but this I knew could not be until he had delivered up his charge of the men. As I lay in bed I could see the lengthening shadows fall on the river, and soon experienced the delightful and refreshing influence of evening. I was hardly dressed before Mrs. Cleland came to invite me to drive out if such was my choice, or if a walk to the river and seat by its bank might be equally agreeable, until Mr. C.'s return from Calcutta about seven. I preferred the walk, and strolled along the compound, where every shrub and flower was an object of interest. The bearers, who seem to know all your intentions and wishes intuitively, were waiting with chairs to place wherever we might approve, and thus we sat until the arrival of Mr. Cleland. Introduction, then news of the day, brought eight o'clock and dinner, and though this was a family party, the number of attendants and variety of dishes made it seem a formal and ceremonious proceeding, which, though it lasted very, very long, at last terminated in cheroot-smoking by all present but myself. After the appearance of servants and tea in the drawing-room, the languour of all the company expressed that the next best thing was going to bed; something was said about early rising, and we all departed. I was beginning to sleep very comfortably towards the middle of the night, as it seemed, when I heard an universal stir through the house. I heard voices, and talk of horses, hats, whips, coffee; I sat up, wondering what it could mean. Presently I was accosted by a

voice at the door inquiring if I would ride or drive. I signified my apology, but wondered not the less what driving in the middle of the night could mean—however it was then near four o'clock, but utterly dark.

Then the rest of the party had the advantage of me in the [19] time of rising, as they all returned to bed again. I was dressed and roaming about the vacant rooms and verandahs until the hour of eight brought Captain Steuart and Mrs. Allan. She was a very fine-looking young woman of nineteen, without much Scotch accent, altogether prepossessing and attractive. She expressed much cordiality, and spoke of Niel, his mother, and sisters with affection. She seemed so light-hearted and ingenuous, I thought with regret, 'how time must come with all its blights'.

The style here is, if persons live at a distance and wish to visit, they go to breakfast and remain until the hour for the evening drive. This is a system I much like; it disposes of ceremony at once; and this day passed much as the former had, and about five o'clock I prepared to accompany Mrs. Allan to the residence of Ballygunge, two miles beyond Calcutta in the opposite direction, with many kind adieux from Mrs. C., and promises soon to renew my visit and introduce my husband.

BISHOP'S COLLEGE

As we drove out of the compound, the evening sun was falling in such splendour on the spires of Bishop's College, which stood on the other side of the river. It forms a beautiful addition to the scenery at this point of the river, and in itself is an interesting object, the style Gothic, and shaded by fine cedar and palmira trees; a pretty church has just been finished. An impervious forest forms the background of the picture. It has been built with the view of promoting Christian knowledge in India, in converting the Hindoos; and you know I am rather hard of conviction on this head, but to offer any opinion at present on the expediency of the measure would be very premature; nothing *has been* effected at present, they are only *educating teachers* I am told, and the progress is slow; besides I can gather that the super-[20]intendent is not very popular, or considered likely to give good graces to the attempt. We had

also a distant view of the Botanic Garden which adjoins the College ; I long to pay it a visit. The last I saw was in Glasgow, where I particularly marked a plantain tree, how feeble in comparison of those I see around me now.

Our drive to Calcutta for about six miles was interesting by the number and variety of beautiful houses belonging to the wealthy inhabitants of Calcutta, whose employments, civil or military, in the city, render a country-house an agreeable variety. You would suppose Aladdin's lamp was in circulation here.

But the advance of twilight concluded my observations until we reached our resting-place, where Mr. Allan was waiting our arrival, from whom I experienced a very kind reception. He seemed a well-informed and intelligent person. There appeared a large party for dinner, as I then imagined ; but it was nothing more than the usual mode of life. and soon I thought it a thing of course too, yet could not help looking joyfully to the time when I should possess a more private residence.

A few days more brought Niel, and then I was completely happy, as he enjoyed perfect health and a degree of spirits and excitement I had never before known him to possess. He was ordered to join the depot at Chinsurah until arrangements were made for sending the detachments on; but, after disposing of them *there*, the Commandant very kindly dispensed with his personal attendance, that he might return to me at Calcutta and make preparation for our voyage up the river.

Time flew rapidly : you can do very little in one day in India, *for this cause* that you can hardly *do anything* for yourself, and whatever you must perform through the medium [21] of a native is both loss of time and wreck of patience. A number of the 13th were in Calcutta, and we had constant visiting. As Niel had been anything but a ladies' man, there was some curiosity to see the one who captivated him. Among others, I saw my old friend Macpherson, who is a sad wreck of himself, but kind and warm-hearted as ever. Poor fellow, the last time I saw him was at Kilderry, he had come to bid me farewell and bring me a letter from Campbell : he is going to the Nilgherry hills. Between visitors, writing letters, and arranging my clothes, the day glides away, and it is time to dress for driving before I know how the hours have fled. The evening rendez-

vous, the Course, is our usual destination, as all persons who can command, borrow, or steal an equipage, make a point of appearing there.

After once seeing it,—its mixture of all nations, conditions, and customs, the strong contrast of luxury and indigence, from the gay chariot of Lady Amherst to the humble hackney of the native drawn by starved bullocks, or four thin, emaciated palkee bearers, bending under the weight of eighteen stone of European flesh,—though I still returned from the effect of habit, it was with a feeling of melancholy. In the first place, when I saw the sun set, gorgeous in all the hues of a tropic sky, I could not cease to think that the evening hour of January was then gathering around the hearth in my native home, so far, far distant, my beloved family! and that *there* were those who would long view my vacant place with sorrow, and sweet voices of infancy who would often ask wherefore it remained vacant. And shall it continue ever thus?

'Shall spacious lands and mountains tall
Between us lie, and billows curled;
And tho' one Home contained us all,
Our graves be scattered o'er the world!'

[22] How exquisitely does Mrs. Hemans in the 'Graves of a Household' embody this thought, so that you feel an *individual* regret, and my sympathy was not excited most strongly for him who is described 'To sleep where pearls lie deep,' though the loved of all, nor yet for her, 'o'er whom the myrtle showers its leaves'—but for him—(perhaps from the association of ideas)

'Who in the forests of the West
By a dark stream is laid.
The Indian knows his place of rest
Far in the cedar shade!'

Some day, when I have nothing else to write, I will copy the poem, which perchance you may not have met.

But to return from the rainbow forms of imagination to myself, Bessie Campbell. At times the hopelessness of our ever again being re-united absorbed my mind, which sickened at the pageantry of the scene. These thoughts were, however, confined to my own breast, for when Jane Allan and Niel were my companions they were gaiety itself, and talked or sang frag-

ments of Gaelic songs half the time. However, I was not always so agreeably associated, and the conversation of my female acquaintances seldom went beyond the scandal or the fashion of the day, which to listen to in *this* frame of mind was dreadful, and you used to pay me the compliment of saying, I concerned myself less with the affairs or conduct of others than any one you know.

Our route to this conflux of idleness and vanity conducted us by an extensive burying-ground. The tombs are very lofty, and though generally purely white at first, the climate soon defaces and renders them truly melancholy, which effect is heightened by the dark undying foliage of the cypress.

[23] 'Within the place of thousand tombs
Which shine beneath, while dark above
The sad, but living cypress glooms
And withers not, though branch and leaf
Are stamped with an eternal grief.
Like early, unrequited Love !'

I used to gaze, almost with tears, when I remembered *how many* lay there who had constituted the sole hope of some heartbroken mother, wife, or sister! and while this idea was yet thrilling to my heart's core, another turn would bring us into the gay scene I have been describing.

Just at the period, too, many hours of the day were passed in the sick room of Allan Steuart, who had been dangerously ill of fever, which I grieved to think was in some degree occasioned by exposure to the air of the river and jungle in bringing me from the ship, and continuing in wet clothes going to Chin-surah with Niel a few days after. How deeply did I feel from this contrast 'that in the midst of life you are in death.'

After driving until it is dark you return to dress for dinner about eight. I have been so assured that I cannot live without an ayah that in compliance with custom and opinion I have been obliged to take one, for what use I do not yet know, as I keep her at the outside of my door until I am dressed, and am so well satisfied with Niel's proficiency in the science of tying strings and putting in pins that I much prefer him; besides, it interrupts our only moment for conversation to have this creature standing gazing at us. Then we always make a

rule that whichever is first dressed shall read some portion of the Bible, for if it is not done before we leave our room so many things interrupt during the day that it is seldom done after. As a great favour I allow the ayah to plait my hair, which they do beautifully, and Niel [24] is so vain of my hair he stands by to inspect the performance.

SOCIETY IN CALCUTTA

You will expect of me some account of society here, but I still am incapable of forming a fair estimate from its perpetual fluctuation. You rarely meet the same party twice. If military, they are generally proceeding to or from the Upper Provinces, perhaps trying to get off from India before they are quite dead, and often in weak health and obliged to commit their affairs to others, by whose rapacity they are too much depressed either to amuse or be amused. For myself, from the effects of the climate and continual bustle and excitement, by the time I had dressed and sat out a long dinner I felt well-nigh stupefied and ready, like the prophetess of Odin, to say—

'Now my weary lips I close,
Leave—oh leave me to repose.'

Although repose may have been earned by fatigue, to be able to sleep in Calcutta or its vicinity is not always a matter of certainty. It is quite impossible to give you any just idea of the fearful cries of the jackals who frequently come to your verandah; they do not merely howl, but they set up a lengthened, varying cry, so like a human creature in intense agony, I defy you to sleep under such painful associations. In addition to these tormentors *outside*, *within* you have musk-rats, lizards, mosquitoes, cockroaches, and bugs, so that you know not on which side to prepare your defence. Yet I am told at this season only the climate and country are endurable. The hot wind and rainy reason is pronounced by all to be terrible. At present I often feel it so cold at night and in the morning, I am glad to wear a shawl. There is a misty dampness in the air, partly from all the doors and windows lying open, which sometimes occasions a regretful thought on the curtained window and blazing fire of England.

[25] Though so destitute of drapery, the rooms when lit up have a good effect ; the lights being placed within glass shades round the walls, their being so much above your eyes is pleasant. When I asked last night in the simplicity of my heart, how I was to work with lights so distant, I was informed that ladies *never* work. When your ayah considers any of your clothes require repair, she with due solemnity hands them to your *dirzie* (tailor) who sits for that purpose on the mat in the verandah. Moreover I am told it is not fashionable ever to see my clothes until putting them on, the aforesaid lady taking them in charge, also money, keys, ornaments. I resolved before I subscribed unconditionally to this arrangement to try how I liked it, as it seems very miserable if I must have this black-faced thing always at my elbow.

A set of servants have been transferred to me by an officer going home, at least those connected with the table, and they are eight in number—a cook, a mussolgee, who is a sort of cook's attendant and holds a lanthorn, which none of the bearers will do, as perchance it might have been made of a cow ; a khaunsamah, or principal attendant at table, who receives your orders and purchases all things for food, or, as it is termed, 'makes your bazaar,' of which, I am told, some of the conditions are curious. He considers it his perquisite to deduct two annas—which is about threepence—from every rupee he expends ; they only acknowledge *one*, so fancy what a tax is here. In addition to this extortion he buys a fowl for three annas and charges it in his bill eight or twelve, he pays three rupees for a piece of beef and gives it to you five ; he buys a leg of mutton for eight annas, and charges two rupees ; the same down to the smallest vegetable, so fancy what he gains from every dinner you order. There are two [26] *kitmutgars*, who stand by your chair and all but cut your food. The khaunsamah is only supposed to carry in the last dish, the soup, and, standing behind his lady's chair, to superintend. The dishes, all but large joints, are handed round the table, and when you go to dine or breakfast out your retinue still attend, for no other person's servant will wait on you, and at the conclusion of the feast the door-keeper takes especially care to search each one who passes out, so that none of your spoons or forks may disappear with them.

Next, there is a *bheestie*, whose sole employment, is to carry

water, filling your drinking and bathing vessels out of a wondrous-looking leather bag or skin of a sheep; a sweeper, who is to sweep your mats twice in the day; then a dobee or washerman. I am told we still require about eight or ten others:—four bearers, two of whom are to attend Niel, the sirdar bearer holding the same place in a gentleman's retinue that the ayah does in a lady's. But as we still retain our faithful Irishman in charge of our things at Chinsurah and intend taking him on with us, Niel declines the pleasures of his personal attendants, at least until we reach Dinapore; and I was of opinion that, when I became my own mistress at Chinsurah, I should free myself of the ayah, and content myself with the occasional attendance of Eliza Sherock, who had most affectionately waited on me at sea, and whose husband was of our party. When I went out to inspect this regiment of servants I was much amused by the humble enquiry of the khaunsamah: 'If Mem Sahib was very passionate.'

On Christmas day we dined at the house of a Persian lady. The first thing I saw in the morning was the verandah strewn with flowers, and coolies sitting with baskets of oranges and various fruit and vegetables covered with blossoms and leaves. [27] This is a ceremony never omitted by our servants in honour of the day, which I need not tell you they expect to be tenfold repaid for, and on their own festivals and birthdays they repeat it until your patience is worn out.

I felt rather sad on the thought of home, and the blank left in both Niel's family and mine. His dear old mother told me she made a rule to write to her absent children on this day, so I shall look for a letter about the middle of May. All I have been preparing are ready to sail in the *Cambria Castle* on the 27th. Instead of driving, Niel and myself preferred a stroll into the jungle, for the mere pleasure of walking and being alone, to talk of home, of the future, and the past, and prolonged our ramble until I had just time to dress for dinner. I must tell you I had a violent curiosity to see the Persian lady; I suppose I was thinking of Lalla Rookh and Hinda.

'Light as the Angel shapes that bless
An infant's dream, tho' not the less
Rich in all woman's loveliness.'

But when I was introduced to a little woman about four feet ten, almost as broad as she was long, in the *act of smoking* a hookah, I nearly expressed my amazement audibly. I suppose it was to give this symmetry better effect that she had arrayed herself in a stiff China satin of the most showy pattern. She was, however, a perfect queen of diamonds; wore three necklaces, one of splendid emeralds and diamonds, valuable in themselves but frightfully set; another just clasping the throat, of large beautiful pearls; a third of fine gold, besides appendages of all sorts, such as crosses, hearts, etc., bracelets and rings. The lady's hair was also worthy of remark, being dusted with something that gave it a vermilion shade, and twisted up without curl or plait.

[28] Moore ought to be beheaded at least for sending my wits dreaming; perchance Nourmahal may have been in a different style, when the magnificent son of Akbar, we are informed by the song—

'Preferred in his heart, the least ringlet that curled
Down her exquisite neck, to the throne of the world.'

However, let me acknowledge that however ill-selected were the lady's dress and ornaments, her conversation and manners were superior to those of many Europeans. She was at once intelligent and unpretending, though I am told a person of rank in her own court.

BUDGEROW

(*January 3rd—February 25th, 1827*). [29] . . . "After a good deal of confusion in collecting all things requisite, furnishing our floating house, arranging with our servants, behold us at last on board our budgerow, which, when, once put in order, seemed to me the most agreeable habitation I had yet been mistress of. But how shall I describe to you the shape and fashion of a budgerow? unless you will assist me by fancying you see a small house in a boat, I know not how to do it, and yet I *have seen* the exact similitude on some of my grandmother's cups and saucers, jars and vases, which, along with their other embellishments of hanging bridges and flying foxes, excited my wonder and consternation; and here it is worthy of remark how

exactly they depict the present costume ; Atcheen Boss, who provides my shoes, exhibits precisely such a head and sleeves as you will see on the flower-pot.

From the sides being formed of Venetians, we can have as much or as little of the prospect as we like—the same of the air and sun. There are three rooms, all nicely matted ; the [30] first, our sitting-room, is sufficiently large to hold in the centre a table where eight persons may dine comfortably, a crimson satin couch at each side, where we sit in the evening when all the blinds are taken up ; a small table, here called a *teapoy*, in each corner ; one contains my writing box, another Niel's, two others our books. We have chairs and bamboo moras, and festools, *here* my workbox, *there* Niel's *beloved gun case*, and when the door is shut and we gliding pleasantly on, you cannot fancy a more neat and agreeable apartment. The inner one has our couch, dressing table, washing ditto, two chests of drawers, and the last is a sort of bathing place. Such is our budgerow, which has sixteen oars to row when convenient, or track with ropes, the dandies walking along the bank ; though it seems laborious I do not believe it is so in reality ; once afloat, a small impulse onward is sufficient. We have also a baggage boat for all superfluous and heavy articles, and a cooking boat, on the top of which the *dobee* and all his tribe seem very comfortably established. These boats are formed of bamboo and covered with matting ; they are styled 'country boats.'" (pp. 29-30) . . . "except my *khaunsamah*, who acknowledges to speak a little English, which they are generally very unwilling to do". (p. 30).

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"Next morning we stopped at Serhampore to breakfast, and walked for an hour in the interval. There is not much to be seen, the buildings are chiefly in ruins". (p. 31).

PRAN KISSEN HALDAR'S HOUSE

"There is a splendid house belonging to a native close to the (English) church (at Chinsurah) ; I would call it a palace, the verandahs in this country so much increase the apparent extent of the houses. The proprietor of this building is called *Praw Kinson Holdar* ; he professes to be a devout admirer of English

people and habits, and gives splendid nautches. His house is furnished according to the Indian idea of European style, and I am told he is highly flattered when the military visit him, which Niel intends doing, and says I must be of the party, to which I have no objection". (p. 35).

"And then it was so cheerful to regain our boat, where all our servants sat smoking their hookahs on the (river) bank (at Chinsurah) awaiting our return, in their neat white dresses and scarlet turbans and cummerbunds, with a chair prepared to carry Mem Sahib into the boat, as the tide had retreated. The interior of my budgerow is truly comfortable, with the clear, bright lamp over the tea-table, and the scarlet curtains at this season closely drawn over the window or gilmils." (p. 37).

(Mrs. Fenton visited the "residence of Praw Kinson Holdar, which was certainly very curious to an English eye").

"Captain Macdonald sent to him to say, a lady intended to visit there, and he returned his bote salame to entreat the honour of her presence.

"The lower apartments of these large houses here are extremely dirty, as they are generally filled with lumber, palkees, water goglets, slippers, hookahs, and a lazy chokadar in keeping of the place, like a dog on his mat. You ascend to a suite of spacious reception and dining-rooms, furnished with damask satin couches and low ottomans, brilliant with crystal lustre and beautifully painted wall-shades, which when lit up must doubtless have an extremely good effect. There were some fine paintings, and mixed with these in true Hindoostanee taste, wretched daubs of water-coloured drawings, like a child's first attempt. Various punkahs covered with crimson silk and fringed with gold met your view in every direction" (p. 39).

"Off these were what they termed *sleeping rooms*, which never *had been* slept in and *never were to be* so appropriated. It made my head ache even to look on the little stiff pillows stuffed with cocoa-nut; indeed the whole aspect of these rooms was enough to murder sleep. They give you such an idea of the utter absence of comfort. Vast and lovely chairs and tables all looked, as if growing out of the floor. But what especially delighted me was a small room which Praw Kinson, in the innocence of his heart, called a reading room. It contained a writing-table whereon lay an edition of Murray's *Reader* per-

forated by the ants, and an old newspaper and an *Annual Register*. Only fancy his idea of an English library! I don't think Dominie Sampson would have delighted much in the office of librarian to the Eastern nobleman. There was, however, little to interest me after the first glance, and I was impatient to be gone, as I found it fatiguing to stroll about these long apartments in the heat of the day. Our turbaned host, with many salaams, declared if I could prolong my stay till next month he would give a nautch for my divertisement. (pp. 39-40).

"There still remained to be seen the zenana, or women's house, which was separated from the one we were leaving; this I put off visiting for another day. It (the house) also contains a sort of place of devotion, or shrine for their pagan worship, which a few evenings after I saw to great advantage by moonlight. A large square, surrounded by beautiful arches, one row above another supported by pillars of white Chunam, so *purely* white I had never before seen anything which fixed my attention for the moment so much. There were only two objects to divide it, the simple and chaste effect of the interior surrounding me and the intense blue of the moonlight heaven above, as if neither sin or sorrow lay beneath the stars which, in enduring brightness, had looked down when the spot on which it stood was thick jungle, the lair of the tiger and the deadly serpent, and will shine as brilliantly over its ruin when one stone shall not remain upon another!" (p. 40).

"They (natives) are such huge, overgrown creatures, and seem as if their time was equally divided between sleeping and eating mountains of rice and ghee (Anglice, butter turned to oil)" (p. 41).

"I must not forget to tell you that the result of my visit to the harem (Pran Kissen Haldar's) was not very satisfactory. as a severe-looking old dame appeared, to apologise for the non-appearance of the ladies, as they were going either to bathe or to pray—one ceremony, I believe, does for both" (p. 41).

"Look at the fishing-boats just ahead of the budgerow and the mutchlee wallah standing to offer us the produce of his labour; then that row of tamarind trees on the opposite bank, almost white with pigeons, and through an opening of their branches see that pagoda in the distance—see the bucktree-wallah taking home that herd of goats and kids, and look at my

people and habits, and gives splendid nautches. His house is furnished according to the Indian idea of European style, and I am told he is highly flattered when the military visit him, which Niel intends doing, and says I must be of the party, to which I have no objection". (p. 35).

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"The result of all this was—none was decided on, and finally, the dirzee forced to complete an inferior one in such haste it had to be half stitched, half pinned on her gown at the last moment, during which you may fancy the lady's temper. I was lying on my couch in my dressing-gown reading, not being of this or any other party, when the ayah came crying to the door, giving me Mem Sahib's salaam, so I proceeded to her room and such a scene there! All the dirzees of all the ladies at this unhappy gown, and, to make matters worse, the arrangement of her hair was unfortunate. The ayah through fear had failed, and my assistance was the last hope. Poor thing, if she had but believed that no soul would ever think about it, or perhaps look at her, she might have spared a world of woe. We tried flowers, then gauze, curls, everything that might remedy the evil, with little success, for the difficulty lay in the scantiness of the lady's hair, and she wished it to have the same effect of Miss—just arrived from Ireland in the blossom of youth and beauty, fair seventeen, and with luxuriant hair; and *what* art could effect her wishes? After trying to adjust some refractory tresses she suddenly exclaimed, 'How *you* are to be envied!' I stared at her; she then explained it was my hair she coveted. You may fancy how infinitely I was relieved when the whole party, servants and all, were gone off, and I left to enjoy the perusal of *The Epicurean* which I had just opened when summoned to this conference. (p. 167).

"The other evening I heard Mrs. Heber's name frequently repeated, and rather with some terms bordering on censure. I was much surprised; from all I had ever learned, I believed her to be a most amiable and talented woman, in short such a wife as we expect to meet with *such* a man. There was something she had done which they were discussing, and pronounced it 'not consistent with strict propriety'. I was considerably relieved to find it was some particular trimming omitted on her bonnet." (p. 167).

BOTANICAL GARDEN

"Here they grew in native luxuriance on a spot which seemed borrowed from the jungle, the background being composed of ancient trees. It is most advantageously laid out with a happy

adherence to nature, some parts allotted to shrubs, others to spice trees, again to flowers of which the scent was exquisite although the names unknown" (p. 170).

[180] "About four o'clock we went off to the gardens, with which the girls just arrived were delighted. I believe the greatest wonder to all present, as it had been long before to myself, was a magnificent-banyan tree. How little had any written description ever conveyed to me a just idea of its extent, nor do [181] I know how to find any that might express it to you, however desirous you should have some conception of such a sublime object. Imagine one mighty trunk, or rather an assemblage of stems grown together; from the wide extended lateral branches, roots descend and take root, increasing in thickness till they too assume the appearance of pillars, perfectly straight, smooth and polished. When this form is perfect, from the spot where the root first descended, other branches shoot out, extending in regular distances and forming another and wider circle; they throw down roots which form another family of pillars outside the first; if there was space, how far this extension might progress is beyond calculation. Already the tree seems to have stood for centuries, strengthened by its own reproduction. The eye is relieved and delighted by the variety of luxuriant creepers, twining round these pillars, clothing them in wreaths of the most glowing hues and glossy foliages; the roots of these seeming like monstrous cables on the ground, where they had precisely the same twisted, rope-like appearance. I had never heard of this tree, and came on it accidentally one evening; I stood and gazed for minutes without moving, almost without breathing . . . The only object to which it afforded any degree of comparison was a mighty cathedral, as I stood by the trunk and saw each circle of pillars and arches extend and diminish in beautiful perspective. On one side the last branches drooped into the river, and a faint breeze from the water at intervals put the leaves and flowers of the light creepers into quivering motion, and a stream of moonlight, clear as day, in many places falling on them, produced an effect I never can forget. There was but one poet who could have described it justly, he

'Who stood within the Coliseum's walls

'Mid the chief relics of almighty Rome.' (pp. 180-181)

[182] For me, I could only gaze, and again adore the wonder-working hand, which had permitted such an object to arise in the tractless desert.

[184] ... A little plantation of coffee skirted by mahogany trees is one of my favourite resorts ; nor can I walk through it without remembering the eager curiosity with which in childhood I turned the pages of my botanical history to copy its leaves and berries, or recalling the vision of a winter night at home.—What was it to me to see the clustering blossoms of the chumpā, or the snowy flowers of the magnolia, when I thought of the spreading branches of [185] the sycamore

"My shortened path is through that line of teak-trees, whose roots, strewn with withered leaves, rustle and display beneath the revolting object of skulls without number dragged by the voracious jackals from the river. These cross my path so fearlessly, it makes me often shudder, combined with the effect of their wild, dire cry." (p. 185).

[187] I never saw anything like Mrs. Grant's activity. I do think she is over the most of Calcutta every day. She calls on me after breakfast, and as fast as horses can drive we go from bazaar to bazaar ... After all this bustle during the morning [188] she generally drives out, having so many friends in town, and Miss Dickson at home to take care of the children. I frequently return to Fairley Place so tired that I go to my bed without dining. But generally Jane insists on my going to the Course, as, whether you are ill or well, to drive in the evening is considered a thing of necessity ...

[188] ... This evening while I was writing a letter, Jane and Mrs. Bruce (an Armenian lady) came into my dressing-room and asked me to look at some silks and ribbands they were choosing from a box-wallah outside.

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"The hour of eight was appointed, but even then the oppression of the air was insupportable, notwithstanding a lofty cathedral and punkahs in motion" (p. 194) ... "At last we regained the house, and had to undergo the misery of a burra hazree (a great breakfast) with the thermometer above 90°" (pp. 194-195).

A GARDEN REACH HOUSE

"At this season the Nor'west gales are usually felt, and they had set in with such violence we found it impossible to venture down lower." (p. 195).

[196] . . . One evening the Nor'west gale blew so heavily, I felt sick with the motion, and we left the pinnacle and took refuge for the night at the little inn of Fulda, where boats going to Calcutta frequently stop. What a wretched place it was; there was scarcely anything to eat, and with respect to accommodation I could not get a basin of water to wash my hands at night; a wretched night we spent, almost devoured by insects and stung with mosquitoes; so in the morning, in defiance of the storm, we resolved to return to the water, and met my bearer coming on shore to detail the disasters of the night. We found almost everything upset, glasses, basins, bottles broken, all the pretty little appendages of a lady's dressing-table destroyed. After all it was better than Fulda, so we reconciled ourselves to our diminished conveniences and proceeded higher up the river, where the effect of the sea breeze did not extend with the same violence . . .

[197] . . . Having got our pinnacle into safe mooring at Budge Budge (a pretty name enough if I could tell the meaning) we went, after my early dinner, on shore, and for the first time saw an European habitation, after wandering for some time seated ourselves on the bank to rest and watch the gathering shades of night, when rather suddenly a tonjin approached containing a lady and infant; a gentleman walked by them and a train of bearers with an elder child . . . As we were not sufficiently epicurean to remain at Budge Budge merely to eat the delicious mango fish, though very many old residents come down the river for this sole object, we moved up to Garden Reach to visit Mrs. Cleland . . . We made a trip up to Calcutta, to get the newspapers and hear what was going on.

[198] . . . "This is a beautiful house, and possesses every advantage, just on the bank of the river, in an extensive lawn sprinkled with cedar, teak, and mango-trees. Your first impression would be, that the house is uninhabited, as every door and window-blind is closed, and living things move not about the mansion. Even the huge kites and adjutants perch motion-

less on the top, the few goats and cows have hidden themselves under the shade of the banyan thickets. However as I know it is past eight, and hope and believe the bearer lies in the hall within, I venture without a chatta from the ghaut, and in despite of being half broiled, persist in my determination to be heard and admitted by the dormant bearer. At length, being inside, you take the survey of a long apartment, a table containing hats, parasols, old newspapers, and other miscellaneous articles ; at each end you see a handsome sitting-room, and one side of the hall opens to the dining-room and staircase. One of these end rooms is furnished and supposed to be a library, but the most part of the books lie on the floor waiting the bearer's pleasure to dust them, which perhaps he will not please to do for a month, or until his mistress is able to come downstairs, and in the interval the [199] ants will have completed their destruction. Throughout the mansion is darkness visible, save that in the further drawing room, where Miss—thinks she is working, there falls one partial ray of light on the table . . . I proceed to Mrs. Cleland's apartment, musing as I slowly ascend the stairs, on the habits and nature of Indians, of which none who has not experienced the climate and endured the association with, can form a remote idea of. They are indolent to excess, and from habit and constitutional temperament careless of engagements or promises, besides embarrassed by idle superstition and powerful antipathies. They present a mass of obstinate inertness ; there exists not in the heart of these degraded beings any spirit of emulation or self-respect to supply the place of bodily energy . . .

Having sent a bearer for her, I took off my clothes, and fortifying myself with a book and hand-punkah spent the hours until tiffin assembled us in the parlour, and there, conversation having a little revived, we sat, lounged, or walked until five o'clock dismissed us to dress, then drive. (pp. 199-200).

[200] . . . When seven o'clock again finds us in the drawing-room there is a considerable augmentation of our members, it is in fact a burra kaunna . . . The appearance of the khaunsamah at the door with clasped hands and profound salaam, put us into solemn procession towards the dining-room, all with due attention to place and precedence.

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"My kitmutgar brings in our coffee and communicates the loss of the red goat—died in the night from the cold; after vowing vengeance on the buckree-wallah, I feel energy enough to get up and walk to and fro in the verandah, and amuse myself in letting pieces of the chunam (*plaster*) off the wall drop in the river below" (pp. 211-212).

[212] ... 'Tis eight o'clock, my breakfast appears, and a large table covered chiefly with spoons and forks; because I would not suffer my khaunsamah to charge treble, he pretends there is no fish! The bread is swarming with ants, because the kitmutgar has taken off the napkin for some purpose unknown, and when I insist on it being produced, it appears as black as ink (p. 212).

"It is hardly possible to express the ways and means these servants have of tormenting and imposing on you, thus alike attacking your patience and your purse. The servants of all Europeans combine and fix a price at which only you can purchase; strive as you will, you cannot counteract this evil; there is a host against you, and lest you should detect it, your durwan (or door-keeper) receives a certain duty from them for excluding any but those *they* will countenance ... I made this discovery first from finding that the regular price of some Santipore muslin was seventeen rupees, whereas I had been giving twenty-one; on observing it to the sircar, he told me the additional four went in duty to my servants, the merchant actually receiving only seventeen ..." (pp. 212-213).

(*June 21, 1828*) ... "And now this dull day is almost gone, for after these dinners I never appear again, the gentlemen smoke segars on the verandah and drink brandy pawnee" (p. 215).

"I observed its (budgerow) appearance to Fenton, who hailed the mangee with the inquiry of whose boat it was: how calmly he replied, 'Dundas Sahib, he died yesterday near Santipore' (p. 215).

(*30th June, 1828*) :—"To visit Mrs. C. I accordingly set out after breakfast. There is a kind of hotel of a very second-rate order here (Chinsurah), seldom or never frequented by ladies, a sort of lounge for billiard players; and there the whole detachment had taken up their quarters. It quite disturbed my nerves to enter the general sitting-room, disorder, litter, dust,

and heat reigned . . . The room was filled with idle young men, and the aggregate to me horrible . . . Mrs. Cameron said gently she was miserably uncomfortable, and I repeated my regret at being unable to take them away, but begged she would spend as much of the day with me as possible, as they would find the quietness of mine (my house) a relief . . ." (p. 218).

"Enderby made a piteous lamentation about the state of his bungalow. The rain, he said, was pouring into the baby's apartment" (p. 224).

"A day or two ago as I lay on my couch the bearer came to say 'one beebee' wanted me". (p. 225).

"The evening gun just fires announcing nine o'clock and the bugle gives corresponding notice of the hour". (p. 226).

(28th September, 1828), *North Building, Fort William*—"I am now very comfortably settled in pleasant apartments here, and should be well pleased to stay all the cold season. It is, I suppose, one of the finest forts in the world, a little military city, the barracks forming squares, the centre grass kept in such perfect order, there is not a weed or a straw to be seen, not even a goat or a dog, nothing save the gigantic adjutant, who seems Commandant of the ground" (pp. 237-238) . . . "I went to call on Mrs. Bogle at Hourah, where she is staying with some relations." (p. 241).

NAUTCH AT RUPLAL MULLICK'S

(24th October, 1828). [241] Like many other Europeans I had a violent curiosity to see a Nautch. These native assemblies are much frequented about Calcutta, but I am told the true Hindoostanee nautch, as it is exhibited in the higher provinces, is such as no lady [242] could witness. To *this* Fenton was extremely unwilling. I should go, but all his assurances that I should be both disgusted and disappointed, failed to convince Jemima Aitkin and myself; go we must and did. I fixed a night when I understood many English ladies were invited. The party dined with me, and one of the gentlemen undertook to be our guide, but unfortunately the potency of the bumpers of champagne he despatched so bewildered his memory on our way to the house of Roupe Loll Mullock—which was supposed to be three miles off and through lanes and dilapidated streets

difficult of access even by day,—that I really despaired of ever reaching the place.

I ought to remind you that it is on these occasions the natives delight to display their wealth, and they consider it a great addition to their importance to have European guests. The poor animal who exists on rice and ghee all the year, contented with the mat for his bed, here may be seen playing the liberal entertainer.

These houses are generally narrow buildings surrounding a square, which on these gala nights is canopied by scarlet curwah, so that on entering what is only an open court, you might suppose it a vast and lofty apartment. Well! after driving furiously to different houses all lit up in the same style, as fast as horses could take us on, the glare of lamps, the rapid motion of the multitudes moving round us almost bewildered my brain,—I heartily wished to be set down in any place—and after much toil and loss of time we discovered the entrance to Roupe Loll Mullock's house thronged with carriages of every description.

We were either too late or too early, for very few Europeans were to be seen, the benches were filled by half-castes, and not liking to seat ourselves with them, we walked about that [243] room in all directions until accosted by a grim native or baboo, attired in fine Dacca muslin with a beautiful necklace of topaz. After presenting his sons, one a young man, the other a boy in trousers and vest of kinkauba, he brought forward an odious specimen of Hindoostanee beauty, a dancing-woman, for my special gratification, but such a wretch,—dressed in faded blue muslin bordered with silver, put on in some fashion passing my comprehension. It appeared at least twenty yards, rolled in every direction about her, the ends brought over the shoulders and hanging down before, her hair falling wild about her face. She was dressed in good keeping for a mad woman.

The musicians then commenced a native air, merely a repetition of four notes; she advanced, retreated, swam round, the while making frightful contortions with her arms and hands, head and eyes. This was her 'Poetry of motion'; I could not even laugh at it. Our host still persisted in his resolution to be agreeable, which was so tormenting as he had not an earthly thing to say. His little boy solemnly walked after him as if

conscious that he was part of the show. I tried to converse with him, but he glanced at me as a very suspicious character through his half-shut yet magnificent black eyes. These were the only members of the family we saw, as you must not even suppose the existence of daughters or wives.

Happily some other English visitors entered, and our dark friend quitted us to make his salaam to them. There was but little to see that could please an European eye, the only object at all extraordinary was at the top of the room raised by a flight of steps higher than our apartment, a gigantic image of his God—I forget who, Seiva or Vishna,—astride on a peacock; a jolly-looking God he was, with staring black [244] eyes, pink and white cheeks and a curled head and whiskers, oh! so like those wig blocks you see in the window of a tailor or hairdresser; it was with the utmost effort I resisted laughing in the very face of him, the patron of the festival.

After we left this house we drove to another, where two young men with really very good manners received us, but the style of the thing is the same at all, though these had some undefinable appearance of being higher caste. They were splendidly dressed, and the eldest wore in his turban a single feather, so like the plume of the heron which marks the supremacy of the Highland chieftain. They insisted in regaling me with the odours of sandal-wood and other incense, but the smell of pawn oil and scents beyond description, the glare of a double row of brass chandeliers placed on the ground, and consequently on a level with the eye, almost made me faint, and, long before we could get at our carriage seek, relief in the street; so that I drove home cured for ever of all curiosity respecting native entertainments; indeed the only agreeable impression I bore from thence with me was the voice of a Circassian girl, or as I thought an European disguised, but be she what may, the song of 'Taze bu Taze' was very sweet . . .

. . . [245] "It is quite a matter of torment to me, officers coming in on business to Fenton, to whom he introduces me, and of whom I retain no recollection; then when I meet them on the Course in the evening, I pass [246] without a bow, and they consider it an intentional incivility."

MULLICK BAZAR

[246] . . . Not long since, the Craigies came to town to make purchases and asked me to go with them, to see some articles of silver and china they were divided upon. Off we went and spent the morning in the town and bazaars. I got so tired going up and down stone steps, that just when the day was over, they having gone up to see some things in the China bazaar, I, worn out, seated myself on a morah in the entrance. As these passages are generally filled with the commonest sort of merchandise, and crowded with palkee-bearers and attendants, it is not a usual place for a lady to sit. Quite conscious of this, though compelled by fatigue to stay, I sat looking over an advertisement of sales, which had been pushed into my hand in Leyburn's auction-room. The day before as I sat with Jemima Aitkin, her brother brought in two gentlemen and introduced them to us ; they remained during tiffin and we conversed for some time. Now as I sat in Mulluck's bazaar, on looking up I saw a gentleman stand looking steadily and disagreeably at me ; his face was quite familiar, and it struck me that he was one of the young men I had seen the day before, which belief was strengthened by his looking as if he expected to be recognised.

The *longer* he stood and the *oftener* I looked to see if he were *yet* gone, the stronger grew my perplexity, at last he made a move to go off, and then by way of doing a *meritorious* act, expecting I might meet him again with the Aitkins, I made him a slight bow. But, to my dismay he checked his steps, advanced to where I sat, and began to talk with a familiarity [247] which annoyed me considerably. To get free of him I turned to Mulluck, and asked him if he had fresh pine cheese ; I just recollected that we had a large party, and the khaunsamah had told me there was none. While I was paying my five rupees for it, the stranger very familiarly took hold of my purse and said, 'What can you be buying cheese for?' I felt my face glow a little with displeasure, but tried to be cool and answered, 'My husband is too much engaged to come with me, and he never allows the natives to judge this article for him. His next question : 'And pray who may *your* husband be ?' convinced me I had addressed an utter stranger, who naturally thought I wished to encourage his familiarity, so I started up and forgot all my fatigue, till I

joined the Craigies, who were yet undecided between brown and green china. When we descended together the gentleman was still in waiting, yet I could not be offended justly, as *my* bow had drawn the attack.

In the evening, Captain Aitkin was riding by the carriage talking with me, when a curricie passed with two young men; one of them spoke to Aitkin, whom I recognised to be the 'He of the bazaar'. I said to my companion, 'For goodness sake, do tell me who that young man is!' and I proceeded to tell him of the meeting in Mulluck's shop. Aitkin laughed violently and said, 'He is a young writer, and I shall have capital sport with him'. He rode off before I could add a word. When we met at dinner he said: 'I went after Mr.—, and told him, the Brigade-Major was extremely angry at his having insulted his wife, he was going to call him out. He vowed he had never spoken to Mrs. Fenton in his life, did not even know her by sight. "What! do you say you did not take her purse in Mulluck's bazaar this very morning?" "Mrs. Fenton! was *that* Mrs. Fenton? I saw a lady who seemed [248] highly rouged, and who from sitting there alone I really never supposed to be any one's *wife*; besides, I thought she bowed to me. I am quite distressed, shall I go and apologise to them, or will you?" I told him you were too angry to listen to an apology, and that he had better keep out of Fenton's way. He was trying to find out your name.'

I could not help being amused, though I did not wish to carry it quite so far, especially as I saw next time he passed that he wheeled off as quick as possible; it was from seeing him constantly on the Course I fancied him an acquaintance.

5th November (1828)—[248] A grand ball at Government House was the only occurrence that I recollect out of the general routine since I wrote last; it was expected to be very well attended, as a number of English ships had landed. I suppose a greater display of pretty and ladylike girls than had been seen before in Calcutta at once; of course the display of French and English finery was in the same proportion. A great number of these girls had just left school, and to them the ball and introduction within the mystic circle of society was a joyous event, while to us, who had before experienced the tedium of such assem-

blies, it was regarded more as a species of *endurance* than of *enjoyment*.

Be this as it may, the crowd was immense. Miss Aitkin who was one of the novelties of the season and perhaps among the best, accompanied me. Dr. and Mrs. Craigie just arrived from Chinsurah, as Jemima and I had left the dining room to commence our toilet, and she had the disadvantage of dressing in haste and confusion, but looked, notwithstanding, what she must ever do, very pretty,—though not gifted with expedition on these occasions, which put Jemima's patience to a severe trial; as *her* dress was ready as it had left Regent Street, and [249] well became the wearer. She naturally thought delay and disappointment were inseparable, and often urged me to come off and leave Mrs. C. to her husband's escort. This, however, in my own house I could not do, and after all the vexations of a hasty toilet we set out.

The length of the verandahs and the flights of stairs almost wore me out before we reached the principal reception room. It was thronged to excess, and seeing there was little probability of making our salaam to Lady Bentinck, I gladly took possession of a vacant couch, as Jemima rather wished to look around her than to dance. The *coup doeil* of these rooms is indeed calculated to impress a young person with delight, particularly when filled by a brilliant assembly. The dress and splendid ornaments of most of the married women, and the elegance and fashion of that of the girls just arrived, on whom we all know their friends spare no expense, combined with the beauty of very many of those present, rendered the assembly particularly striking.

Yet at all times of my life, my ball-room musings have been melancholy, and here particularly so, viewing so many gay happy creatures, happy in their ignorance of the future, and that indefinable delight which attends a first introduction to the novel habits of a foreign country; happy too and encouraged by the presence of admiring parents and friends. Alas! to all these what a gorgeous dream is their coming life, thus ushered in. But how many of its bright tints must wane into clouds and darkness even before one year has passed over them!

Among the throng I saw Gough! very assiduous in his attentions to a very pretty girl, looking as if poor Charlotte [250] had never been; there was also Frank Gouldsbury, conspicuous

by his wife's appearance, as there were only two half-castes among that numerous assembly that I could see . . .

I was thankful to accept of some iced champagne as a momentary stimulous although infinitely worse after it was taken . . .

[251] . . . So I lay there, ruminating on the accumulated misery of a burra khaunna, the inconvenience of my voluminous gauze dress, the pain of my head from combs and pins and bows of hair, in fine of my general suffering, and the agony of my small satin shoes, knowing that if I took them off they must remain off, the swelling of my feet being too distressing. At last when 'our hour was come', after venturing to stand and drink a cup of coffee, I blessed Heaven to be in my palkee at full length, pulled all my combs out, threw off my shoes, almost undressed myself, flung my pretty necklace and earrings on the mat, and shut my eyes until put down in my own verandah, where after muffling my shawl over my disarranged dress I regained my couch, which I am almost vowed to quit no more, at least, for large parties.

[253] *22nd November.*—I often catch strange glimpses of those I have met before, which leave me sad and thoughtful. I went this morning alone to the Burra Bazaar to look for some things I could not well describe or send for. It is of all places in Calcutta the least likely to meet an acquaintance in, or where a lady is ever seen. It is a place wholly beyond describing; the lanes are dark, narrow, and filthy, filled with the effluvia issuing from the dens (for I cannot call them houses) of the natives, and they too look barbarous, half-naked, and as if on the watch to take hold of you. There is a kind of marketplace covered over and divided into separate stands; they are perfectly wonderful to an European. There are heaped on one board all sorts of shoes, slippers, sandals to suit the native taste, pointed, and turned up some inches; next, perhaps, are heaps of native bangles, necklaces, coral, cornelians, and sometimes you get very beautiful things here for almost nothing. Then all the wonderful specimens of boxes, lacquered work, playthings, shells of all possible variety [254] and hues, miniature casts of native gods and sacred animals, feathers, flowers, china, silks, chints—in short, I should amazingly like to fill a waggon indiscriminately here, and after, amuse myself for a year looking over its contents.

Well, after quitting this strange abode of human creatures and their contrivances, as my bearers trotted on I saw standing in a doorway a face so like Dr. Rhodes of the *Cornwall*, that I started at what I supposed the resemblance, but never for a moment believed to be the same, when the palkee stopped and he stood before it, like a vision! for in this hasty recognition I found he was going out of Calcutta, and I should most probably have left it before he returned. Of course little could we say during that brief meeting as he stood uncovered in the hot sun, and my words were incoherent from the multitude of ideas excited by his sudden appearance. It was strange that he knew me in the glance of a moment . . .

[256] . . . I read in the paper of yesterday of the arrival of Mrs. Grant's two daughters, whom she had so anxiously expected. They were to come out with the Rev. Thomasin and his wife. I accordingly set off to call on them at the Bishop's Palace where I understood Mr. Thomasin was to remain. I asked for the young ladies and was shown upstairs, where to my amazement I met their mamma. She had hastened down to receive them, and only arrived the day before. She seemed really delighted to meet me, and introduced me to the girls, who seemed not a little surprised to see their mamma bestow so many embraces on a stranger.

8th December—"I have been too busy to go to the Course, and consoled myself with a walk on the top of the house" (p. 259).

"I was almost sorry I was engaged to a quadrille party at Mrs. Henderson's in Fairley Place; inconvenient as such an engagement was, it was of old standing, and there was no getting over it; besides I happened to feel unusually well that night and almost in high spirits, which did not diminish on arriving there. There was a very large party of young people, which is not often the case, for at most parties here the good people are all grave in deportment, and bent in sober earnest on proving their own superiority, whether it be in rank or dress or wealth." (p. 260).

"I will endeavour to beguile my thoughts with writing and give you some account of our departure from Fort William. After drinking a hasty cup of coffee at gun-fire, we embarked under the glacis in a little beauliah of Mr. Prinsep's, just large

enough for Fenton and myself at one side and the three children we had taken from the orphan school at the other, poor little helpless things! in the centre one set of my camp drawers to serve as a table, a basket with provisions for the day, as we expected to reach the *Hamoud Shaw* early in the evening. Our servants, who wished to accompany us on board, and all our baggage, were in a country boat in the rear. It was pleasant for a little, for there was none left to love and regret, and in the bustle of departure there was no time to *think*, until the splendour of an Eastern sunrise revealed the beautiful residences of Garden Reach". (p. 263).

"Feeling very weary from the cramped position of the boat, where Fenton could not sit upright, we gladly removed to the top of the beauliah, where in the glittering sunset, we tried to discern Kedgerie and the *Hamoud Shaw*." (p. 265).

"Our dandies resumed their oars, and after pulling for about an hour we got into a current which impelled the boat with such velocity that I anticipated a speedy termination to our voyage" (pp. 265-266).

"On passing a bazaar where I knew very possibly might stop, we put the sirdar bearer on shore to wait and bring in the others, suspecting they might adopt a practice very common in India when persons are on the point of departure :—their servants decamp with whatever they can put their hands on, knowing that they may easily evade pursuit until the unfortunate master is fairly out at sea." (p. 266).

"The diminished resources of our provision-basket was no small evil, for all it afforded was half a loaf, and a small bottle of cherry brandy". (pp. 266-267).

"About one o'clock a fishing-boat came up with us, and they offered us some beautiful fish, which I could almost have eaten raw, and were cooked for us by the mongie in the best manner he could." (p. 267).

"Ben Hassan (Captain of *Hamoud Shaw*) had much the advantage. He is really a fine looking man, and as he approached to make his salaam to me, I thought his appearance very striking, habited in a smart scarlet jacket, braided with black lace over a long white muslin robe or tunic, a fine cashmere scarf wreathed into a turban formed his head-dress" (p. 267).

NOTES

1. Elibabeth was the daughter of the Rev. John Russel Knox, Rector of Lifford, and afterwards of Innismag Rath, Co. Leitrim. Her first husband, Captain Niel Campbell of the 13th Light Infantry, died in 1827. Captain Michael Fenton of the same Infantry married her in 1828. Fenton was appointed Brigade-Major of Fort William in the room of Major Greville, suspended. Born in Castle Town, county Sligo, Fenton joined the 13th Light Infantry in 1807 and served in India and Burma until 1828, when he sold his commission and emigrated to Van Diemen's Land. He received an initial grant of 1970 acres at Fenton Forest, near New Norfolk. Fentons had six children, of whom one son, Michael and three daughters survived Michael Fenton. Michael Fenton (1789-1874) was a politician, and landed proprietor, in Tasmania and for some time was Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of the Colony. The details of Mrs. Fenton's life in India and Tasmania are recorded in her *Journal*. The *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (vol. 1, 1788-1850, Melbourne University Press, 1966, p. 371) has given a sketch of Michael Fenton.

A DAY IN CALCUTTA, 1829*

By Captain G.C. Mundy¹

[292] In the hot weather—and nine months of the twelve *are* hot—the Anglo-Bengalee—unless he has been late at a party the night before, or loves his bed better than his health—is roused by the punctual warning of his bearer, ‘Sahib! Sahib! it has struck four,’ and completing, by the assistance of the same domestic officer, a hasty toilette, he mounts his Arab, and by half-past four is taking his constitutional canter round the dew-freshened race-course. There—unless, as sometimes the case, he be too languid to be social—he joins company with some of the many acquaintances he is sure to fall *in* with; and discusses the merits of the last batch of claret, ‘per petite Louise’ from Bourdeaux, or the last batch of misses, ‘per Duchess of Bedford,’ from England; the last act of Government, or the last dinner at Gunter’s. Or, if there be any that he has chanced to fall *out* with, he may on the same [293] spot, under the well-known ‘Great Tree,’ discuss his point of honour without danger of interruption. During the months preceding the races, the training of the horses affords the sporting world of Calcutta an additional incitement to the healthful practice of early rising.

At six, or soon after, that arch-enemy of European constitutions the sun begins to dart, from above the tall mansions of Chowringhee, its intolerable rays across the hitherto thronged plain; and the ‘Qui hi’ who has any respect for the well-being of his liver, shrinks appalled from its increasing disk, sneaks home, delivers his reeking horse to the attendant syce, and, exhausted with the monstrous exertion he has undergone, creeps

* From the *PEN AND PENCIL SKETCHES, Being the Journal of a Tour in India* by Captain G.C. Mundy, late Aide-de-Camp to Lord Combermere, in two volumes (London, John Murray, Albemarle St., 1832; volume I, pp. xii + 381 and volume II, pp. 376, octavo, illustrated), Volume II.

under his mosquito curtain and dozes, a bearer fanning him, until half-past eight.

A bath—the greatest luxury in India—and perhaps shampooing wind him up for the breakfast of tea, muffins and pillau at half past nine ; after which those who are fortunate enough to have offices, repair thither in [294] buggy or palankeen ; and, with white jacket on back and punkah over head, earn, *tant bien que mal*, their rupees and their tiffin. This subsidiary meal is a favourite mid-day pastime of both the ladies and men of the Presidency, and is the only repast at which appetite generally presides. A rich hash, or hot curry, followed by a well-cooled bottle of claret, or Hodson's pale ale, with a variety of eastern fruits, are thus despatched at 2 o'clock, forming in fact a dinner, whilst the so-called meal at 8 o'clock would be better named supper.

Idle men employ the above hours in visiting, billiards, or the auction-rooms. In the former ceremonial, should the visitor, going his rounds, find the gates of the 'compound' closed, he is to deduce that the Bebee Sahib³ is not visible. Should they be thrown open, on the contrary, he draws a favourable augury—(which, however, may still be negatived by the Cerberus Durwan⁴)—dashes through the portal, draws up sharp under the co-[295]lumned entrance, jumps out, and is received at the door—(there is not a knocker in all India!)—by a respectful but pompous and most deliberate jemadar, who, striding before the Bhar-kee-Sahib⁵—the ivory tassels of his dagger rattling as he walks—leads him through a darkened ante-room, (where another attendant, within hearing of the delicate 'Qui hi !' of the lady, rises wakefully and salaams, or sits sleepily and nods,) and finally introduces him by his name (strangely distorted, however) into the yet more obscured sanctum. Here, seated in luxurious fauteuil, and fanned by the wavings of the heavy-flounced punkah, the eyes of the visiter (albeit as yet unused to the tender twilight of the hermetically-closed apartment) discover the fair object of his visit. He is seated ; obvious topics are dispatched, and happy is it for absent acquaintances if the late arrival of a ship, or a new novel is at hand to furnish external matter for discussion. In default of this diversion, living victims are [296] offered up at the shrine of tittle-tattle—I wont call it scandal—'attentions' and 'intentions' are anatomized ;

flirtations analyzed ; the couples, as adverse as fire and water, are wedded and bedded ; and friends, as attached as twin-brothers, are paraded with 'pistols for two' under the 'Great Tree.' The lady's ivory stiletto, urged by her white fingers rendered still whiter by Indian seclusion, is not more actively employed in torturing her tamboured muslin, than is her tongue in torturing and distorting facts—I wont say characters—the gentleman attacks the men, the lady the women ; each defends the opposite sex, and they separate mutually satisfied with themselves,—not overhearing the exclamation from the neighbouring verandah, 'There is Captain A. only just going away from Mrs. B ; what can he have been doing there these three hours ; whilst Mr. B. is at office ?'—but this smacks of persiflage ! To our subject. —The tiffen being concluded, many have recourse to a siesta, to recruit their forces and to kill time.

[297] Towards six, the orb of day, tending towards the western horizon, begins to relax the vigour of his rays ; the lengthening shadows give evidence of his decline ; and ere he has quite deserted the glowing heavens, the echoes of Calcutta are awakened by the rattling—rattling indeed !—of hundreds of equipages, from the lordly coach-and-four to the less-aspiring but dapper buggy ; from the costly Arab charger to the ambling Pegu pony. All hurry to the same point, urged by the desire of seeing and being seen ; and indeed those morose few, who are not instigated by these all-potent motives, are obliged to resort to the same mall, as the only well-watered drive. At dusk the Course and Strand are deserted ;—except by a few choice spirits, who love to breathe the cool air of moonlight and to listen to the soft whisperings of . . . the evening breeze, rather than the coarse steam of viands and the bubbling of houkaks—the world of Calcutta is dressing for dinner ; and by 8 o'clock it is seated at that important, but often untasted meal. In the [298] hospitable mansions of the 'upper servants' of the Company the tables groan under the weight of massive plate, and, what is worse, under whole hetacombs of beef and mutton. I have frequently seen—*horesco referens* !—in a side-dish, which would have been much more appropriately tenanted by an appetizing fricandeau or a tempting *ris de veau*.—two legs of mutton, or twin turkeys ; yet with all this profusion, scarcely any one has sufficiently recovered from the heavy tiffen dispatched at two, to be able even

to look without shuddering upon the slaughtered herds—much less to taste two mouthfuls.

Champagne and claret, delightfully cooled with ice or saltpetre, are real luxuries ; and, ere the last course is well off the table, an isolated bubble announces the first houkah ; others drop in, the jingling of Suppooses is heard ; a rich, though rather overcoming odour pervades the air ; handsome mouthpieces of amber, gold, silver, or Videri, decked with snowy ruffles, insinuate themselves from under the arms of the chairs ; and the pauses [299] in the sometimes languid and ill-sustained conversation are deprived of their former awkwardness by the full sonorous *drone* of a dozen of these princely pipes.

The men do not sit so long after the adjournment of the ladies as is the custom in England.

Inveterate smokers have their houkahs transferred to the drawing-room. They are not bad companions in the silence of a whist table ; but prove rather a barbarous accompaniment to the music and singing, in the piano passages of which its monotonous growl chimes rather discordantly. The houkah, however, in a room full of ladies does not appear to a *griffin* ('young hand,' or Johnny Newcome) more out of place, than does the half-naked figure of the punkah-puller. Small parties break up about half-past ten, with a view to the ensuing morning's ride—and lo ! a Calcutta day is completed.

Dec. 8th (1829). This evening, during the accustomed promenade, a flying report of the [300] arrival of the frigate reached the mall. My heart leaped at the glad tidings, and I vented my joy by spurring my astonished Arab at full speed round the lonely race-course. A reaction followed, and as I walked my smoking horse slowly home, I sighed at the thought of quitting a country where I had passed four happy and eventful years. Ere nightfall the rumour was confirmed—H. M. S. Pallas, forty-two, Captain Adolphus Fitz-Clarence, had anchored in the Hooghly, having on board Lord Dalhousie and Staff, and the Right Rev. John Turner, newly appointed Bishop of Calcutta. I received by this conveyance several letters kindly brought from England by Lieutenant Knox, and all of them *beckoning* me home again.

[Chapter VI—301] *Jan. 6th*, 1830. Yesterday, Lord Combermere repaired on board the Pallas ; and this morning was fixed

for the embarkation of the remainder of the home-bound party. A brother Ex-A.D.C. and myself breakfasted at Government-House ; and at ten o'clock, we accompanied the Governor-General and Lady William Bentinck—who intended to honour the frigate with a visit—on board the Hooghly steam-boat, destined to convey us to Diamond Harbour, about fifty miles from Calcutta.

By half-past ten, the City of Palaces was shut out from our view, and we were dashing past the verdant shores of Garden Reach, with its long line of Thames-like villas—under whose roofs I had so often quaffed the cup of hospitality, or 'chased the *glowing* hours [302] with flying feet'. On rushed the quivering Hooghly, ploughing fiercely through the glossy bosom of her river godmother and namesake ; and soon after four o'clock she brought us alongside the Pallas, who received the Governor with manned yards, and a thundering salute,—an example followed by all the ships in the harbour.

At six o'clock the whole party, about thirty in number, dined on board. The table was spread on the quarter-deck, and canopied over with flags ; and the feast afforded us a very satisfactory earnest of the good cheer that we were to expect during our long voyage—expectations that were more than realized in the result. In the evening the Hooghly again received the noble passengers, and the greater number of our leave-taking friends ; the Ganges steamer remaining to tow us out of the river.

Jan. 7th. Pallas weighed and made sail from Diamond Harbour, towed by the Ganges.

CALCUTTA TENT CLUB

[75] The boars of the northern provinces are greatly inferior in size and courage to those of Bengal. In the latter district these brutes will not bear much driving, but turn round and come to the charge at the slightest provocation. The same halloo from the rider, which would only add wings to the flight of the lank northern hog, would be resented as an insult by the brawny Bengal boar, who is often in better condition for fighting than for fleeing. I have heard of more than one of [76] these irascible brutes being brought to the attack by no greater affront than the sportsman waving his hat towards him : and I have

seen a sulky old tusker take post—like a knight-errant of yore—in a narrow path, between two hoglas⁶, where his flank could not be turned, and repulse half a dozen experienced spearsmen, who came up to the attack in succession.

To the hog-hunting of Bengal the palm of sporting supremacy must certainly be adjudged. Few, who have had opportunities of enjoying both in perfection, will balance between the tiger and the boar. In the pursuit of the former shikkar, the sportsman—though there are certainly some casual risks to heighten the interest, and add to the excitement—feels himself, in his pride of place, ten feet above the ground, comparatively secure; and, should any accident befall him, it is generally traceable to the misconduct of the elephant, or the timidity of the mahout, [77] whose situation, poor devil! with a furious tiger before him, and a bad shot behind him is anything but enviable.

In the boar-hunt, on the contrary, the sportsman depends entirely on his own adroitness. To have any chance of distinguishing himself, he must have the seat and the judgment of a fox-hunter, the eye of a falconer, the arm of a lancer, and above all a horse fleet, active, bold, and well-in-hand. The art of following the headlong progress of a hog through a covert is only to be gained by experience. I have seen young hands ride boldly and furiously all the day, and tire two or three good horses without once blooding a spear, whilst an adept at the sport has had the first spear at every hog, and hardly put his horse out of a hand-gallop.

In some cases, however, gentle riding is nothing worth. When a good fresh boar, not overcharged with flesh, is driven on to the meidaun⁷, and tempted to try his speed across it to the opposite jungle, nothing short [78] of the best pace of the best horse will suffice to bring him to bay, or to cut him off from the covert. A hog, bent on retreat, will dash through the thickest fence of prickly-pear as if it were a young quick edge; spring over a fifteen feet ditch with the agility of a deer; and should he meet with a precipitous ravine in his path, he tumbles into it, and out of it, as if he had not got a neck to break. These same obstacles lie in the way of the rider, who has to bear it constantly in mind, that, unlike the fox-hunter, he carries a sharp-edged weapon in his hand, which, in an awkward grip,

he may chance to run into his steed, and which in a fall may prove an ugly companion to himself.

At Calcutta there is—or rather *was*, for the paucity of game has obliged them to give it up—a hog-hunting society styled the Tent Club; who, not having the fear of fevers and cholera before their eyes, were in the weekly habit of resorting to the jungles within fifty miles of the city in pursuit of this noble sport. Each member was em-[78]powered to invite two guests: the club was well provided with tents, elephants, and other sporting paraphernalia; nor was the gastronomic part of the sport neglected. Hogson's pale ale, claret, and even champaign have been known to flow freely in those wild deserts, unaccustomed to echo the forester's song, or the complacent bubble of the fragrant hookah. Gaunt boars were vanquished in the morning, their delicate steaks devoured in the evening, and the identical animals thrice slain again, with all the zest of sporting re-capitulation. How often has the frail roof of the ruined silk-factory at Buckra rung to the merry laugh of the mercurial S—, trembled with the stentorian song of the sturdy B—, and the hearty chorus of a dozen jolly fellows, who on quitting Calcutta left a load of care behind, and brought a load of fun.

The above-named deserted edifice is situated, far from the busy haunts of men, in the midst of an extensive forest, and was a favourite resort of the Tent Club on these occasions. The ground floor was occupied by the [80] horses of the party; a large room in the upper story was dedicated to refectation; whilst three or four smaller apartments formed the dormitories of those who had come unprovided with tents. Some of the pleasantest days of my life were passed in these excursions, and I shall ever look back to them with the most grateful recollections.

To the ardent sportsman and the admirer of Nature, these gypsy parties were replete with excitement and interest:—the busy preparation in the morning—inspections of spear-points and horses' girths—instructions and injunctions to syces and bearers—the stirrup-cup of strong coffee—and the simultaneous start of the lightly-clad sportsmen, on their elephants, to the covert side. Then the marshalling of the beating elephants, the wildness of the scene and richness of the foliage, the mounting of impatient steeds, the yells of the coolies, rattling of fire-works; and finally, the crash of the roused boar, and the headlong career

of the ardent rider. Next follow the return in triumph to [81] camp—the refreshing bath and well-earned break-fast. The sultry hours are employed by some in superintending the feeding, grooming, and hand-rubbing of their faithful steeds; lounging over the pages of some light novel, repointing spears, or rattling the backgammon dice; and by others—who, perhaps the day before were driving the diplomatic quill, or thundering forth the law of the land in the Courts of Calcutta—by others (frown not, ye beetle-browed contemnors of frivolous resources!)—even in that recreation in which unlike most other sciences, the least experienced is often the most successful, namely the game of *pitch-farthing*!

At 3 P.M., the forces are again mustered; three hours more are passed in threading the mazy fastnesses, and scouring the wide savannas of the forest. The sun sinks behind the lofty Palmyras; the sylvan feast is spread; the jocund evening flies swiftly fly, and is followed by a night rendered sweet by 'tired Nature's soft restorer,' whose balmy influence [82] is so often wooed in vain by the panting inhabitant of 'the City of Palaces.'

It was at one of the sporting conventions 'under the green-wood tree,' that I first put my lance in rest against a real, old crusty Bengal boar...

BUDGEROW

[147] *Feb. 4th* (1828). At 11 A.M. I stepped into the clumsy, rickety budgerow, in which, with the special intervention of Providence, I may [148] hope to navigate seven hundred and fifty miles, without becoming food for alligators. My palan-keen and half a dozen domestics, with a posse of dogs and goats, were established as outside passengers, on the roof, or poop of the vessel: the maungee⁸ gave the word for weighing; the huge bamboos cramped the top-heavy ark from the shore; she swung heavily round; and after carrying away the noses of several figureheads, and jamming in the jilmills⁹ of two or three sister budgerows, my gallant tub rolled gracefully away, like a swan—out of water—followed by a favouring breeze and hearty execrations of the crews of the injured vessels. My little fleet consisted of this my private yacht, a smaller boat for ser-

vants' baggage and kitchen, and a little dinghee, or Ganges wherry. The budgerow, though unwieldily and ungovernable in narrow winding streams, and high winds, is really,—considering its primitive construction, for it appears to have been built after Jason's model very well calcu-[149]lated for Ganges' navigation. The accommodation between decks is even superior to that of a frigate—my sitting-room being seventeen feet and a half by fifteen feet, and nearly eight feet high, and the sleeping cabin, more abaft, about twelve feet square. In addition to two large square sails, it is furnished with fourteen long sweeps. The voyages are always made by daylight, the numerous shoals of the river rendering night navigation dangerous. Towards sunset the budgerow is, therefore, run ashore in some favourable spot, and the dandies—as the boatmen are called, from the word *dan*¹⁰, an oar—instantly set about making their little temporary ovens on the bank, to bake their chupatties, and concoct their curry. The crews are of either sect, Mussulman or Hindoo; the former are, perhaps, the more able-bodied seamen, and stauncher at the oar; but they cook their meals on board, and smother the passenger—already stewed by 90° of Fahrenheit—with their savoury steams. The Hindoos, on the contrary, are forbidden by their reli-[150]gion to perform these rites on board, solacing themselves with parched grain and sweetmeats, until the anchoring of the vessels gives them the advantages of a legitimate feast. Then, indeed, do these sufferers for religion's sake make up for lost time. An Englishman who pecks at his three or four meals per diem, would stare to see the mountain of rice devoured at a sitting by these hard-working and hungry disciples of Brahmah.

The dandies are generally fine, stout and sleek figures. In rowing they stand upright, advancing and retiring two or three steps at every stroke; and lightening their labour, as well as preserving the measure, by a song and chorus. [151] . . . There are two species of the alligator, the most common of which, the long-nosed, preys only upon fish. But the short-headed mugger, which grows to the length of thirty feet, extends his tastes to flesh, human or bestial.

NOTES

1. Captain Mundy (later General G.C. Mundy, whose "Pen and Pencil Sketches" went into several editions—third edition, 1858), left Calcutta in November 1827 for Cawnpore. After travelling all over North India, he visited Assam and Orissa. His return from Assam was effected by the Sunderbans route. "Early on the morning of the 27th March—1829—we found ourselves within eight miles of Calcutta tightly wedged among the thousands of salt and timber boats, which constantly throng the busy channel of Tully's Nullah—a narrow creek running into the Hoogly, half a mile south of Fort William. One tide brought us up to Kidderpore bridge, where an equipage awaited me, and I was soon among the white walls of the City of Palaces, and comfortably installed in apartments in the newly-organised Bengal club." (II, p. 218).

Captain Mundy "sojourned a fortnight in Calcutta, during which time the gay inhabitants, flattering themselves that a remnant of the cool season was still in their possession, were feasting, fiddling, and dancing, in spite of Fahrenheit's warning finger, pointing to 90°."

Captain Mundy spent altogether four years in India and was actually in Calcutta for five months from July 11th, 1829 as is evident from his Journal: "The next morning, *July 11th*, 1829, Headquarters were once more established at Calcutta, after a rambling tour of twenty months.

"During the remaining five months of my residence in India, I was pretty generally stationary at the Presidency, and as the march of my pen seldom outruns that of my person, I found my journal, during this period, blank, except on two occasions; first, where it follows me on an eight days' sporting expedition; and secondly, where it attempts to give a slight sketch of 'A day in Calcutta,' or more properly, Chouringhee—the sonorous name by which the English quarter of the great city is known. The first I shall omit—for it is long. The last I shall subjoin—for it is short." (II, p. 291)

2. Enclosure round the house.
3. The lady.
4. Porter.
5. Strange gentleman.
6. Covert of gigantic reeds.
7. Plain.
8. Boatswain.
9. Venetian blinds.
10. *Read dand.*

16

CALCUTTA IN 1829*

By Victor Jacquemont¹

[2] Since it seems as if He or His favourite deputy Providence has allowed my first letters² from Calcutta to get lost, I will recapitulate and tell you that His Most Christian Majesty's old tub, bearing me and my fortune on board of it, dropped anchor before Fort William on May 5, 1829, and after the usual artillery salutes from the aforesaid tub I made my plans for landing on the following day, which were carried out as follows :

My Portuguese man-servant from Pondicherry having summoned a palanquin which was standing on the shore, I dressed myself in black from head to foot and bade adieu to the *Zelee* ; then, jumping into the little portable house, I said to the carriers : "*Pirsonn sahebka ghoeur me*"³ a Hindustani sentence which I had been thinking out all the way from Pondicherry, and which caused them to deposit me without hesitation at the door of M. Pearson, whose magnificent house happened to be the one nearest the river. A sort of Eurybates led me between a double row of servants lining a broad staircase, and ushered me into an immense drawing room, where I found three women in full dress and a grey-haired man in light cotton clothes, all four of them occupied in being fanned by a complicated system of vanes. My unknown name, proclaimed by the herald, and the simultaneous appearance of my tall black figure, produced the effect of a thunderbolt ; but the excessively vacant state of mind into which I had been thrown by all the strange and extraordinary things I had seen during the six minutes that had elapsed since my landing hopelessly paralysed my eloquence in English, so that at the critical moment when the spectre should

* From "*LETTERS FROM INDIA 1829-1832 : Being a selection from the correspondence of VICTOR JACQUEMONT*", translated with an Introduction by Catherine Alison Phillips, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1936.

have spoken there was a pause. I would have given ten louis for a glass of port, which would have put a little wind [3] into my sails . . . I simply could not begin. I had to start with a candid avowal of my incapacity : "I spoke a few words of English formerly, Sir, but I perceive I have forgotten them all, so help me!"

Both the grey-haired man and his three women, especially the two younger ones, behaved in such a way that, a moment afterwards, I was getting on in English as swimmingly as a little fish in a river. These unknown persons were M. Pearson, Madame Pearson, their daughter and her governess or friend Miss Parry. I presented my letters of introduction, in the efficacy of which I did not feel entire confidence, for they were at second or third hand ; but no sooner was the seal broken than they led my acceptance as a guest. When asked whether those were the only ones I had brought to Calcutta, I replied by exhibiting a monstrous packet which was distending my pocket, and which, having been made up in readiness like a judiciously arranged set-piece of fire-works, started, on being opened, with a few preliminary rockets, such as Dr. This, Mr. That, Mr. Somebody the merchant or Captain So-and-so, but gradually led me up to the name of a judge, then of the Chief Justice, then of a member of Council, ending, as a grand finale, with the name of Lady William Bentinck and that of the Governor-General, five times repeated. They all drew up their chairs round mine, and I was overwhelmed with questions and kindly offers.

It now struck eleven o'clock, and M. Pearson said : "It is time for me to go to the High Court*", and I am extremely sorry that I shall be unable to take you round and introduce you to the persons whom you have to see ; but my daughter will explain things to you, and my carriage is at your orders." Where-upon he left me with a hearty hand-shake. Miss Pearson told me that my first visit must be to the palace ; and, without telling me, she wrote a note to Lady William Bentinck in my presence and sent it off on the spot. The answer, in accordance with etiquette, was sent direct to me less than a quarter of an hour afterwards by the aide-de-camp in waiting, who in-

* Read Supreme Court.

formed me that Lady William was expecting me. I got into M. Pearson's carriage with footmen and mace-bearers before [4] and behind ; and having been received at the palace by the aide-de-camp, I was conducted by him to Lady William's private sitting-room. She is a woman of fifty, who must have been quite handsome, but has no pretensions to youth. My letter for her was from Lord Ashley, one of the members of the Indian Government in London, whom I had only met once, at the famous dinner of the Asiatic Society, so I confessed how slight a claim I had to the introduction of which I was the bearer ; but this was hardly gone into at all. Lady William had already discovered that I had met some of her own acquaintances in Paris. We talked for an hour and an half on a host of subjects, till her doctor, who was their guest and appeared at their table, entered and offered her his arm to conduct her to the dining-room, where luncheon was served. Lady William despatched the doctor to her husband to inform him that she had a new acquaintance to present to him ; and a few moments later I escorted her into the dining-room. At the same moment Lord William Bentinck entered from the opposite side, with the ministers and two members of Council, which was sitting that day. Lady William performed the presentation in the most amiable fashion, and I sat down on the right of the Governor-General, who read his five letters rapidly during luncheon and, when we rose from table, introduced me to everybody present. I led Lady William back to her sitting-room, and only left her after promising to come and dine that evening at eight o'clock. She had told me all there was to know about the family to which my lucky star had led me.

On returning to the Pearsons, who were a little surprised at my having been gone such a long time, I found the two best rooms in the house in readiness for me ; and when I retired to them to rub my hands over such a fortunate beginning, a band of men-servants pursued me there, armed with a variety of fans for cooling me. I had great difficulty in getting rid of them. At five o'clock M. Pearson returned from the Court and paid me a long visit, explaining the material circumstances of his life and his domestic arrangements. I told him my story, the last incident in which my engagement at Lady William's for that evening, somewhat [5] embarrassed me ; but he seemed pleased with

his new acquisition rather than annoyed at losing him for a few moments on the very first day, since I was a sought-after guest. At six o'clock he took me out for a drive with his wife and daughter. This is the daily pastime of the inhabitants of Calcutta for an hour at sunset. They go home to sit down to table by candlelight after changing their clothes again. When I had changed mine M. Pearson's carriage drove me to the palace.

The company had assembled in Lady William's sitting-room. I was again her partner and sat next her at table, this naturally being the place of honour. Everything around us was royal and Asiatic; the dinner, which was entirely French, was exquisite, and wines delicious, served as in France, with moderation, but by great bearded footmen in long white robes and scarlet and gold turbans. Lord William drank my health, a compliment which I immediately returned, and then drank that of my neighbour, who conversed with me on a number of pleasant subjects and was pleased to act as my *cicerone*. To give the appetite time to revive for the second part of dinner, an excellent German orchestra, conducted by an Italian, played several times with rare perfection, performing the loveliest strains of Mozart and Rossini. The distance from which these sounds came, the dim light in the columned halls surrounding us, the lustre of the candelabra with which the table was lit up, the beauty of the fruit with which it was covered in profusion, the perfume of the flowers with which the pyramids of fruit were decorated, and perhaps the champagne too, made me find the music excellent. I felt a sort of intoxication, but not a stupefying one. I talked about art, literature, painting and music in French to Lady William, while at the same time almost making a set speech in English in reply to her husband's questions on the internal politics of France. I made no attempt to hide anything scandalous there may be about my opinions, though I expressed them in simple forms which even a boy of sixteen would not feel bound to use in England. We returned to Lady William's sitting-room for coffee, five or six cups of which I swallowed without knowing I had done so, and there I found myself being complimented by everybody—in a way that almost turned my head. As you may well imagine, I did not fail to engage the doctor, who is still young, in conversation about the latest physiological

questions, for in general conversation I had had no opportunity of talking about things connected with my profession as a naturalist, and I wished to show myself in this capacity before it was time to leave.

On the following day I tired out my host's pair of horses in making my round of calls, which, however, it was not possible to complete till the following day. On the first day I called upon the people whom I had singled out at the Governor-General's as being the most important, but for whom I had brought no letters of introduction. The rest you know. A fortnight later the Governor-General went to stay in the country, and I was one of the party. Lady William wished me to take my first ride on an elephant in her company, and she seemed quite to enjoy our conversation on top of this walking mountain, so much so that she never had any other companion but me in her rides all the time we were at Barrackpore. During the day I worked in the smart bungalow in which I had been installed near the Governor-General's country house. Sometimes after luncheon, at which all the members of the party met at two o'clock, and at which I fairly often abstained from appearing, for lack of resisting power where *pate de foie gras* is concerned, I went with Lady William to her sitting-room where the afternoon passed away pleasantly in conversation about the other side of the world and all sorts of trifles. In the evening after dinner there was sometimes a small party with some music, but it was my habit to monopolize Lord William in the depths of a sofa at the far end of the room. He talked to me about India, I talked to him about the United States; then at half-past ten the signal for departure was given and I withdrew, arm-in-arm with Colonel Hezeta, the friend whom I have already made among so many kind acquaintances. Often before returning to the bungalow which we were sharing, we would wander about the vast avenues of the beautiful park at Barrackpore till midnight. He would tell me about the two revolutions that he had seen in his own country, [7] the last of which has cast him adrift here with no resource save the old friendship of Lord William . . . [8].

TIFFIN

(In a letter to Colonel Don Jose de Hezeta, Calcutta; dated, Calcutta, Monday morning, July-August, 1829) . . . I shall come

and see you on Wednesday at noon or one o'clock, after a visit to old General (George Hanbury, 1762-1831) Pyne, who has called upon me here. We shall have tiffin together, which will be a second visit; then we are going to Serampore, where I owe another call to M. Carey, and from thence we shall proceed either on foot or by boat to M. Ryan's, afterwards returning here, where you will previously have sent your horse in readiness to take you home, if you prefer that more expeditious way to the slowness of a boat going upstream

[9] (In a letter to M. Victor de Tracy, Paris, dated, Calcutta, September 1, 1829) . . . At some seasons of the year this river (Ganges—Hooghly) is nothing but a sea of mud, lashed by furious winds and tossed by swift currents. When the force of the tide conspires with their efforts, no anchor can hold against them, no cable but would sap. After running aground on banks several times, unable to steer with any certainty through the narrow channels which are the only navigable parts of this vast expanse of water, we dropped our anchors, and in less than half an hour had lost them all . . . [10] The island of Sagar, the lowest-lying and most hideous on this vast delta, the classic haunt of tigers!

I am now reconciled to the sacred river of the Hindus. I have just spent six weeks in a charming spot on its banks, crossing it twice every day to visit the Botanical Garden, opposite which I have been staying with the host and hostess of whom I said goodbye this morning

People do not come here to live, to enjoy life; they come—and this is true of all classes of society—in order to earn the wherewithal to enjoy themselves elsewhere. There is not a single man of leisure in Calcutta. The Governor-General is the most heavily laden with work, and after him the Chief Justice, then the Advocate-General, and so forth. Hardly anywhere, except among men of this type, are there any whose taste for study manages to find a few free moments amid the duties of their calling. All but the most able of them soon lose all energy and fall into lax indolence; immediately below the highest society you find the commonest and most vulgar substratum. Yet there are innumerable newspapers, political and literary, though for a very small number of Europeans, it is true; and

there are learned societies of every variety, or societies professing to be such—craniological, phrenological, horticultural, literary, medical, Wernerian, and Heaven knows what beside—the members of which in no way yield the [11] palm to those of similar assemblies in the United States, in either learning or appetite. I could not possibly hesitate between learned men of this type and men of the greatest distinction, though absorbed in studies differing entirely from my own. Thus, as I wrote to you, my first host was the Advocate-General of Bengal, M. Pearson, the only lawyer who has come out from England with a great reputation already made. He is a man of at least your age, full of wit and gaiety, and a liberal, like us, which in English means a radical. I do not know how I inspire such confidence in these people; but they pour out their hearts to me at once quite frankly about things which they are afraid to say to one another after an acquaintanceship of many years. Their minds are full of the most favourable assumptions with regard to the reasonableness, liberalism and independence of a Frenchman's opinions. In the country, where I have just been staying for six weeks with the Chevalier Ryan (Sir Edward Ryan), I was a neighbour—our doors, or rather, our gardens being side by side—of the Chief Justice, a man of the highest ability in the difficult profession of an English judge—the most austere of professions, assuredly—and most austere in appearance too. Well, he was the first to warn me that Lady Ryan was very strict, and that in spite of the Chevalier's good humour and freedom from strictness I might find Sunday very gloomy in their house. He accordingly invited me to take refuge with him on that day, so that we might at least dine and go for a ride together and have a game of chess in the evening, while his wife made music close at hand. You will understand, my dear fellow, that I learnt much during these charming evenings with a man who has administered justice in India for eight years in Madras or Bengal. He wished me to see him conduct a criminal trial in which natives were involved, and I owe him the honour, which is considered a high one here, of having sat on the bench for two days in the High Court.

As you know, the judicature is not abominable in England, as it is in France. Thanks to his profession my present host M. Pearson, who is at the head of it, is certainly one of the

people most well-informed about the character of the inhabitants ; and [12] from the facts he tells me and the opinions he expresses, together with the views of Sir Charles Grey, the Chief Justice, I am learning a number of interesting things about the people of this strange land which I could not learn by observation. The *genus homo* is a strange creature in India ! A man bent upon death, who has thrown himself before a sacred car with the intention of being crushed beneath its wheels, will get up and run away howling because a European, passing by on horseback, approached him whip in hand ; the greatest contempt for death, the greatest indifference, the greatest apparent insensibility to physical pain, combined with the most extreme cowardice ; frequent instances of atrocious cruelty combined with the habit of charity : nothing could be more contradictory, bizarre or senseless !

But perhaps the man who does the greatest honour to Europe in Asia is the one who governs it. Lord William Bentinck, on the throne of the Great Mogul, thinks and acts like a Quaker of Pennsylvania. You may imagine whether there is any lack of people to exclaim over the dissolution of the empire and the end of the world when they see the temporary master of India riding about in an ordinary coat with no escort, or setting off for the country with his umbrella under his arm. Like you, though long involved in scenes of disorder and blood, like you, my dear fellow, he has kept pure and inviolate that flower of humanity which the habits of military life so often cause to wilt, leaving in its place nothing but good fellowship. Again, though tried in that most corrupting of professions, diplomacy, he has come out of it with the upright thoughts and simple, sincere language of Franklin, esteeming it no proof of cleverness for a man to appear worse than he is. I stayed with him for a week in the country *en famille*, and shall always remember with pleasure and emotion the long conversations I had with him in the evenings. I felt as if I were talking to a friend like yourself, and when I thought of the vast power wielded by this excellent man, I rejoiced for the cause of humanity.

Lady William is very kind and clever. I had the pleasure of speaking my own language with her, and it was a very keen one. She discovered, I do not know how, that, like all Frenchmen, I [13] was a very lukewarm Catholic and not a very ardent

there are learned societies of every variety, or societies professing to be such—craniological, phrenological, horticultural, literary, medical, Wernerian, and Heaven knows what beside—the members of which in no way yield the [11] palm to those of similar assemblies in the United States, in either learning or appetite. I could not possibly hesitate between learned men of this type and men of the greatest distinction, though absorbed in studies differing entirely from my own. Thus, as I wrote to you, my first host was the Advocate-General of Bengal, M. Pearson, the only lawyer who has come out from England with a great reputation already made. He is a man of at least your age, full of wit and gaiety, and a liberal, like us, which in English means a radical. I do not know how I inspire such confidence in these people; but they pour out their hearts to me at once quite frankly about things which they are afraid to say to one another after an acquaintanceship of many years. Their minds are full of the most favourable assumptions with regard to the reasonableness, liberalism and independence of a Frenchman's opinions. In the country, where I have just been staying for six weeks with the Chevalier Ryan (Sir Edward Ryan), I was a neighbour—our doors, or rather, our gardens being side by side—of the Chief Justice, a man of the highest ability in the difficult profession of an English judge—the most austere of professions, assuredly—and most austere in appearance too. Well, he was the first to warn me that Lady Ryan was very strict, and that in spite of the Chevalier's good humour and freedom from strictness I might find Sunday very gloomy in their house. He accordingly invited me to take refuge with him on that day, so that we might at least dine and go for a ride together and have a game of chess in the evening, while his wife made music close at hand. You will understand, my dear fellow, that I learnt much during these charming evenings with a man who has administered justice in India for eight years in Madras or Bengal. He wished me to see him conduct a criminal trial in which natives were involved, and I owe him the honour, which is considered a high one here, of having sat on the bench for two days in the High Court.

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silliness under-[16]lying this exhibition of "*manliness*" which the English think it incumbent upon themselves to make, and it forms a most ridiculous contrast with the host of cumbrous and sumptuous refinements which are necessary to their comfort . . . An ox weighs barely three hundred pounds ; it draws two hundred, and not very far either. Each servant serves for only a few hours a day, and most abominably two. Like the whole population of which they form a part, they possess that insuperable force which is the attribute of weakness : inertia. One is forced to bow to this obstacle, and, if one is to obtain even the most feeble activity, resign oneself to supporting a whole troop of these wretched creatures.

CALCUTTA NEWSPAPERS

(To M de Melay, Pondicherry, from Chandernagore,
October 1829)

. . . [20] When two men have a private quarrel, they go out, as they do in every other country, and cut each other's throats behind a wall ; the dead man is buried, and there is an end of it. Those whose mutual grudges do not reach such a point as to call for this drastic treatment avoid meeting each other, and when they chance to meet beneath the same roof, refrain from exchanging a word

. . . [21] If you make your aide-de-camp Arnoux read you the Calcutta newspapers at all regularly, you will be quite familiar with the sort of opposition which the Government tolerates. My host the Advocate-General, who has the character of an ultra-liberal in England, but who sees no resemblance, whether actual or legal, between the underlying principles of the English Government and that of the Company in India, is none the less in favour of suppressing papers which go too far and taking legal proceedings against their proprietors. He personally disapproves of many acts of the administration ; but he would like to deport to England those who print in their papers in Calcutta every morning that the government of the Company is abominable and express the hope that Parliament will refuse to renew its charter. As it is by special permission and favour of the Company that these persons reside within its territories it is no

there are learned societies of every variety, or societies professing to be such—craniological, phrenological, horticultural, literary, medical, Wernerian, and Heaven knows what beside—the members of which in no way yield the [11] palm to those of similar assemblies in the United States, in either learning or appetite. I could not possibly hesitate between learned men of this type and men of the greatest distinction, though absorbed in studies differing entirely from my own. Thus, as I wrote to you, my first host was the Advocate-General of Bengal, M. Pearson, the only lawyer who has come out from England with a great reputation already made. He is a man of at least your age, full of wit and gaiety, and a liberal, like us, which in English means a radical. I do not know how I inspire such confidence in these people; but they pour out their hearts to me at once quite frankly about things which they are afraid to say to one another after an acquaintanceship of many years. Their minds are full of the most favourable assumptions with regard to the reasonableness, liberalism and independence of a Frenchman's opinions. In the country, where I have just been staying for six weeks with the Chevalier Ryan (Sir Edward Ryan), I was a neighbour—our doors, or rather, our gardens being side by side—of the Chief Justice, a man of the highest ability in the difficult profession of an English judge—the most austere of professions, assuredly—and most austere in appearance too. Well, he was the first to warn me that Lady Ryan was very strict, and that in spite of the Chevalier's good humour and freedom from strictness I might find Sunday very gloomy in their house. He accordingly invited me to take refuge with him on that day, so that we might at least dine and go for a ride together and have a game of chess in the evening, while his wife made music close at hand. You will understand, my dear fellow, that I learnt much during these charming evenings with a man who has administered justice in India for eight years in Madras or Bengal. He wished me to see him conduct a criminal trial in which natives were involved, and I owe him the honour, which is considered a high one here, of having sat on the bench for two days in the High Court.

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is sincerely convinced of the validity of his right to live like a rich man in India.

I am bewildered at this baseless pride, this unjustifiable ambition. Sometimes these seem to me the height of stupidity and insolence ; at other times I see in them a principle of success and progress. An Englishman would feel unhappy in numbers of situations in which our modest tastes would find satisfaction ; so in order to rise to a better one, he works and takes trouble, whereas we remain inactive, being satisfied with the point we have reached. I do not think their system conducive to individual happiness ; but it is very conducive to the power and strength of the nation.

There are no subaltern posts for them in the government of India. They cannot suffer a man of their nationality to appear before the natives except on a footing of superiority and grandeur. Their sepoy present arms to all Europeans except the common herd in Calcutta. Thus they combine admiration with the fear which they inspire and that respect upon the outward expression of which, at least, they insist.

I believe this system to be a very wise one for the quiet preservation of what they have conquered. It lends them the greatest moral force. The natives are thoroughly convinced of the baseness of their own nature ; the people in this part of India which has been longest in English possession, accustomed from time immemorial to the strict obedience, feels neither hatred [24] nor attachment for them ; it sows, and ploughs and, provided only it is left enough to keep it from dying, is content.

The collector (who is at the same time the administrator of a vast province) has only one assistant under him. All their agents are natives. Those at the top of the ladder are men esteemed for their fortune, which is a guarantee in the eyes of the European official ; and down to the native bailiff, there is a well-graduated system of responsibility which protects that of the collector. His assistant does the routine work with two or three native chief tax-collectors, and the titular head, who is in correspondence with the Government secretaries, appears only in the capacity of judge to the people whom he really governs. But as such he is obviously the protector of the lower classes, and is therefore popular

The English *sahibs* are so powerful that any reputation for good-nature on their part provides a native with the right to pillage, and those who are pillaged have no right to complain too loudly. Not long ago a resident was sent to Chittagong, on the other side of the Bay of Bengal. He was only a captain, and had an assistant who was, I believe, a civilian. On reaching the place where he was to be resident he had to call upon the titular prince, who had been deprived of his authority, and on the following day the rajah, had to return his call with his little court. The *vakil*, or honorary minister to this so-called prince, whose place it was to shine as a lesser star in this exchange of prescribed courtesies, went to see the resident's assistant, who arranged the procedure, and offered him a *lakh* of rupees if he would insert the clause that the resident was to clap him on the shoulder. This mark of familiar friendship, which is one of the Indian forms of salutation, was meant to raise the *vakil* to such heights in the eyes of the public at Chittagong, and give such an exalted idea of his influence with the resident, that the rogue would very soon have got his *lakh* back again by selling his supposed influence retail. There are many *habus* in Calcutta who are able to keep their [25] carriage by following this principle. They make a living out of the credulity of rich natives. At times there are very large pecuniary interests at issue before the High Court or the administration. It is supposed that these people then approach a judge or Government secretary for the purpose of tipping the balance in favour of the side which pays them

The Company is obliged by Act of Parliament to keep up a force of twenty-five thousand European troops. Since these are very costly, they are never at full strength. At the present moment there are hardly more than fifteen thousand. The mortality among them is very high. Drunkenness, which in England stupefies men, kills them here. There is no intercourse between the English soldiers and the sepoys. Both occupy Fort William, yet, though crowded into a small space, they never quarrel. It is only between the officers that a few words or pistolshots are exchanged, for those in the King's army affect to regard themselves as very much above those of the Company. Yet the latter receive their commissions from the King like the others : corres-

ponding ranks enjoy the same precedence according to seniority ; but once past the Cape they no longer count at all

[28] . . . According to our national custom, the French ships coming to Calcutta for the last few years have made enormous losses ; yet the shipowners do not tire of this ruinous game. They seem to take pleasure in providing the people of this country with claret at a lower price than they pay for it themselves in France

[29] . . . The English here have before their eyes the painful spectacle afforded by the degenerate descendants of previous conquerors of India. There is a fairly large Portuguese population in Calcutta. Few of them, it is true, can boast a purely European origin ; there are some, but they are all black, blacker than the natives, and they linger on in low debauchery and poverty, despised even by the natives. Well, I have seen a number of people who are convinced that after three or four generations in India, or at least in this part of India, their proud and stalwart race would become equally degraded. Their pride is hurt by the thought that one day, in a century or two's time, Englishmen, men of English race, speaking the language and professing the religion of England, should be burnt black by the climate, enfeebled, emasculated and reduced to inferior employments among the Indians ; and bad conduct and drunkenness would certainly bring a large number to this pass if many of them were to come and settle here without having their means of livelihood guaranteed by government employment.

SERAMPORE

[30] . . . by its extreme proximity to Calcutta Serampore embarrasses the course of justice. It is the haunt of all the big fraudulent bankrupts from the capital of the empire. A few unfortunate and worthy men find refuge there, to the satisfaction of all honest people ; but for one man of that sort whom one is glad to see escape the clutches of the law there are a thousand rogues thoroughly fit for the pillory, who mock the misery of those they have ruined by their constant round of pleasures . . .

[31] This is what the governor of the tiny town of Serampore does, though he does it a little timidity. He is monstrously

badly paid, but extremely well educated, speaking French, English, German, anything you please. His young wife is equally charming and well-bred, they [32] both have the most "*gentlemanlike*" air imaginable. Lord and Lady Bentinck shower polite attentions upon them and have them to their house as much as they can. I have often seen them there at dinner, and, like me, they were enjoying without any dismal reflections the pleasure of having a very good dinner in excellent company, with a fine concert in the intervals of appetite. When a post is so small it is for the man who occupies it to make it respected by his character and, if he can, his intelligence.

[32] Calcutta is no longer a city of palaces in my eyes, but a city of big houses.

DOMESTIC SERVANTS

(In a letter to M. Porphyre Jacquemont, Paris ; from Calcutta, Sunday, November 8, 1829) [33] In a few days' time I am starting for Benares . . . Riding on a white horse (I am predestined to ride on white horses !), with my pistols in good order in the holsters, I shall head the procession, closely followed by two poor devils who will cost me together twenty-four or thirty francs a month, and one of whom, called a *syce*, is, strictly speaking, the groom, [34] while the other, the *ghassiara*, or grass-cutter, is in charge of my old screw's table. Each of them will carry one of my guns, loaded with ball or shot as the case may be. When I gallop they will run behind me, for such is the custom.

Grouped in various ways round a rough cart made of bamboo and drawn by two oxen, on which my baggage will slowly proceed, will walk the grand master of my closetool or *sirdar* bearer (*beerah*), a *khidmatgar* (*khitmutgar*), or table-servant and (by an ingenious accumulation of offices) at the same time cook, a *masalchi* (*moussalchi*) or plate-washer (note that I possess two plates), and a *bhishti* (*bisti*) or water-carrier.

Besides the ox-driver in attendance on the cart, there is another who will drive a draught-ox laden with the smallest tent in India as far as Benares.

I shall travel six, seven or eight leagues a day, living on rice cooked in the native fashion, fowls and milk, and drinking water

mixed with French brandy, so long as I have any left ; never any bread. I shall sleep in my tent on a mat or a light frame with stuff stretched over it . . .

The camels are splendid, I am told : they can be hired for nine rupees (twenty three-francs) a month, seven rupees if one takes more than three. One does not have to trouble about feeding either them or the men who drive them. The same is true, moreover, for servants of all sorts : they are paid absolutely nothing beyond their wages, and fend for themselves as best they can.

[36] I have the pleasing assurance that the long period for which I availed myself of M. Pearson's hospitality was no indiscretion. He made much of me in every way. When some French ships arrived recently, he sent people running about for two days to find a Perigord *pate* ; and this morning at luncheon he made me violate my Asiatic sobriety by surprising me with one of truffled quails, which will last us the shortest possible time, for it is delicious. Though I have become as intimate with him as we can do with English people, I have never ceased to meet with the same gratifying attentions at his house as those with which he welcomed me the first day. Now I am the companion of his life, I am strictly speaking his only society, as he is my only company when I stay to dinner at his house. As regards our personal crotchets, political theories and literary tastes, we agree marvellously well, and he seems to take a great pleasure in our hour's conversation after dinner, for he is a man of wide knowledge.

[37] A small fraction of his knowledge and talent—the legal part—brings him in 400,000 francs a year ; of which he spends 160,000 in the grand style. His position as Advocate-General is worth only 100,000 of this sum.

[38] . . . The English have habits of opulence and innumerable artificial needs which would necessarily make them feel so in the various situations in which I shall find myself.

[40] . . . I have ten men with me, and I think there are a few good ones among them. Moreover my cook's father is following me, not in a professional capacity, but with the object of returning to his home. The fellow will end by costing me four

rupees a month, for I cannot dispense with a *chokidar* (*tchoke-dar*) or night watchman

(From a letter to Colonel Don Jose de Hezeta, Calcutta ; dated Titagarh, November 17, 1829) [42] I went to luncheon recently with a young infantry officer who often comes to M. Pearson's . . . We all three reclined upon sofas under a verandah and coffee was brought, then the newspapers, and then their favourite dogs came in to be given a piece of bread ; then soda-water, then the *abdar* (water-carrier), who had to be scolded because the soda-water was not very cool. They talked about the half-*batta* and groaned over the age of iron in which we live . . . The (breakfast) table was as neatly and almost as elegantly laid as at [43] Pearson's. We had breakfast with all the subtlest refinements of English luxury. Next the hookahs came in and were set up on their rugs, and smoking began (here there were renewed lamentations about the half-*batta*).

ENGLISH HOSPITALITY

(From a letter to M. Venceslas Jacquemont, Paris ; dated, Calcutta, November 10, 1829) [45] . . . the English land of India welcomed me with a crescendo of gratifying attentions and noble hospitality.

[46] For some time past I have fallen far short of the four cups of coffee I drank at Bourbon. By a monstrous abuse of language the English inject into their stomachs under this name cups of warm water with milk, slightly defiled with coal-dust. This is given out to be Mocha coffee. But the change quite suits me, for it seems to me I am no stupider for not drinking real coffee any more.

(Friday, eleven p.m., Calcutta, November 13, 1829) [47] At four o'clock in the morning I rode out and did not return till eight o'clock, having gone no less than twenty miles. These are the last days I shall spend in these parts, so I must not lose a single instant.

Before nine o'clock I was on the way to Garden Reach, where I had to spend the morning making farewell calls ; and in the evening I dined with the Chief Justice, the Chevalier Grey. I lunched with Sir Charles Metcalfe, one of the two members of Council, the courteous person who had given me the run of the

Botanical Garden while I was staying with Sir Edward Ryan. To-morrow he will send me a letter for his brother, who is collector and administrator at Delhi, where he himself was resident for such a long time ; nothing could be more opportune.

Those of his neighbours to whom I was indebted for no more than ordinary courtesies and a few dinners were speedily despatched. I was eager to get to Lady Ryan's, for she had shown me far more than courtesy. I had not seen her for six weeks, but we met again like old friends. However, I had to cross the Ganges in order to say good-bye to the Botanical Garden and conclude certain arrangements. I found the gardener ill and unable to help me with this task, which I could not perform without him. This means a day's delay ; I shall be forced to go back there on Monday, accompanied by the head native gardener, a great tall Brahmin with the most handsome and intelligent face, with whom I spent the time which the Englishman's inopportune illness left at my disposal in going over every corner of this huge and magnificent establishment. This time I had no need of any interpreter. He [48] seemed much surprised at my recent acquisition of Hindustani.

Having crossed the river again and changed my personal adornments at the Chevalier Ryan's for the third time, into black this time (in so far as the suit I salvaged from my semi-shipwreck on the *Zelee* can be referred to as black, though it still does credit to Porphyre's tailor), I went to Sir Charles Grey's house. We three dined together in a not very English way. Englishmen of that type (and I can say as much of my host in the city) never quite get used to the insipidity of their national mode of life . . . Sir Charles, who squanders a hundred thousand *ecus* a year out here, said that I could not do better ; and that if he were not a judge and married he would gladly accompany me in these unusual conditions, which, though arduous, were picturesque and well suited for study. And since Englishwomen follow the fortunes of their husbands more than ours do, Lady Grey regretted that she could not join the expedition . . .

[49] His (Chief Justice's) high office, which gives him precedence immediately after the Governor-General, makes him far more truly his own master and independent on his bench than the Governor-General is on his throne, where he is subject to recall. Moreover, the immense respect which he enjoys on

account of the great talents and activity enables him to do things no other man could venture to do . . .

I had intended to finish this yesterday evening quietly and quite alone, as I had begun. But Lady Grey had promised to go to some private theatricals in the city, and we all three went together. As was to be expected, it was very boring, and we spent the time talking as we might have done in her drawing-room. She was very lovely that evening, and as I thought of the dullards who thronged round us, I was weak enough to rejoice in her beauty. In the morning these idiots gallop on magnificent Arab horses while I trot along more or less in my dressing-gown, with no riding-boots or whip, on my sturdy but humble little Persian nag. No doubt they rather despise me for this; but in the evening you see them entering the room with some daw in peacock's feathers on their arm, and that is when I have my revenge, as I offer my arm to Lady Grey. But for the happy accident of these aristocratic friendships my position here would have been impossible; but thanks to them nobody could have had more attentions and marks of distinction showered upon him . . .

TRAVELLING IN INDIA

[50] . . . This evening my education as an Indian traveller will be complete when I go to bed (that is, throw myself down fully dressed on a wicker frame inside my little tent, with a pilau in my stomach).

(From Letter No. 8 to M. de Melay, Pondicherry; Camp at Kindha, Thursday evening, December 3, 1829, 140 miles to the N.N.E. of Calcutta) [51] . . . I wake before daybreak in a tent, and in spite of two or three blankets the cold comes and pulls me by the feet on my wicker couch, before my "*sirdar-bearer*" does. I summon him at once. He wakes the other servants and I call the roll, still from beneath my blankets, a job which is soon done, for I have only nine men to call over. Thereupon my head valet (*vallenissime de chambre*), the above-mentioned *sirdar-bearer*, enters with a lantern and a pot of water. In ten minutes' time I am dressed . . . Thereupon a procession enters: first the cook, with a tumulus of rice beneath which are buried the component parts of a chicken; the *syce*, or groom, come to

fetch my horse's saddle and bridle; the under-valet, who rolls up the blankets, folds the bed and shuts up my shaving apparatus; and another servant belonging to the hierarchy of Indian domesticity, who is oleaginous in his functions and has, among his other duties, that of keeping my guns and pistols in good order. While all this is going on inside the tent my chief quartermaster, who presides over the tent, is at work outside demolishing it in such a way that, when everything has been [52] dragged out of it and all the men have come out too, it falls as though by a magic spell, and is immediately rolled up, made into a bundle, and loaded on a waggon, while I reduce my tumulus of pilau to a dead level with my plate as I preside over the operations. At dawn my caravan sets out on the march . . .

[53] At sundown I make a reconnaissance like some prince who is the friend of his people, with no guard save my *harkara* or guide, herald and messenger, a poor devil at a salary of six rupees a month, dressed like a doge of Venice and with a face that would be priceless in melodrama, its expression being heightened by a sabre of prodigious length.

(From his letter to M. Venceslas Jacquemont, Paris; camp Hingoli, December 24, 1829) [56] At Hooghly I found my luggage parked round a neat bungalow, my bed made, and my first pilau served up in a little room, bare but very clean. I was just about to fall upon my mountain of rice, when a *jemadar*, a sort of native commissioner or servant of superior rank, was despatched to me from a neighbouring house, which was the collector's . . . [57] In the evening he sent guards to keep watch round my little encampment during the night, and a *chaprassi* (tchouprassi), a sort of armed messenger, as useful to the traveller as were the late Janissaries in Turkey . . .

[64] . . . After all, whatever may be said against the laziness, stupidity and mendacity of servants in this country, their service is most convenient and not at all expensive. For twelve francs a month I have a groom who has my horse saddled and bridled in readiness to start at the time ordered the evening before. This man [65] follows me like a shadow; when I gallop he runs on foot, for such is the rule. If I dismount he is there to lead the horse by the bridle or stand waiting, according to what I sign to him to do, and I mount and dismount ten or fifty times a day. The other servant attached to the horse, the *ghassiara*, has gone

on ahead ; and I find him at the spot appointed for the halt that evening, with a bundle of herbage, grass, leaves or roots which he has gathered for the beast to eat

[66] . . . My hat, made at Pondicherry of date-palm leaves and covered with black silk, is shinier than ever. In the morning I pull it down over my ears like a cap and find it very warm. It assumes whatever shape I desire : it is an admirable invention designed by myself ; light, waterproof, strong, etc., etc.

[67] . . . You have certainly read the *Theatre of the Hindus* by M. Wilson ; it will be a novelty to me. [68] I saw the book every day in Calcutta, as well as its author very frequently, but found no leisure for more than his excellent preface. Wilson has a job corresponding to that of M. Darcet at the Mint, besides several others, all well-paid sinecures. He is certainly the best pensioned of all men of letters, besides which he is the greatest authority upon Sanskrit in the world at present, and a man of wit and taste to boot. He is remarkably like Frederick the Great of Prussia . . .

[70] "The London rivulet swelled to a river in Calcutta, and by now it has become a sea"

I am going to dine with a dozen Europeans who govern a portion of the British Empire. Their wives will be dressed in Paris fashion of six months ago. These are no vulgar nabobs, characters who no longer exist except in the plays performed in the Strand theatres in London

[71] Only rarely did I have to hire a carriage to go and dine with the Chief Justice of India ; when I was not his next-door neighbour at Garden Reach, he would ask what time would suit me and come to fetch me . . .

CARGO OF LADIES

Girls with no money who have not succeeded in getting married in England arrive here in cargoes for the purpose of selling themselves—in the most honourable sense of the word, of course—to young officers and civilians who receive, in addition to their appointment and the assurance of a fortune sufficient for two, orders to go and be rich all by themselves in some village two hundred leagues from Calcutta and govern an area equal to that of several French departments. Those whose posts are very

lucrative choose a wife from the society of Calcutta as they choose a public woman in the street : it should be understood, of course, that the small number of families forming the society in which I moved are an exception to this rule. Matrimonially it is the worst possible country for a man of my sort.

[72] There are still enormous salaries in India, but there are no longer huge fortunes to be made here. The daughters of those who get rich here are brought up with such luxurious habits that they are only suitable for marrying collectors or people of that sort. Besides, the English, who are the people most addicted to marriage in the world, have children by dozens, and there is no fortune that will survive division by such a Christian quotient. And lastly, the young ladies of the most polished classes, which are also the most opulent I have ever had occasion to meet, are more insignificant here than in any other country. They are as much afraid of a married woman of twenty-four's very small amount of sense as of the polar ice. Not that the latter are gay, indeed ; but the few serious ideas that marriage always drives into even the emptiest heads terrify the complete insignificance of those upon whom the spirit has not yet descended.

Miss Pearson is the only one I have known who was worthy of the esteem and consideration of a sensible man. The poor girl, whom I left very ill on my departure from Calcutta, writes to me here that she is dying ; I shall have to send the letters to England which I have written her on the road. The doctors are sending her home without any delay ; her mother is accompanying her

[75] English hospitality is splendid as a general rule. Men overwhelmed with work acted as my guides round the stations at which I halted ; not only did they lend me their elephants, horses and carriages, but they always accompanied me when I visited the ruins (at Agra).

(From Simla, June 21, 1830, to M. Venceslas Jacquemont, Paris). [104] . . . though the Government of India is despotic in theory (and necessarily so), in reality it is as free as any in Europe. There is no preventive censure of periodicals, of which there are a great number : 1. The Calcutta *John Bull* ; 2. The Calcutta *Harkarah* (Hindustani for *The Messenger*) ; The *East India Gazette*, the *Government Gazette*, the *Literary Gazette*,

etc., etc., etc., not to speak of the papers published in Bengali and Hindustani . . .

[107] Perhaps the two quarto volumes by Dr. Heber, the late Bishop of Calcutta, would amuse you more, but they would only give you very poor information—"It is a regular milk and water" . . .

The learned or literary societies in the United States have their equals in those of India. As societies the latter are worse than anything imaginable in their ignorance, silliness and childishness, though there are naturally a few men of worth in all of them, especially in Calcutta : Horace Wilson, for instance, the leading Sanskrit scholar in the world, polyglot, literary, a poet and a man of learning at the same time. Read his *Theatre of the Hindus* : They are sure to have it in the Royal Library. Yesterday I was writing to my former host Sir Edward Ryan and my amiable neighbour at the same period, Sir Charles Grey, Chief Justice of India ; and in explaining to the latter why I was not sending any learned papers to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, and in order to prove that the Society is absurd, I wound up the list of my grievances against it with the fact that he is its President, though he has not the slightest qualification even for being a member. The Chevalier Grey's very great merits will find scope in a political career. His brief leisure is reserved for [108] European literature, and he cares about as much as you do for the history and antiquities of this land . . .

[112] At Kanum I shall shortly see that incredible Hungarian original M. Alexander Csoma de Koros, of whom you have doubtless heard. He has been living there for four years past under the not very modest name of Sikander-beg, that is to say, Alexander the Great, dressed in oriental fashion. But now he is [113] ready to cast off his sheep-skin and black lamb-skin cap and resume his own name for the purpose of going to Calcutta and boring you, no doubt, with the Tibetan Encyclopaedia and all its rigmarole, which he has just translated. M. d'Eckstein will take exception to it, you will see ; yet M. Csoma is the only European in the world who understands this language. The Tibetan Encyclopaedia is strong on astrology, theology, alchemy, medicine and other nonsense of the sort, no doubt translated from the Sanskrit at a remote epoch. If only M. Csoma will give it to us in German and M. d'Eckstein translate it from German

into French, we shall have nonsense raised to the fourth power, an expression whose far-reaching significance Porphyre will explain to you if your own algebra does not go far enough*.

THINGS INDIAN

(From a letter to M. Porphyre Jacquemont, Paris, from Sabathoo, November 1, 1830) [142] I neither eat opium nor chew betel. No European chews betel, and very few eat opium. I have just accepted a little parting present from (Capt. Charles Pratt) Kennedy (Political Agent in the Hill States) : a hookah, which I will present to you on my return, if it is not stolen between here and Paris. Cigars, indeed! The hookah is not a thing one can carry about with one ; it is rather a complicated apparatus, weighing about three or four pounds. But the smoke one inhales from it is so mild, so cool, so fragrant ! I predict that you will have one in constant use during your old age, and I hope it may be mine from the Himalayas.

[157] We do not read the eternal *Gulistan* of English students, as is usually done, but the Persian Gazette of Calcutta, written in vile prose, but the prose that is really spoken.

[185] . . . As a proof of my filial piety I have just changed my clothes, and I drink your health in a glass of punch which will do no harm to my own.

* Jacquemont writes elsewhere : "For them—European travellers—there are only two alternatives: either to go as beggars, like M. Alexander Csoma de Koros, wearing the national costume of the country they are traversing. (p. 247). The other day at Aurangabad I read an analysis from the hand of the learned and ingenious M. Wilson of the Tibetan translations made by my friend M. Csoma de Koros. They are unspeakably boring. There are some twenty chapters on what sort of shoes it is fitting for lamas to wear. Among other pieces of preposterous nonsense of which these books are full, priests are forbidden to take hold of a cow's tail to help them to ford a swift river. There is no lack of profound dissertations on the properties of griffons', dragons' and unicorns' flesh or the admirable virtues of the hoofs of winged horses. To judge by what I have seen of that people and what M. Csoma's translations tell us about them, one would take them for a race of madmen or idiots." (pp. 324-325).

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cutta twenty months ago for the modest sum of seventy-five million francs), I was thinking what present I might give him, when it occurred to me that I might simply send him a lottery ticket, which costs me a hundred and twenty-eight rupees, and may win him a hundred and sixty thousand. I may say that there is a lottery at Calcutta every six months, with six thousand tickets costing a hundred and twenty-eight rupees each, so arranged that only a twelfth part of the sum subscribed for the tickets remains in the bank. This sum serves to cover the expenses of various charitable institutions. But that is only a pretext to sanctify the gambling and enable the pious to take part in it, which they all do, and the impious as well. The number of civil and military officers in the whole of India amounts to about six thousand, the same as the tickets. There are few who do not voluntarily impose the half-yearly tax of a hundred and twenty-eight rupees upon themselves from the day they arrive in India to the day they leave it.

[278] It is speculation in indigo that is ruining all the business houses in Calcutta. If they would only be content with the profits they make on commission, they would all do very well. I am always glad when I hear that Messrs. Cruttenden, Mackillop & Co. do not go in for that form of gambling.

My only objection to them is due to my consciousness of the quantities of debts that will never be paid them. Nothing is so common in India as to owe fifty or a hundred thousand rupees, or even twice that. The debtors are often captains at six hundred rupees a month, or surgeons with a thousand or twelve hundred; and it is all due to the mania for living beyond their means. The principle on which the public acts is that the Calcutta bankers are a set of thieves, and it serves them right to be cheated. These Englishmen, who are so proud and sensitive about their honour, allow themselves to be dragged before the courts at Calcutta for debts that are really shameful, for there can be no excuse for them but the insanity of the debtors.

Their reasoning is as follows:—

"I am an '*English gentleman*,' that is to say, one of the most brilliant animals in all creation.

"I have left the joys of Europe, the charms of family life behind me; I have said farewell to my friends to come and live in this dog of a country.

etc., etc., etc., not to speak of the papers published in Bengali and Hindustani . . .

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country because he was endangering public order by his incendiary rhetoric. This Buckingham—who is, for the rest, an able man—has been preaching a crusade in London ever since against the Company's Government, but he has no reputation whatsoever. Lord William has not arrested anybody yet, for which I blame him, and make no secret of it. The number of English officers in India, both civil and military, is six thousand; the European army comprises only twenty thousand men: that is all. It is evident, then, that we do not hold the vast population of this vast land in subjection by material force. The basis of our power lies elsewhere: in the respect our character inspires in these peoples. A European of degraded morals ought to be immediately arrested and shipped back to Europe. He does more harm to the European character and the future of English power in India than a serious revolt. In Calcutta, where there are so many Europeans, and of all classes, the most insignificant Bengali keeps on his shoes in the presence of the Governor-General. In Delhi the greatest Mogul nobleman takes them off in the presence of the least of English subalterns.

[285] In Calcutta the Indians see European sailors being marched off drunk daily by Indians forming the military police. They see Europeans in the dock at the criminal courts. There the prestige of our name has been lowered. Throughout the whole of the Ganges delta, which is largely cultivated by indigo planters, for the most part English or half-caste, an opulent, violent and rough class, the spell is likewise broken. Nowhere are Europeans more numerous in proportion to the native population, nowhere is the latter more timid; yet nowhere are Europeans respected so little.

(From a letter to M. Victor de Tracy, Paris, written from Malwa, on March 29, 1832) [303] They (natives of India) have two expressions only to mention a European. A *saheb logue*, a lord, a gentleman; or rather, one of the lords or gentlemen; and a *gora logue*, or one of the caste of the whites, a white man. The former character is much respected by them; the latter may be dreaded, as it is indeed very often quite dreadful, but respected never.

[312] Nobody in this country except the journalists in Calcutta has much belief in the renewal of the Company's charter,

and probably nobody in England has time to think about it now, amid the great questions of domestic interest which are being thrashed out (from a letter to M. Porphyre Jacquemount, Paris, dated March 31, 1832 from Kherchrod, Malwa).

(From a letter to M. Porphyre Jacquemount, from Edalabad, May 10, 1832) [313] I breakfast off milk and bananas, the fruit of all hot countries, of which you have often heard, which is like jasmine-scented pomade gone rancid and very much sweetened. I dine exactly like a Turk, off onions stewed in ghee, that is, melted butter, the substitute for butter in India. With this I drink tepid water, and during the daytime tepid or warm lemonade, for everything is tepid or warm. I have become Indian enough to like strong-tasting [314] butter; and from the very day I landed in Haiti, February 18, 1827, I considered bananas a perfect fruit, unlike many Europeans, who go red in the face with rage when the first one is offered them, and reply, on tasting it, that a banana is a very poor joke to play on a decent fellow.

(From a letter to Captain Cordier at Chandernagore from camp between Ajanta and Aurangabad, May 15, 1832) [317] Since Mandleshwar I have lived on onions and *chapatis*, or thin cakes made of flour with all the bran left in it . . . You know there are onions and onions. For instance, at Marseilles you have no doubt eaten these enormous onions, full of flavour, sweet and mild—in a word, admirable—grown from [318] seed obtained from Egypt. Well, these Egyptian onions have also reached Bombay, which is hardly more distant from Egypt than Marseilles is; and from Bombay the race has spread, deteriorating slightly, it is true, to the surrounding provinces. Well, those are the onions which my cook prepares with an enormous quantity of execrable melted butter—ghee, as the Indians call it—and provided that one's soul is firmly clamped into one's body, and one has had a few days to get used to this stew, I assure you that one finds it very good. I can quite understand why it was that, when Moses was starving the Jews in the desert, they regretted their captivity and their good Egyptian onions. They really had excellent reason for it—not the captivity, but the onions.

(From a letter to Captain Cordier, Chandernagore, from Poona, July 21, 1832) [341] English officials do not abuse their

power when far from the master's eye. On the contrary, it is my conviction that, the more [342] confidence their Government reposes in them, and the greater the discretionary powers it leaves them, the better they serve it. They then become a sort of a pashas or cadis, in the oriental fashion, only just and honest. The golden age, which was no more nor less than the age of corruption is over.

NOTES

1. Victor Jacquemont was born in August 1801 of an ancient family of Artois as the son of Venceslas Jacquemont (an idealist republican). Venceslas Jacquemont's metaphysical treatise *Les essences réelles* remains unpublished. Victor worked in Chemist Thenard's laboratory at 16. After studying botany, geology, agriculture etc. Victor chose medicine as his profession and in 1822 became a medical student. While living at Paris, he fell in love with a young Italian opera-singer, Adeladie Schiasetti, did not marry her, but lived certainly in "idyllic courtship". Victor's elder brother Porphyre advised him to go on a long voyage to the United States. His second brother Frederic was a sugar planter in Santo Domingo (West Indies)

Before he started for India it was considered advisable for him to visit London and get into personal touch with the Court of Directors of the East India Company. He visited London with his friends like General de La Harpe, and Madame Pasta, and had introduction from La Fayette, the Duc de Broglie and Baron Gerard (the painter). Sutton Sharpe, a barrister, took steps to interest Sir Alexander Johnston, Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society, in his mission, introduced him to the Society, and obtained his election as a corresponding member.

On July 1, 1828 Sir Alexander Johnston handed over Victor Jacquemont official letters of introduction from the Court of Directors to all of the governors of British possessions in India.

Jacquemont's original idea, suggested by Mountstuart Elphinstone's account of his mission to Kabul was to explore the whole valley of the Indus, from the south of Multan to north of Kabulistan.

Victor Jacquemont was very tall (5 ft. 10 inches) and his brow was partly hidden by his long, dark chestnut hair, which curled naturally. His dark grey eyes had a frank and engaging address. He travelled to India on board the French Government's corvette *La Zelee* from Brest on August 26, 1828 and arrived at Pondi-

cherry on March 6, 1829, touching on way at Taneriffe, Rio de Janeiro, the Cape of Good Hope and the Island of Bourbon (Reunion). After spending a fortnight at Pondicherry, he proceeded to Calcutta, reaching that city on May 25, 1829, where he was immediately presented to Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, in an informal way. Lady Bentinck was fond of France and was personally acquainted with the Duke and Duchess of Orleans (afterwards King Louis Philippe and his Queen).

With the slenderest of equipments, Victor Jacquemont proceeded to Delhi and pushed on into the Himalays, penetrating as far as Ladakh and Spiti and even crossing the frontier of Tibet. M. Allard, Ranjit Singh's General, invited him to his territories (Punjab and Kashmir). Victor Jacquemont's accounts of Ranjit Singh and his country are very original. Ranjit Singh offered Jacquemont the viceroyalty of Kashmir. Victor proceeded to Bombay as the guest of Governor Clare. In July an attack of dysentery proved to be fatal and he died on December 7, 1832 at Bombay Officer's hospital. His epitaph composed by himself reads: "Victor Jacquemont, born in Paris on August 8, 1801, died at Bombay on December 7, 1832, after travelling in India for three and a half years".

On May 27, 1933 was established the "Societe des Amis de Jacquemont" to celebrate the centenary of Victor Jacquemont's untimely death at the age of 31. Victor Jacquemont's fame rests on his pioneering work on the classification of the Himalayan flora and fauna, which, however, remains tentative and incomplete. The Societe des Amis de Jacquemont has published seven Volumes of Jacquemont's correspondence, besides a biography.

In September 1834 a collection of letters was published in London under the title of "Letters from India, describing a journey in the British Dominions of India, Tibet, Lahore, and Cashmere during the years 1828-1829-1831, undertaken by order of the French Government by Victor Jacquemont, travelling naturalist to the Museum of Natural History, Paris ... translated from the French", and met with success enough to justify the publication of a second and enlarged edition in May 1835 in two volumes.

Victor Jacquemont's views were prophetic. We quote one here: "English supremacy in Asia cannot be eternal, and that it is a duty to humanity to prepare India to govern herself by raising the moral and intellectual capacity of its inhabitants through a liberal education. ... If I thought that the foundation of English schools in the chief towns of India would be a means of hastening the fall of English power in these lands, I should certainly close these schools...." (Introduction, p. xxv).

David Stacton's *A Ride on a Tiger* (The Curious Travels of Victor Jacquemont), published by Museum Press Ltd., London, 1954, tells the story of Jacquemont in a narrative style.

2. The first letter from Jacquemont to his father after his arrival in Calcutta, in which he described his reception there, went astray, and it was not till August 1830, when he had gone up into Tibet, that he heard of its loss. In this letter, No. C-F. XXXIV from Camp at Nako, 26 August 1830, frontier of Chinese Tartary, to his father M. Venceslas Jacquemont, Paris, he recapitulates his first letter.
3. "*Pearson sahib ka ghar men*" (To Pearson Sahib's house" (John Pearson, Advocate-General of Bengal).

CALCUTTA IN 1830*

By Major Edward C. Archer¹

[161] The Bengal Army is, from numbers, discipline, and principle, the finest and most efficient body of men that was ever organized out of Europe. By this no invidious distinction is intended between it and those of the sister Presidencies, for the character applies equally to all three . . . [164] The branches, or arms of the Indian army, are, as in Europe, divided into four,—cavalry, artillery, engineers, and infantry: but the parallel stops there. In India these branches are each one and indivisible, arising from the profit-and-loss notions at the India-house, where it is supposed that the value of each is in proportion to the inverse ratio of its real consequence as a military body: in plain parlance—the Directors value a cadetship to the engineers at a higher rate than one to the cavalry; the latter is superior to the artillery; and last, and least in estimation, comes the marching regiments. Why? For [165] the simple reason that the pay and emoluments of each branch are in the above gradation. These branches are interdicted from connection with each other, and all promotions are made alone in each.

There being only one corps of engineers and one of artillery, the promotion all through the ranks is entirely regimental: but it is otherwise with the cavalry and infantry; in these two branches promotion takes place in each corps, as far as the attainment of a majority, subsequent to which all future advancement is by seniority, and is termed "line promotion".

* From *"TOURS IN UPPER INDIA. And in Parts of the Himalaya mountains: with accounts of the courts of the Native Princes, &c."* by Major Edward C. Archer, late Aid-de-Camp to Lord Combermere, in two volumes; volume II. (London, 1833) "Observations on the local Government of Bengal, and on the Army attached to that Presidency", pp. 161-356.

1. The author's name is given as simply "Major Archer" in the book, but his full name seems to be Edward C. Archer.

[221] The force at Barrackpore in the beginning of 1830, and it has not been subsequently increased (if even the duties have been diminished), consisted of six Native Infantry Corps. [222] Barrackpore is sixteen miles from Fort William, which is garrisoned by the troops at the former place, the terms of guard monthly. From a statement acquired on the spot, the following may be relied on :—The aggregate strength of the force ought to have been 119 Native officers and 4541 men ; whereas from reasons of sickness, absence on furlough, staff employ, and wanting to complete the establishment, amounting to 16 Native Officers, and 1142 men absent, the actual strength was only 103 officers and 3399 men.

The number, strength, and description of guards, were thirteen Native officers and 818 Sepoys for Fort William, *monthly* ; three Native officers and 255 Sepoys for station-guards, *weekly* ; one Native officer and 146 Sepoys on command, *i.e.*, from their corps ; seven Native officers and 359 Sepoys as regimental guards, *daily* ;—total, twenty-four Native officers and 1578 Sepoys, which, from the above number, leaves seventy-nine officers and 1821 men off duty.

Chapter XII.

The Ecclesiastical Establishment.—Bishops Middleton, Heber, James, and Turner.—Military Chaplains.—Conversion of the Hindoos.—The Missionaries.—Ram Mohun Roy—Indiscretion of the Missionaries—Festival of Juggernaut—Conversion of the Hindoos. (pp. 327-341).

[327] The Ecclesiastical Establishment in Bengal consists of one Bishop for the whole of India, the Cape, Ceylon, Mauritius, and Eastern settlements. These comprehend a diocese tolerably sufficient to occupy the time of one man, even if he confined his attention to merely looking into the harbour of one place, and steaming on to another. How can it be expected, that the great good desired and intended by this high and responsible appointment, is to be found in the energies, talents, and physical ability of one man ? India alone would, from its extent, afford ample verge and space for three Bishops ; for it cannot be considered con-[328]sistent, that such a high Church Dignitary

should be scampering about the country with the perturbed hurry of a traveller of a house of business.

There are three Archdeacons, one at each Presidency. The one at Calcutta is the senior, and officiates as the chief of the clergy in the event of a vacancy in the Bishopric, which, indeed, the Indian community and the Christian world at large have had the sorrowful misfortune to witness no less than on four occasions since the see was created.

The able and erudite Middleton first wrought in the vineyard, planted in the name of Christ; and much is the cause indebted to his judgment and energy, in clearing the ground for the tillage of those who came after him. To him succeeded the primitive and apostolic Heber, in whom piety and charity found a kindred spirit, and whose practice was twin-sister of his precepts. To his lamented vacancy succeeded Bishop James, of classic celebrity. His career, unhappily, was short, but it gave an ample earnest of what he could and would have done for the great cause of Christianity, with the soundness of his judgment, the purity of his principles, and the benevolence which charac-[329]terized him during his brief sojourn among his flock.

The last among these good and great men was Bishop Turner, of whom it may be said, he was qualified for the high trust reposed in him, and earnest and diligent in the performance of it. Blessed with temper and resignation, he knew how to turn all things, even sickness, to profit, in his holy calling. With him, it is devoutly to be hoped, will be closed, for a long period, the list of vacancies in the see of Calcutta.

There are twenty-eight chaplains on the Bengal establishment, a number not sufficient to the wants of the community, from its being so much dispersed. The deficiency is somewhat made up by the aid of missionary clergymen, who take up their residence at some large station, or wander about from town to town, and address themselves also to the Natives. The utter impossibility of the due performance of the controlling powers of the Bishop is but too plain; while the good which resulted from the administration of the first Bishop, afforded sufficient proof how much they were needed.

The duties of the clergymen who are styled military chaplains, and who are in certain cir-[330]cumstances subject to military and not canon law, are confined to their respective divisions,

some of which are too extensive for the punctual and more efficient discharge of the ministerial functions, and the ordinances of the Church connected with the ordinary concerns of life. For instance, the province of Cuttack extends from Pooree, the town of the idol Juggernaut, south, to within a short distance of Calcutta, north, upwards of two hundred and fifty miles. The Cawnpore and Merut divisions are too large, though there are two clergymen at each of these stations : and as for the duties of Calcutta, where there is a cathedral, two churches, jails, and hospitals, the number of chaplains, exclusive of the Archdeacon, is only three. Largely as the clerical list has been augmented, the spiritual wants of the community are still urgent ; and if to the regular clergy of the Company is assigned any part in the conversion of the Natives, the number is infinitely too limited for any good result to be anticipated.

CONVERSION

Apropos of conversion, which has occupied from its commencement, and still continues to occupy, the fixed attention of the Christian world in England, and to command its steady and unrelaxed support in every shape which [331] promises to contribute to the furtherance of the end in view. If the results were really apportioned to the exertions, great indeed would be the cause of rejoicing. If they even came up to one-thousandth part of what is in England deemed to be the case, cheering would be the prospect to the labourers in the great work, which piety began and charity continues. But those who are able to judge of the advances which Christianity, it is asserted, has made in India, feel themselves unwillingly compelled to doubt, if not to deny, the amount of good effected.

It may seem that a charge of deceit is here insinuated against those who are toiling in the work of conversion : but that is far indeed from the writer's intention. He must in common with all those who have witnessed the efforts of the Missionaries, and have known them as friends and pastors, and have become acquainted with their comings in and goings out, declare, that their moral conduct is blameless, and that their career in the race before them is pursued without a faltering step. and wholly

heedless of every thing which has self-interest for its end, save the "soul's calm sun-shine."

The Missionaries have laboured long and zealously in the worthy field they have chosen, [332] and, had they brought to the task more of the wisdom of the serpent, and an application of worldly considerations, they might have produced a greater effect; but their zeal has been overbalanced by their enthusiasm which has blazed so intensely as to obscure with its dazzling the sober light of the truth which they endeavoured to hold up to the gaze of the Indians. In their hurry to the one great purpose, they have overlooked all minor but imperative considerations; and in shutting out of their view the springs of human action, and the various sources from which emanate the motives which urge it to existence, they have shown themselves completely ignorant of the nature of man, and from whence originate his hopes and fears, and his knowledge of good and evil. They have jumped to their conclusions, taking it for granted that the Indians were formed in the same mould with themselves; that they were *free* to choose the good so *freely* offered, and that, in accepting it, there was nothing difficult in springing as it were into a new world—to exchange the worship of those deities before whom their fathers bowed the knee for countless generations, for a religion divested of all aid from human sources, apparently austere in its precepts, and difficult with [333] their loose notions of morality to practise,—and in exposing themselves to the contempt, and, if not to the active hostility, at least to the hatred of their countrymen, doubly influenced by religious bigotry, and horror at seeing all ties of caste and kindred violently rent asunder, and the customs of ages thrown aside—for what? For that which, until they can judge of it through the medium of truth, and with the application of a strictly moral code, will be regarded at best as a speculative matter.

The Missionaries have begun at the wrong end, which they have considered, most erroneously, as the means. The mysteries of any religion cannot but be imperfectly understood by those whose code of morality, either of mind or manners, is such as that of the Natives of India; and it would perhaps be the wiser way to make men honest before endeavouring to make them good Christians:—to be sure, the latter implies the former. The above remark may be more applicable to savages than to the

Natives of India ; but to them also it unfortunately has too positive a reference.

The Missionaries set out with a want of judgment in human nature, in putting forth to the admiration of the Hindoos the most wonderful part of the Christian religion in the [334] person of our Lord, and in presenting to them those passages relating to his incarnation, with others of mystical import, before they had cleared away the rubbish of ages, which has completely obstructed the power of exercising a right use of their reason. "You tell us," say the Indians, "very wonderful stories, but we have histories of our Gods a hundred times more wonderful." The ground was not cleared of the stones and weeds which encumbered it ; and, as our blessed Redeemer's parable has so beautifully expressed it, "the thorns choked the good seed." The mind of man is not a field to lie unoccupied for any length of time, for either good or evil will take possession of it ; but when the soil is properly prepared to receive the seed, it then should be sown by the careful husbandman with reference to its nature and fitness.

Were the Natives put out of conceit with the gods whom they have long worshipped, they would naturally look round for wherewithal the soul might commune, and, knowing the error in which they had been enveloped from the beginning, where else in their search could they turn but to Him whose attributes are truth and mercy ? With the Hindoos as well as with the Europeans, religion would [335] occupy the soul's earnest attention, and as the natives of India are willing followers of the tenets of the Brahminical creed, and are exact and scrupulous observers of the ordinances of their religion as ministered by the priesthood, it is but fair to suppose that, upon the acceptance of the pure truths of the Gospel, in exchange for the monstrous and false legends of their millions of gods, whom they debase by attributing to them all the vices and depravity of human nature, (for that is the standard by which they are known), they will be as earnest and sincere in the belief and practice of the true faith, as they were in that which they have quitted.

In the information which the Missionaries send home to the parent societies, there is no intention to delude, but certainly their enthusiasm prevents them seeing all things with unprejudiced eyes. They are labouring in the highest calling to which a Chris-

tian can apply himself, but, in snatching a brand from the fire, they rejoice beyond measure;* their own eagerness in the great work, equally with their [336] simplicity, is turned against them by the artful and designing, and many of those whom they consider as recovered sheep, are nothing less than wolves in disguise. Christianity has nothing but its future rewards to offer as a recompense for a life of denial which it inculcates : this accounts, in some degree, for the converts who are alleged to have been made, being of the lower caste and poorest description, who, having nothing of worldly consideration to lose, but every thing to hope for, find no difficulty in making the change.

RAJA RAM MOHUN ROY

There is one exception to this—it is in the person of Ram Mohun Roy : but, as his forsaking the creed of his fathers was the work of his own hands, not through the efforts of the Missionaries, it cannot be credited to their account. This instance is in support of the view which has been taken in the above lines on this head. Ram Mohun Roy is a clever man, well read even in classic lore, and in the field of polemical controversy he has tilted to the disconcerting of more adversaries than one. His mind, when awakened to the absurdity of that which he had all his life been taught to revere, threw away with unhesitating disregard and contempt the errors which had clung around him : and when he had done this, he looked [337] to other sources from whence he could replace, not that which he had found useless, but that of which it had usurped the place, to the “wronging of his own soul.”

Ram Mohun Roy is, it is said, an Unitarian ;—true, and is this not better than an idolatrous Hindoo ? Out of this charge against him peeps something like the old leaven of uncharitableness, which would rather leave the sinner in his old state than see him gained to a new one, differing from that which consi-

* Christ said there was more cause for rejoicing in the repentance of one sinner, than for one hundred just men who needed none : these hundred *just* made the difference, and prevent the parallel being drawn. (Note on page 335).

ders itself the only true one. But a Hindoo, such as Ram Mohun Roy, of birth, talents, and his extensive information, even though an Unitarian, is certainly half way to Christianity. If he has will equal to his powers, he is the man who is able to do more good than all the Missionaries in the country, who trust to a dispersion of the Bible and their comments or attempted explanations of those parts which the Church itself wisely leaves untouched, to perfect the work they have in hand. The conversion of the Hindoos must be mainly entrusted to the Natives brought up in the college founded by Bishop Middleton, aided and blessed by the assistance of Almighty God, who will bring all things to pass in his own good time. The error of mistaken man is, to think that the [338] speed may be increased. As long as the Hindoos are not insulted by the freedom with which the Missionaries have talked of their modes of faith, and the liberal abuse which they have heaped upon their many-handed gods, they will permit them to preach as much as they please : admitting no proselytes themselves, they cannot think why others desire to augment their followers with so much eagerness ; and being ignorant of the principle and motive, they know not how to value them.

So indiscreet has been the zeal of the Missionaries, that the Government has found itself obliged to prohibit their addressing the Native troops upon matters connected with religion, or their national customs and prejudices ; and in some cases, but not lately, they have been compelled to leave a large military station, where they had fixed their abode. Having said thus much on the one side, honesty alone impels me to present an instance (one of many similar in their nature) where the character of the Missionaries shone with a lustre which it never could have derived from an angry disputation upon the merits of Christian and Hindoo faiths, which but too often takes place. The writer happened to be present at a festival of the obscene Juggernaut, the idol of [339] countless myriads, who drag to his shrine, many hundred miles, their miserable forms, attenuated by sickness and want. Among the crowds which this celebrated fane attracted, the prevailing disease, cholera, rioted with unchecked indulgence. While the god, with his brother and sister, were drawn in triumph by those who had any strength to give, others who had come, as it proved, but to die, were parting with exis-

tence in the ditches, and in the very pathways. The Missionaries, not "graceless zealots," were busy in showing forth those virtues which the creed they taught inculcated ; and they were seen drawing forth the sick and dying from the holes in which they lay, and carrying them into a sheltered spot, where the remedies prescribed for that destroying pestilence could be conveniently administered. The hand that rescued the sufferers from exposure to the elements, (for it was then during the first burst of the periodical rains), tendered the cup which it was hoped would prolong their being ; and these good Samaritans stayed not in their Christian duty, until death put an end to the sufferers' earthly pilgrimage, or they saw their efforts blessed with a successful issue. Such was truly a picture which the writer saw.

[340] The accounts sent home of the conversions and the state of Christianity are tinged with the hues of that rainbow Hope, which may do much injury unless chastened down by the more sober colours of unimpassioned truth : the heart and affections are listed in the cause ; no doubt of success is heresy,—to despair is impious.

In conclusion of this subject, on which the remarks have been lengthened perhaps too far, it shall only farther be observed, 1st. That the conversion of the Hindoos must be a work of time ; the laws and religion, the peculiar customs and modes of thinking, the results of climate and long habits, cannot be unsettled in a moment.

2ndly. That the labourers in the calling must bring talents of no ordinary character, and tempers proof against the variety of trials which will assail them, and resignation to continue in the "part chosen," although no symptoms of success appear.

3rdly. The Natives themselves are destined to assume the most extensive part in the regeneration of themselves, guided by the counsels, and aided and encouraged by the companionship, of the Missionaries.

Lastly. If the efforts of the Missionaries [341] from England were directed in the same channel, and by the same judicious management as those of the Moravian Missionaries at the Cape and on the coast of Coromandel, we might hope to witness similar gratifying results.

Chapter XIII.

Abolition of Suttees.—Progress of Christianity.—British India — Reform in British India.—Present Governor-General.—Renewal of the Charter. (pp. 342-356).

[342] Connected with the conversion of the Hindoos, may be justly considered the tolerating spirit with which we regard their religious customs and ordinances. We may rest most assured, that when we put on the character of persecutors in disturbing even their prejudices, we shall teach them to become martyrs to a false sense of duty ; and in the spirit of this reasoning, the order for the abolition of Suttees may be taken at once as impolitic and not needed. The subject had been for many years before the British public ; nor had it failed to meet the most serious attention [343] from the authorities in India, than whom none were so competent to form a just notion upon the momentous question.

But those who raised such a clamour for the abolition were but little aware of the risk which was run, and still it is feared only slumbers, in forcibly effecting the measure, nor were they acquainted with the exceedingly difficult position of the Court of Directors and the Indian Government ; but they thought, good easy men ! while sitting by their firesides, nothing more was necessary to put a stop to the continuance of the barbarous custom, than an order from the Court.

In this they judged correctly, but we have to learn if it was judged wisely. The matter is capable of being brought within a narrow compass, and what may be considered two positions. The Company, in all its political transactions with the Government and Natives of India, expressly stipulated to respect inviolate all religious tenets and establishments to their fullest extent ; and it may be urged, that, had not the Hindoos been guaranteed the full exercise of their faith, even to the abominations thereof, the British supremacy would have been more arduously acquired ; or it might not have [344] grown to its present magnitude, had our wars partaken of the fiery virulence of religious distinctions, which characterised those of the Mohammedans.

The Hindoos were promised complete toleration in all things concerning their religion. Their temples were taken under the protection of Government. Lands were confirmed, and others

set apart, for their support, and even the public treasury was burthened with a requisition for their keep and repairs ; the Government, at the same time, applying to its own use the tax paid by the pilgrims resorting to the shrines. The practice of Suttee was recognized and protected, in common with others of equally barbarous spirit, and permitted, as far as enjoined by the Shasters, the code of Hindoo faith, but no farther. Pundits of the most eminent celebrity, the expounders of this code, were applied to, to point out the proper reading of the text, and to furnish favourable commentaries ; their opinions and decisions were by the Government translated into all languages, and sent into all the provinces, for the information of the people, and the magistrates were scrupulously enjoined not to permit the performance of a Suttee, under any circumstances the least at variance with the [345] law. The Shaster ordained that women of the four castes might burn ; even the outcast Soodra could purge away sin by an act of con cremation : but the law expressly said, that no widow should burn except on a pyre with the body of her late husband in her arms. If his death took place at a distance, she was precluded from performing the sacrifice. None being pregnant could burn, nor one having a child under three years of age, unless some friend came forward and entered into engagements to maintain the infant in a manner befitting the station of its parents. No woman was permitted to ascend the funeral pile if under the intoxicating drugs, or at the instigation or persuasion of any power save her own deliberate and decided choice.

The right to interfere is thus proved to be wholly upon the score of humanity : and it is as clear that this interference has been ventured upon in opposition to the pledged faith of the Government. But it yet remains to be proved if it will have any effect in fixing the good opinions, or in calming the doubts which the Hindoos entertain of the inviolability of that faith which has been thus set aside by proscribing a custom, for the performance of which they have had the authority of their religious code [346] and the practice of ages, and from which they were taught to believe their eventual happiness was to be expected.

The two positions are these.—Has the Government, consistently with its engagements to the Hindoos, been just or tolerating in thus violently putting down Suttees ; and what may be the

possible results from the abolition having been carried into effect? Those who contended for the suppression have seen the mandate go forth, and obedience evinced to it; and they dream of no danger, in the heartfelt pleasure of having done what they consider a Christian and peremptory duty.

But there are others who have passed their lives among the Natives, and have partaken of as familiar an intercourse with the people as their official stations admitted, and from this source have been enabled to gather their feelings upon this and other subjects: these competent judges have pointed out the very great probability of the measure creating distrust and jealousy, and leading the Hindoos to consider this as the first step to the subversion of their religion, and in connexion and furtherance of Christian proselytism, which has erected its standard even in the most holy of their religious places.

[347] The Government, willing to meet the demand for the abolition which was incessantly urged by many who never saw a Hindoo, proposed to bribe the Natives with a boon to consent willingly; and this was to free them from the pilgrim tax, exacted at several sacred places of resort. This plan was combated with great good sense, as being wholly unequal to the desired point, and in every way objectionable. The bribe at once acknowledged the point, but did not come up to what would have been conceived the value of the return. The priests would have objected, for theirs would have been the loss; they would naturally object to relinquish their fees upon the piety of the people, and would feel equally averse to the Government giving up a participation in the spoil; for much of the consideration in which these places are held, arises from the knowledge that the Government of the country views them with attention and respect. The pilgrims might wish that the cost of salvation could be lessened, but they are taught to believe that great good is to be obtained by making offerings to the priests, and that such are not only efficacious, but are also strictly enjoined.

But let it not be imagined that the writer of these remarks would uphold the reasonableness [348] of the practice of Sutte, which is alike repugnant to common sense and humanity. No pains or expense, or any endeavour but force, ought to have been spared to put an end to it. All he contends for is, that the nation, not a few enthusiastically zealous persons, should

have taken its engagements into consideration, which unhappily for both India and England are not generally known ; and that it should have paused in deliberation upon the threshold of a measure, which, to those of long experience, is considered, with regard to all circumstances, as one of great delicacy and serious hazard.

The writer would have exultingly witnessed the annihilation of the murderous custom on one of its own pyres. But let it be shown to the Hindoos that the practice was contrary to the beneficent spirit of God, whose high attributes are mercy and love to his creatures, and that he does not delight in blood and death. At the risk of repetition let it be once more said, for the belief in the opinion is unwavering—first possess the Natives with the knowledge of the falsity of their present notions, and then impart the principles of truth.

And let it be asked, until the creed which sanctions suicide is, to the conviction of its believers, proved to be bloody, fierce, and false, [349] how can we step in and declare the custom shall be abolished? How can any stranger to that faith stand forth and say,—I will rob you of your hopes of happiness hereafter by preventing the exercise of a rite which you and your forefathers for ages have believed of such sanctity as enable you to obtain eternal bliss—in such case, what becomes of toleration? But while the custom is by law prohibited in the Company's dominions, it continues in the neighbouring countries not under British rule ; and this is a cogent reason for the policy of allowing it to grow gradually into disuse. In these countries, as well as in the Company's territories, the practice was decreasing fast, and even some of the chiefs of the Bundel Khund States had expressed themselves in decided hostility to its longer prevalence ; but they did not seek to put it down by violence. In the British provinces it was of less frequent occurrence ; and it might have been more so, had it been left to take its own course.

It is the firm persuasion of many, that in the course of a few years the horrible rite of Suttee would have ceased entirely, and in its natural death we never should have apprehended its resuscitation, as we may have cause to fear its spirit being raised from the judicial condemnation [350] to which we have consigned it. It is the means which have been objectionable. . . .

CALCUTTA IN 1831*

By Thomas Bacon, Lieut.¹

[120] . . On the eastern side of the entrance to the Hooghli is Sagor Island, formed by the confluence of an inferior branch of the Ganges with the former river. It is some twenty miles in length, and not more than six or seven in average breadth, having its shores all around covered with a thick rank jungul², except here and there, where recent adventurers have cleared small spaces, and erected a few shabby houses. In the interior, a [121] large tract has been cleared by burning; but more than once, the enterprising settlers have, I hear, been driven from their fences by the descent of tigers and other wild beasts, which abound on the island.

The anchorage here has been proved to be less destructive to European seamen than the stations higher up the river; but this is probably to be accounted for by the circumstance, that the vessels having more sea room, are enabled to lie further off the land, and thus escape in a great measure the malaria and exhalations arising from the decaying vegetation. The island is esteemed sacred to the natives, in consequence of the mingling of the waters of the holy stream with those of the ocean; it was formerly a resort of pilgrims, and some few devotees resided there; but lately it has not been very much frequented, and the voluntary sacrifices of human life, which at one time took place, have long since ceased altogether.

Above Sagor Island is a dangerous sand-bank, called the 'James and Mary', which, by its constant shifting, completely

* From the "*FIRST IMPRESSIONS AND STUDIES FROM NATURE IN HINDOSTAN: Embracing An outline of the voyage to Calcutta, and five years' Residence in Bengal and the Doab from 1831 to 1836*" by Thomas Bacon, Lieut. of the Bengal Horse Artillery, two volumes (volume I, xx+406; vol. II xvi+436; illustrated, octavo), London, 1837 (Wm H. Allen & Co., Leadenhall Street): Calcutta—volume I, pp. 120-172.

baffles all mariners, and forms a decided impediment to navigators, who are not continually plying up and down the river. This bank is thrown up by the eddies in the junction of the Hooghli and Roopnurrein. About half way between Calcutta and the ocean is Diamond Harbour, notorious for its execrable climate, which annually carries off vast numbers of our British seamen. The selection of such a spot for a commercial station and depot, is unaccountable ; it appears to be a sink for all sorts of putrescence and filth, the effluvia from which is abominable beyond conception.

It is impossible not to be struck with the beauty of the scenery in approaching Calcutta. The banks which, lower down, have been flat and comparatively devoid of forest trees, become bolder, and are richly clad in a great variety of the most beautiful foliage : here and there handsome houses are seen jutting from the cover of the trees, becoming more and more numerous, until Garden-reach presents a regular succession of magnificent villas and mansions, with parks and pleasure-grounds most tastefully laid out, in such style as gives to the traveller an idea of exceeding luxury and wealth. Then Fort William opens on the view, its green ramparts surmounted with artillery *en cavalier*, which, together with the regularity of its fortifications, and the height of its barracks, gives it an air of command and importance, which [123] is not a little aided by the breadth of the esplanade, beyond which lies the far-famed city of palaces, Calcutta. The scene is truly imposing, and very novel in its character to any person visiting India for the first time.

The noble structures, which form the residences and offices of the British, are in a Grecian style of architecture, and are strikingly relieved by the decided contrast exhibited in the native portion of the city higher up the river ; where the dingy brick buildings, or mud huts, are out-topped by Hindoo temples of every shape and colour. The shipping and innumerable small craft upon the water add wonderfully to the picturesque effect and interest of the scene. But Calcutta, with all its lions, has been too frequently, too recently, and too ably described by others, to render any more detailed account of its outward appearance at all desirable here.

Chapter V. CALCUTTA

CALCUTTA—Debarkation.—A Palki.—Letters of Introduction.—Prognostics of Character.—Mine Host—Advice from an old stager.—Marriage, no Option—Publishing the Banns—A Friendly Hint.—The Vice-President.—The Government House—Calcutta Society.—Balls Re-unions.—Words about Dress—Fort William as a Residence.—The Adjutant.—A Madman's Vision—Marriage made in Heaven.—Stealing a March on an Old Soldier—Choice of Method and Material (pp. 124-150).

[124] Scarcely had our good ship come to an anchor off Colvin's Ghat, when we were boarded by a non-commissioned officer of artillery, whose business it was to receive charge of us, and safely conduct into Fort William, all unfortunate cadets who might be among the passengers. Being one of this ill-starred number, I collected my baggage, and, in common with half-dozen more, equally happy fellows, trumbled into a palanquin, and was conducted to the South barracks, which are appropriated to the accommodation of cadets. But before I proceed, I must endeavour to instil into my gentle reader a somewhat more correct idea of this vehicle, than is generally entertained by fire-side travellers: the thing has been frequently described, and variously pictured, but I have never yet fallen in with a faithful delineation of this demi-barbarous method of locomotion, such as it now is in Bengal.

PALANQUIN

[125] A palanquin, *vulgariter* palki, and its *modus operandi*, should be familiar to the imagination of every one who condescends to peruse the wanderings of a traveller in India; since it must frequently occur that the whole point and seasoning of an anecdote may hinge upon a faithful conception of the conveyance.

A bumpkin in some vulgar farce, asks the buffoon the way to the magistrate's house; the buffoon gives directions after his own fashion. "Do you know the bridge?"—"Yes." "Well it ain't nowhere near there.—Do you know the Crown?"—"Yes." "Well it ain't nowhere near there.—Do you know the Church?"—"Yes." "Well it ain't nowhere near there." Now let me beg the reader to take a peep into the miniature edition of Sam.

Johnson's Dictionary for the word Palanquin ; it is thus defined, "An Indian Sedan or Chair." Now Sam. Johnson has left the reader just as far from any idea of a palanquin as the bumpkin was from the magistrate's after listening to the directions of the fool. A palki is no more like a sedan, no more like a chair than Sam. Johnson was like the Thames Tunnel : it might just as well have been described as a seaman's chest, on a flour-bin ; nay, this would [126] have been much nearer the mark ; I will take either of them to work upon. Nail down the lid ; cut a square hole in each of the longer sides of sufficient dimensions to admit the person, and put sliding doors thereto ; to each of the other sides, a little above the centre of the panel, affix a pole about five feet in length ; cover the whole with leather, or paint and varnish it, and you will have a very tolerable representation of a palki. It is borne upon the shoulders of four black men, who are bred to the office, and who perform their hard duty with astonishing activity and long-suffering. A *dak* stage is usually from 12 to 16 miles, and to perform this eight men only are requisite, and these relieve each other alternately about every quarter of a mile ; but for the purpose of running about Calcutta, it is not necessary to employ more than four men.

The posture adopted by Europeans, when riding in a palki, is almost recumbent ; but a native is most frequently to be seen sitting cross-legged, like a tailor ; which latter is undoubtedly the more comfortable, or rather the less disagreeable of the two ; for it is an execrable mode of travelling take it which way you will, and would be avoided by any person having the option [127] of riding in a wheeled vehicle, both on account of the abominable shaking and the slow rate of progression : the jog-trot averages about four miles an hour.

The bare walls and plaster flooring of an Indian barrack-room, I found to be anything but agreeable to my English notions of comfort ; and having little predilection for the accommodations assigned me, I sallied forth in my palki, with a large packet of letters of introduction to persons resident in Calcutta. The first of these which I delivered was to a Civilian of many years' service, and it at once procured me a hospitable invitation to take up my abode in his establishment, until I should join my corps. When a young man, whatever profession he may have adopted, enters upon any untried scene of life, he is prompted, either by

the ardour or suspicion natural too his temperament, to draw presumptions from every passing event, which can in any measure afford food for anticipation : every incident becomes matter for prognostication, and the inexperienced mind is apt to infer success or destruction to its best speculations from circumstances the most trivial and irrelevant.

When I had arrived at the house of the gentle-[128]man above alluded to, I sent up my card by one of the small multitude of servants collected round the entrance, and was presently ushered upstairs into the library, where I was left alone. I remained seated some time, in expectation of the gentleman's appearance, occupied in preconceptions to his manner of receiving me. A quarter of an hour elapsed and no one being to the fore, I endeavoured to form some estimation of the lord of the mansion from the contents of his book-shelves ; but I was fairly puzzled : not Byron himself, with all his boasted powers of discrimination and penetration of character, could have formed an opinion of this man's tastes.

The first book I hit upon was "Baxter's Saint's Rest ;" Ah ! he's religious of course. "The Devil on Two Sticks ;" "Tom Paine ;" bless me the man's a Deist Then came "Paul Clifford." "Paley's Natural Theology." I confidently expected to find pencil notes in refutation, but though evidently well thumbed, the pages bore no comments. I took down the Peerage, it was clean and without a dog's ear ; then running my eye over the labels I read in succession "Clerk's Heraldry," "Little Henry and his Bearer," "Strutt's Antiquities," "Mrs. Inchbald's Farces," [129] "Mant's Bible," "A Treatise on the Resumption of Rent-free Tenures," and lastly, a knock-down blow to my hopes of an invite, "Tom Raw the Griffin." Ah ! yes, the man had plainly a morbid antipathy to all youngers ; he without doubt enjoyed beyond everything a good laugh at a greenhorn. Here I again repeated myself, in no very easy anticipation of the gentleman's appearance.

My eye next fell on the newspapers and periodicals. Ah ! ha ! thought I, here will be a faithful disclosure of the man's sentiments. "The Christian Observer." Well then he is religious after all. "Bell's Life in London," "Blackwood," "The Times," "The Sporting Magazine." Bah ! the man has—Enter mine host, by whom I was cordially, and who having introduced

me to his daughter, a young unmarried lady, invited me in the most hospitable manner to make one of his family, until I could equip myself for my military duties.

PUBLICATION OF BANNS

I returned to Fort William to sleep, as it was then too late to effect a removal of my baggage. After a somewhat more comfortable night's rest than that which I had enjoyed on my arrival at Madras, I had just seated myself at an uncomfortable-[130]looking late breakfast, when I received a visit from Howard, who had just been put in orders to proceed to Assam, having obtained a staff appointment. He was in high glee, and as usual full of anecdote. When I mentioned the invitation I had received, he instantly asked if there were any young ladies in the family. Being answered in the affirmative, he said: "Then I must put you on your guard; unless you are willing to become Benedict, you must be very careful how you pay any unmarried girl in India those attentions which good-breeding demands in society at home. I was myself placed in rather a strange predicament on my first arrival in Calcutta. I was invited to take up my quarters with an old staff officer, having an unmarried daughter in the house, a case nearly parallel with your own. The papa was the strangest little bird you ever beheld, a wee whippersnapper bit of a man, fifty years of age, with grey hair, grey beard, grey eyes, grey skin, grey everything; having a most miserably blue-devilish or devilish-blue expression of countenance that burked every joke which rose to my lips. The girl, his daughter, was a diamond edition of her papa: such a little humpty dumpty piece of goods, certainly no more than [131] three feet six in height. Head large; face ditto; features pretty good; complexion blotted; hands and feet small, but still tending to the dumpty; eyes blue; hair yellow; expression silly and shy; manner ditto ditto; figure puffy; waist screwed small; but none; bustle enormous. This is no caricature, my dear fellow," continued Howard, "but a faithful portrait of the young lady's person; and to this exquisite little oddity was I betrothed by report of all Calcutta. But I must tell you how it was.

"After the good Colonel had introduced me to his fair daughter, he having business to execute, left us *tele-a-tele*. I will give

you a specimen of our conversation, in order that you may duly appreciate the lady's powers of fascination.

"'You have not been very long in India, Miss Fitz P.?'

"'No, sir.'

"'And have you yet succeeded in reconciling yourself to the climate, language, and mode of life?'

"'Yes, pretty well.'

"'The least agreeable part of Indian life appears to me to be in the eternal round of [132] etiquette and never ending formalities, to which I am told all social comfort is compelled to give way; at least in the Presidency.'

"'Yes, I think so.'

"'Yes, no, yes, no, one or other, was the extent of all that I could elicit from my little dumpling. The good colonel was scarcely more communicative, and during the meal of dinner scarcely half a dozen words were uttered by either of our trio—a very pleasant thing, no doubt, for those who brook not to have the business of mastication interrupted by idle discourse. We did speak, however, more than once, and the interesting formality of taking wine was judiciously enlivened by an occasional remark from mine host, as to the comparative merits of the several dishes.

"'After tiffin, Fitz P. asked me if I should wish to drive out in the evening for an airing. I replied that I was anxious to conform as nearly as possible with the customs of the family; if they went out, I should wish to go too. 'Oh,' said he, 'I am far too great an invalid to move out during this part of the year, but my daughter takes her airing in the carriage every evening.' Five minutes afterwards he added, 'you can order my buggy [133] whenever you want to go anywhere;' but this I unfortunately understood to be when I wished to pursue a different route to Miss Fitz P., or if the carriage did not go out; so that when, in the cool of the evening, the sweet young lady made her appearance rustling down, all bonnet, and veil, and starched muslin, I offered my arm with my best bow, and begged to escort her to her carriage. Lightly we floated down the matted staircase, and gracefully did my beauty step into her barouche, as she assisted herself by laying one finger on my arm; I jumped in after her, and away we went for a drive up and down the Strand, where are to be seen all the fashionables of Calcutta,

in their best equipages, and their gayest colours—not of complexion. The scene was sufficiently lively and varied, the promenade being so crowded with vehicles and equestrians of every denomination, as to make it a difficult job for black coaches to steer clear.

"I asked a thousand eager questions about this thing and that thing, this person and that person, until at last, finding that all my queries could extract from my intellectual companion nothing better than monosyllabic replies, I gave it up as a bad job and held my peace, or contented myself [134] with ejaculations and essays upon the various uses to which I fancied this or that outlandish thing might be applied, in the vain hope of gradually reducing her reserve into something more communicative; but no, it would not do; all my eloquence was thrown away; the lady maintained strict silence, and I neither stood approved or corrected. All my charity vanished when I found that, instead of this awkward reserve being removed by further acquaintance, it grew daily more and more preposterous.

"I had been staying a week with the old colonel, when I received a *chit** from the captain of the ship in which I came out, who was a really good fellow, and a great crony of mine. congratulating me upon my approaching marriage, and expressing himself anxious lest I had been too hasty; he recommended me earnestly to consider the affair more maturely before I entered upon so irrevocable a change, concluding his note, 'If you are seriously determined upon getting spliced, you have my hearty good wishes for Mrs. H.'s and your own happiness; but take my advice, and consult the barometer once more before you make sail.' This was a perfect riddle to me; [135] I could find neither head or tail to the affair, except by the supposition that some one had been hoaxing my friend. I wrote him an answer to that effect.

"Presently after the receipt of this note, tiffin was announced, and I took my seat at table, with as demure a face as I could assume, just opposite to my reputed bride. Soup had been removed when a note was handed to Colonel Fitz P.; he ran his eye over the contents; in a moment the expression of his coun-

* Anglice, Note.

tenance clouded ; 'why, Howard,' said he, 'what have you been doing? surely there can be no foundation for this report, eh?' and he sent me the note for perusal ; it ran thus :—

"My dear Fitz :

"I sincerely congratulate you upon Matilda's approaching nuptials, if you really think it matter of gratulation ; it strikes me they are both too young, but of course the affair has been arranged with your consent, and you are the best judge. I cannot help intimating that, as the oldest and most anxious friend of your family, I feel somewhat annoyed at this news being brought to me by every person who calls ; I think you might have [136] let me into the secret before publishing the banns.

"Ever thine,

"Mc.D.

"P.S. I know Howard to be rather a wild young dog.'

"I was completely bewildered, and was about to speak, when the Colonel interrupted me, 'And I think friend Howard, that, as the girl's father, I too might have been let into the secret before the affair got wind all over Calcutta. Eh? Matilda, how's this? I had no idea there was anything afloat between you two.'

"'Upon my honour, Sir,' said I, 'I am utterly at a loss—it is certainly very strange, but here is a note I have but this moment received from Captain Gallant, the counterpart of Mc.D's;' and I handed him the note.

"'La, Pa, what is it? enquired the young lady, with more of energy than I had hitherto seen displayed.

"Both the notes were given to her—poor girl! she simpered and blushed, and blushed and simpered.—'La, Pa, I knew how it would be ; Mr. Howard always gets into the carriage when I drive out of an evening.'

[137] "'Ah! ha!' cried the old Colonel good humouredly, 'a pretty joke, truly ; why don't you know, my dear fellow, that *carting* a girl, or riding out with her, is considered in India as a regular publication of the banns, just as good as having them asked in an English church? I thought you always went out in the Buggy, and faith, you must do so in future, or Matilda will never get a husband.'

"The charming Matilda blushed and retired, and the match was broken off."

After some further instruction in the etiquette and practices of Anglo-Indian Society, my friend Howard withdrew, and I prepared for a visit of ceremony to Sir Charles Metcalfe, the Vice-President in Council, Lord William Bentinck, the Governor General, being in the Hymala Mountains. I was the bearer of letters of recommendation to Sir Charles, and was received by him with much courtesy and politeness, but he regretted that it was not in his power to be of any assistance to me in my profession; indeed we cannot help admiring that the big-wigs in office should preserve so much urbanity towards all the small fry who are in waiting with [138] recommendations of this kind from friends or no friends in England, since nearly every hopeful cadet or writer has one to present, with hopes of favour and promotion. I left Government house, highly gratified, and richer than when I entered it by two puns, and an invitation to Sir Charles's monthly balls.

BALLS AND RE-UNIONS

These balls and the re-unions, besides an occasional play at the amateur theatre, were the only public amusements going on at this time in Calcutta. The rooms in the Government-house are magnificent in their proportions, and the furniture is costly, though somewhat faded, and here, on the second Tuesday of every month, are to be seen all that are lovely, affected, and cruel in Calcutta.

I was, on my first entrance to the ball-room, literally dazzled with the firmament of lamps and eyes, the sparkling of diamonds, and the glittering of lace and bullion. In these days Calcutta was rich in beauty, and it was truly a treat to circle through at least a dozen couples of waltzers in giddy evolution at the same moment; or to watch the measured tread of four or five sets of quadrilles, all in motion at once. Verily, it was a sight to quicken the pulse, or kindle a sigh in the bosom of the veriest stoic. There was the all-[139]beautiful Mrs. H., whose "eyes are load-stars;" her sister, the pretty Miss K.; the reigning belle, Miss B., who, though by no means the fairest, was indisputably the most lovely and fascinating girl in the room. Then there was

the pocket angel, Mrs. J. H., rejoicing in dimples and laughter, the brilliant Mrs. P.; the witty Mrs. M. Now galloped past the magnificent Mesdames P., exulting in figures and costume strikingly adapted to the Opera; and by no means last or least, the graceful and majestic Mrs. B., whose eye, so full of humour and merriment, whose pouting mouth so formed for kisses and scandal, and then her pretty elastic little foot, apparently unequal to the superincumbent weight of her stately form; it would not have crushed a fly, it pressed so lightly over the chalked boards.

[139] The reports of champagne-corks, and soda-water-corks, and all other corks, kept up an incessant cannonade during the evening, until supper was announced; when Sir Charles offered his arm to the *Burra Beehi** present, and the company paired off to a splendid supper provided by our first-chop cooks, Gunter and Hooper.

The Reunions were a delightful sort of party; a [140] mixture of fancy-dress ball, or masquerade, with drama and music; here might be seen "Sweet Anne Page," coquetting with an old-clothesman; the Great Mogul suing smiles from a Swiss dairy-maid, or a venerable friar waltzing with a Bohemian broom-girl.

Miss Roberts, in her "Scenes and Characteristics," has spoken in no very flattering terms of "the tarnished, faded, lustreless habiliments" exhibited by the ladies of Calcutta: far be it from me to contradict anything which may have been said by this lady in her spirited and clever book, where taste can be the only arbiter; but, with due submission to Miss Roberts' superior judgment, I cannot but feel that her opinion in this particular has been somewhat hastily formed. Had the assertion been made with regard to the Mofussil simply, I should have been better prepared to receive it, for certainly the finery displayed in the ball-rooms of the upper provinces can hardly boast the splendour which is to be met with in London. Cawnpore, properly Kahn-pore, where Miss Roberts chiefly resided, is more particularly an illustration of all that is dowdy; but among the belles within the Mahratta-ditch, I mean those of the presidency, although the fashion be some six months in arrear [141] of the

* Lady taking precedence.

Parisian models, very many are superbly, exquisitely dressed, and in continual receipt of *fresh-and-fresh* wardrobes from London and Paris.

There are, I know, a vast number who are obliged to dress chiefly from the by-gone damaged contents of the box-wallah's *pittarra*, but even these, in nine cases out of ten, will employ Madame La Place or Mrs. Leach for a ball-dress, or otherwise refrain from attending public parties. Dowdies may be found in a Government-house party in the proportion of one in ten, and so they may at Almack's : in the Mofussil generally, they may, perhaps, form one moiety of the assembly ; the rest are well-dressed women.

I trust these remarks may not be thought unwarrantable, as offered in opposition to the opinion of a lady ; but I believe we men are allowed to have some taste in these matters : I can only regret that Miss Robert's observations should have been made in so unhappy a scene as Cawnpore, to which place doubtless her strictures are particularly applicable.

As a residence, any part of Calcutta must be preferable to Fort William, I was living there too short a time to discover its advantages, though I could enumerate a long list of items on the *per* [142] *contra* side, among which are foremost its intolerable heat, and the reflection from the white buildings all around ; the want of air, the barracks being below the level of the ramparts ; the ever-lasting bugle calls, and the practising of band instruments ; the shouts of some jovial souls, carousing in the adjacent quarters, with a thousand-and-one nuisances equally abominable.

ADJUTAT BIRD

The gigantic crane, commonly called in India, the adjutant, excites the notice and curiosity of all new arrivals. Except that the joints of the knee bend backwards, instead of the contrary, the action and walk of these large birds is ludicrously like the measured gait of a decrepit old man, as he may be seen sauntering about with his hands under his tail coat pockets, and his bowed head turned inquisitively first on one side then the other. They take their flight in search of food, wheeling in regular circles round and round over the same space of ground repeat-

edly, so that nothing edible escapes their sight ; they are seen promenading on the tops of all the buildings in Calcutta, or resting upon one leg, as motionless as images, upon the highest summits they can find.

They are constant waiters at the tables of those European soldiers who may take their meals out-[143]side the barracks, and laughable indeed are the tricks played upon these greedy birds. The moment a bone is thrown to them, the whole posse rush upon it, and a regular scuffle succeeds, in which bills and wings are used as weapons, and no very gentle blows are dealt ; the scramble generally ends in two or more, who are fortunate enough to obtain a good grip, pulling and tugging in opposite directions, until the happy victor bolts the morsel entire.

This exceeding voracity is taken advantage of by the soldiers for their amusement, by tying a bone to a string, and then casting it to the bird ; it is probably caught and swallowed before it can reach the ground, and thus the poor animal is taken prisoner, as of course the bone will not return as smoothly as it went down. On one occasion I saw two bones tied together by a strong cord, four or five yards in length, thrown to these birds ; of course they were instantly secured by two happy individuals, who thus found themselves coupled together, the weakest being constrained to follow the steps of the more powerful, until he bethought him of flight, when, proving the swifter of the two, he led his persecutor a pretty flight all round the fort, though he was himself more than [144] once made to turn a summerset in the air by the resistance acting upon his head. So powerful is their flight, and so sharp are their enormous bills, that they might prove formidable antagonists to almost any quadruped. In 1821, a private soldier running hastily round an angle of one of the barracks, came suddenly in collision with an adjutant, and was spitted clean through the body by its beak ; both were victims to this untimely meeting, for the violence of the concussion broke the bird's neck, and both fell dead upon the pavement.

Before I quitted the fort, I went to pay a visit to Vangricken, who had taken up his quarters in the Royal Barracks. He had just risen from his bed, and was still in his rightly habiliments, a picture of nervous excitement and mental debility which I shall not easily forget. His features were unusually swollen,

and his eyes were red with watching through the greater part of the night. He sat at the foot of his couch, with his arms folded, his eyes fixed in abstraction, and the remnant of his mangled limb thrown out horizontally over the bedding, at an angle of forty-five from its more fortunate fellow. The moment he perceived me, his eye kindled with satisfaction, and, pointing to [145] a chair, he begged me to listen while he related an account of a vision which had driven rest from his pillow, and which now engrossed his every thought.

Soon after he had retired to bed the previous night, he had been visited by an angel from heaven, bearing a special command that he, Vangricken, should repair to a certain commercial gentleman in Calcutta, and from him demand in marriage his only daughter, Miss Y, whom the heavenly messenger assured him should become the mother of a Saviour upon a new principle; one who should point out a new road to the celestial world, the old way being, he said, a little out of date, and in these days of reform considered somewhat roundabout. All this the poor maniac related to me with the utmost gravity, and, no small increase of consequence in his manner, on the score of the immense importance of the commission assigned to him.

He was evidently deeply and fearfully under the influence of the dream, and it would have been utter folly to have argued its absurdity, or in any way to have thwarted the inclination of his fancy. I acquiesced in all his views upon the subject, but ventured to intimate that he should defer his [146] visit to the gentleman until he should be favoured with some further development of the plan, and of the manner in which it should be accomplished. He regarded me suspiciously at first, but did not eventually object to delay the prosecution of the affair for at least a day or two, and when I took my leave, I had the satisfaction of seeing him much more tranquil than when I had first entered.

A day or two afterwards, however, I learnt that this composure had been all assumed, his suspicion having been aroused by my advice; he lost not a moment after my departure in repairing to Mr. Y's office, for the purpose of entering upon the affair at once. On his arrival at the gentleman's establishment he was informed by a clerk, that Mr. Y had not yet arrived,

and would probably be found at his own house. Vangricken then enquired if the gentleman had a daughter.

"O Yes, Sir," replied the clerk.

"Is she pretty?" enquired the eager Vangricken.

"Really Sir, I am no judge in these matters, but I believe Miss Y. is accounted handsome by most people."

"She is not black, eh?"

"Miss Y. ?—no, indeed, Sir!"

[147] "Ah, well, it's of no consequence—I will call upon Mr. Y. I have just received the injunction of the Almighty to demand Miss Y. as a wife; so that you will excuse my having troubled you with these questions."

Vangricken found Mr. Y. and his daughter seated, over the remnants of a late breakfast; and without any preamble, he entered at once upon the object of his visit. Mr. Y. listened to him most attentively, and to the terror of his astonished daughter, betrayed neither surprise nor indignation at this extraordinary overture. The madman watched with jealous scrutiny the effect of his proposal upon each of his auditors, the young lady was frightened almost into hysterics at the idea of the wooden leg, as she saw her father coolly deliberating upon the matter, as though he were really persuaded of its importance; at last, it was evident that he was by no means inclined to laugh at the proposal, or treat the visitor as a madman.

Poor girl! she became very seriously alarmed, and was about to quit the room, when her father spoke. "Major Vangricken, this matter is truly one of paramount interest and extreme delicacy; now we must venture upon no conclusions without very mature deliberation. My love, do not leave [148] the room; your presence will most probably be required. You will excuse me half a minute, my dear Sir, I have a note of some consequence to answer, and having got that off my mind, I shall be the better able to give my undivided attention to the subject in question."

The note of consequence was quickly written, and dispatched to the general hospital, for half a dozen *he* fellows, accustomed to the charge of maniacs. As soon as the note had been sent off, Mr. Y. entered fully upon the subject of his daughter's marriage, and they were just about to fix a day for the nuptials, when two European keepers, with a small train of able-bodied

blacks, marched into the room, and impiously carried off the celestial bridegroom.

After this melancholy display of his malady, he was detained in confinement until the Medical Board thought fit to send him home again to England, there being no chance of his recovery under the maddening influence of a tropical climate.

If every one else had been silent upon the subject there might have been no little amusement both to the reader and myself in visiting the lions of the Presidency ; but, thanks to the encreasing spread of letters, all these things have been written upon [149] and read, and read and written upon, until Government House, Lall Digghi, the Suddur Bazaar, and the Auction rooms are as familiar to the good people of England as London Exchange or Regent Street. A whole volume might be filled in sketching the public measures and private characters of men in office and men out of office in Calcutta, but more than sufficient information of this kind may be found floating down the stream of periodical publications into the ocean of general information.

A thousand new conceits are impressed upon the mind of the traveller recently arrived in Calcutta, both in matters of observation and matters of opinion ; that the colouring of these it is not possible to convey to the mind of the reader by minute description, or any labored delineation of the constituent parts of the picture. The points of the composition alone can be offered to him, and even they must be engraved upon his attention by a gradual process, while the same ideas are stamped at once upon the conception of an actual beholder. Had I started with my reader from the top of Gungoutri Peak in the Hymalas, to drag him through all the native cities in the Upper Provinces, refusing to converse with him [150] in any tongue but Hindostani, because no other language is spoken among the inhabitants, instead of introducing him by regular progression into the scenes which gradually opened to my own view on my first arrival, I could hardly have expected him to feel interested in my wanderings or to have continued long in my company. A free rendering of what is to be gathered by the way is, I think, my best hope of giving a faithful impression of the tone and spirit pervading* both the country and community of India.

* *Read pervading.*

After living about a month in the hospitable mansion of the kind friend who had received me in Calcutta, I joined my corps, and commenced my military duties at Dum Dum, as a cadet of artillery.

Chapter VI: DUM DUM

The Cantonment.—The Troops.—Dum Dum before the Days of Half-Batta.—The Church.—Sporting Parsons.—A Clerical Shift.—The Model Room, Theatre, Barracks, and other Public Buildings.—Bungalows.—The Mess-House and Library.—The Band.—The Monsoon.—Barsautti.—Cantonment Life.—Morning Exercise, Parade, the Toilet, &c.—Routine of Pastimes.—The Table.—Entertainment of Visitors.—India a Quicksand to Friendships.—A Bachelor's Speculations.—Advantages of the Station to Young Officers. (pp 151-172).

[151] DUM DUM (the name signifies a heavy gun-battery) is situated seven miles N.E. of Calcutta, and has for many years been the head-quarters of the Artillery regiment. Previously to its becoming a regular station it was annually occupied by the corps during the cold season, as an encampment and practice-ground, and there were then only two or three small temporary bungalows on the site of the present handsome cantonment. The men were marched up from Fort William in October, and continued in camp until February, when they again returned to their permanent quarters.

There are now cantoned at Dum Dum one troop of European horse artillery, six companies of European foot artillery, and seven companies of native foot artillery, besides gun-lascars, (a species of native powder-monkey), and a vast establishment [152] of natives in the magazine and other works of the station. The Europeans are in all, officers included, about seven hundred.

Some few years since, before Lord William Bentinck arrived in India at the head of the government, this station was proverbially known for its gaiety and jovial hospitality: but here, as elsewhere, throughout all India, the glorious days of mirth and revelry have passed away, and the brilliant assemblies once so frequent at our messhouse, have dwindled down to the scanty meeting of a few spirit-broken half-starved subalterns. A meagre lustreless dinner-party or ball, upon some extraordinary occasion

—such as Lord William's departure from the country—may perhaps flicker up with a sickly attempt to display what Dum Dum once was ; but there is now no life, no spirit of mirth to stir the company, and what was formerly a delight becomes a bore. The why and how, in this case, are easily answered ; we have had our wings clipped so closely, that are now fain to walk slowly upon the ground over which we used to fly.

Dum Dum possesses a neat little church, with sittings for about twelve hundred ; but there is one thing which struck me as being peculiarly [153] infelicitous about this little place of holy worship : it is situated very close to the messhouse, and the enclosures are separated only by a low parapet wall, so that nearly all which passes in the one may be audible in the other. I have often at the mess, heard the organ pealing forth the solemn notes of the old hundredth psalm, at the same moment that some man at my elbow has been whistling, 'Malbrook,' or 'Oh dear what can the matter be.' Independently of this inconvenience, there is, in my mind at least, a strong objection to so close a propinquity between that which is strictly and entirely sacred, and that which is devoted exclusively to the gratification of our appetites and animal indulgences.

SPORTING PARSONS

I do not at all apprehend that the same feelings would very sensitively operate with the majority of our military chaplains in India ; on the contrary, although I am right happy to admit that there are very many zealous and highly estimable Christian ministers in our service, still, if by their fruit ye shall know them, I fear that by no means the smaller moiety would be found to have their hearts set upon the good things of this world, rather than the importance of their spiritual duties ; and very many among my ecclesiastical acquaintances [154] would as readily have tallyhoed a jackall, found within the sacred precincts of the churchyard, as if he had been unhoused from some less sanctified spot. That we have upon our establishment a very long list of "sporting parsons," is well known both to the bishop and to the community generally ; and though I should be sorry indeed to speak with levity, or inconsiderately in disparagement of the sacred profession, yet the fact above stated

is too notorious to call for any reserve on my part in mentioning it.

Illustrative of the opinion I have just advanced, I could instance a great many anecdotes ; I will, however, content myself with the following. I had been invited to attend the marriage ceremony of a young friend of mine at the house of the bride's parents, where a splendid breakfast had been prepared for the guests. The nuptials were to be performed at eleven o'clock, after which all hands were expected to fall-to upon the abundance of good cheer. The hour appointed came, and all were present, with the exception of the priest who was to tie the indissoluble knot ; this was scarcely wondered at, for our clerical friend was known to be a man of late hours, and never punctual to an engagement ; but when half an hour [155] had elapsed, and still no chaplain came, the party grew somewhat impatient of delay : twelve o'clock struck, and still he failed to appear ; the poor bride cried twice as much as ever, and all the impatient bride's-maids became doubly agitated.

It was really a very strange thing of Mr.—; quite unpardonable, and the breakfast would all be spoilt ; a blank disquietude with whispering conjectures ensued, until I proposed to gallop over to the parson's quarters, and bring him back with me. This was acceded to, and upon arrival at the gentleman's bungalow, I enquired for the *Padri Sahib*, and was answered by one of his servants, "*Khodawund, Padri Sahib, shikar khelna geiya hi,*" which being interpreted, signifieth, "Great sir, (literally, chosen of God), the parson has gone out hunting."

I concluded at once that the oblivious divine had forgotten the wedding altogether, and galloped back again to give intelligence to the party. Just as I rode in at one gate, however, in dashed the little chaplain at the other, dressed in a green hunting-coat, leathers, and tops, cracking his whip, and cheering his dogs, "Harmony ! Harmony ! Music ! Rattler ! Rattler !" He galloped up under the portico, with a hundred regrets that he should [156] be so late, but they had really had a clipping run of five and forty minutes, "the best thing of the season," he continued : "might have covered the dogs with a table-cloth ; but upon my word I'm very late ; half past twelve. upon my honour—Here, you bearer," calling one of his servants who was in waiting with a partial change of apparel, "*Kala pantaloon our*

koorti do," and seizing a pair of black trowsers from his slave, he hastily jumped into them, top-boots, leathers, and all; then making a similar change in the upper part of his dress, he put on his surplice, and walked deliberately into the room where the expectant party were assembled, making a cool apology to the lady of the house, on the score of unavoidable business of the greatest importance, which had detained him beyond his appointment.

But I must back to Dum Dum; such anecdotes as the foregoing are hardly scarce enough to render a second desirable. The Magazine and the Model-room are worthy of the inspection of a visitor who has any interest in such things. The Theatre, once a handsomely appointed house, is now degraded into a Five's-court for the soldiers, and affords an excellent illustration of the decay of our gaities; but then, again, by-the-bye, upon [157] the other hand, the officers of the regiment, led by their ever generous commandant, have lately erected a very capital Racket-court.

The Barracks are spacious and excellent, both in their structure and accommodation: they are built in a quadrangle of about a hundred and fifty yards square, and in the rear are a Roman Catholic Chapel and the Horse Artillery Stables, with large tanks of water used by the men for bathing. An excellent hospital and school add very greatly to the comfort of the soldiers and their families.

Besides these and other public buildings, the cantonment consists of about thirty well-built, commodious bungalows, as the residences of the officers. These are built upon a plan adapted to the climate, being very open and without passages; so that each room has communication with its adjacent one by at least two or three doors, which it is usual to close only by thin blinds formed of very fine slips of bamboo, tied together sufficiently close to exclude all insects, without obstructing the free circulation of air; these are called *cheeks*. There are gardens attached to all these bungalows, and at a convenient distance from the dwelling, are the stables, servants'-huts, and [158] offices of the *cuisine*, together with store-houses and a variety of other accommodation. An almost invariable appendage also these gardens, or *compounds*, as they are styled in India, (the word being a corruption from the Portuguese *cam-*

pana), is a large reservoir of water, which is very useful both for the purposes of irrigation and, when kept cleanly, as a bath.

The regimental mess-house is large, and very tastefully decorated and furnished; it possesses one of the finest libraries in the country, rich in military literature, and having among its volumes a great many very choice and rare works of science and history; moreover, it is liberally furnished with mathematical, astronomical, chemical, and other useful instruments, as also with drawings, engravings, charts, plans, &c., and has a regular supply of most of the leading periodicals.

For the lovers of military band-music, the headquarters of the corps will have a charm in the regimental band, which is still perhaps the finest in India, although of late years it has much deteriorated, in consequence of the loss of some of its ablest performers. It would appear that, in such a climate as that of India, the eternal puffing and blowing ne-[159]cessary for the wind instruments very quickly induces pulmonary diseases; so that when any man undertakes to spend his breath in a trombone, serpent, or other such instrument, he is actually selling the tail-end of his life for the recompense of a slight increase in his monthly salary, during the short period that he may hope to be able to hold his wind; and then, knowing that the span of this commuted existence must be very limited, he comes to the determination of making his short life a merry one, and drinks like a sponge. However, let the most sober fellow, a member of the Temperance society, take a trombone or bass-horn into a temperature of 96° Fahrenheit, and there let him puff away even for a short half-hour, and he shall assuredly rise from his employment very much inclined to moisten his parched pipes with something more generous than the pure element.

During the season of the monsoon, Dum Dum, and the whole neighbourhood, are so completely inundated, that a small *dingi* may be paddled from the cantonment to the salt-water lakes, or to the Sundurbunds, and thence into the open ocean, which is distant something more than one [160] hundred miles. This may appear very strange, and the more so from the vicinity of

1. Native boat.

the Ganges, whose channel might be expected to carry off the flood, as it does not here overflow its banks ; but when the profusion of a tropical rain is recollected, and its continuance, the fact is not so surprising.

BURSAUTTI

At Dum Dum, in 1831, the heavens did not cease, during a space of one hundred and forty hours, to pour down without intermission a deluge of water, as if the flood gates had been a second time opened for destruction. Still the station is not an unhealthy one, that is, not more so than most parts of the lower provinces of the Bengal presidency, and many persons have found its situation more favourable to their health than most other places. Among horses, however, there has more than once been a strange epidemic, by which vast numbers have fallen victims to an inscrutable disease, which leaves no traces of its work upon the carcase, and which affords no time for attempts at remedy ; it has been attributed to exhalations, wet fodder, &c., all equally unsatisfactory ; for were it any of these, how comes it that, at other times, during the rainy season, the troop horses have been in excellent order, and the hos-[161]pital stables occupied only by *bursautti** cases and common casual-

* *Bursautti* is a disease of the horse peculiar to India ; it takes its name from the Hindostani word *bursaut*, heavy rain, from the circumstance of its making its appearance upon cattle during the rainy season only. It shows itself in a small spot or scabby sore, commencing about the heels, and breaking out upon the legs and fore-arms, particularly where there has previously been a sore blemish. There are numerous quack remedies prescribed for the disease, but no cure has yet been discovered for it. A good grind across country is perhaps the best recipe after all ; in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, more good will be done by hard work than by all the applications in the Vet.'s dispensary. It is an arbitrary disease ; a horse subject to it may not show it during a whole season, and the next year he may be as bad as ever ; some horses never have it at all ; others that have been half-priced in consequence, lose it suddenly ; all doubtless dependent, not on treatment, but constitution. Many horses lose the affection by removal to the Upper Provinces, and those who have suffered it in the Upper Provinces may lose it when sent to the Lower ; it is in

ties. This however, has been very rare, and, generally speaking, Dum Dum is not reckoned an unhealthy situation for cattle.

It is customary in India, particularly among young men, to rise with the day. The moment rosy-fingered Aurora is seen peeping over the mango-grove, or the top of the cook-house, up comes Bolaki Dass, the sirdar-bearer, and arouses his lord from his morning slumbers. First he essays a gentle call, "*Sahib! Sahib!*" but receiving no reply, good Bolaki is convinced that his master is lazy, and approaching a step nearer to [162] the bed, he again endeavours to "quicken into life" his sleeping lord, with a gradually increasing emphasis, as he finds his repeated efforts unavailing; "*Sahib! Khodawund!! Outea Ap!!! Ub top duggega:*" "Sir, great Sir, chosen-of-God, be pleased to arise, presently the morning gun will fire:" and so on the praiseworthy Bolaki perseveres in a regular *crescendo*, until a faint impression is effected upon the sluggish senses of the sleeper, of which he takes advantage and brings him to the knowledge of a new day.

Buxoo, the *khidmutgar* (table attendant), now makes his appearance with a cup of smoking coffee and light for a cigar, and in the rear comes Kurreim Buccus, the *saes* (groom), to know upon which horse it will delight the protector of the poor (*Gurreebpurwan*) to take his morning ride.

Master turns out of bed, still more than half disposed to slumber on; he throws himself into a large easy chair, to discuss his coffee and a whiff of choice Virginia, or Manilla; while the assiduous Bolaki employs himself in gently brushing to and fro his master's hair, and Gungoo carefully induces the stockings, after having performed the office of a grateful ablution upon the nether members of his luxurious lord. Thus gently and [163] deliberately proceeds the business of the toilet, until the gentleman is completely equipped for parade, or for a gallop across country. In the latter case, perhaps, Boxer, Shigram, or Rattler,

no way to be calculated upon. The sores disappear at the cessation of the rains, leaving a bare spot in the place. It is understood in India that a *bursauttied* horse cannot be deemed sound, though I have known them work quite as well as if they had been entirely free from the disease. (Note on p. 161).

may be permitted to take an airing also, for every young man in India retains, as a part of his fixed establishment, at least half a dozen ribs of the canine tribe.

Ere the sun has been half an hour above the horizon, the rider is glad to return to some less violent pursuit, and taking Gungoo, the mate bearer, carrying a large *chatta* (umbrella), to protect him from the ripening rays of the sun, he will probably saunter for an hour to inspect the compound and stables; this pleasant occupation is performed in a most comfortable dishabille, which would not a little shock the delicacy of a visitor fresh from England.

Perhaps the beauty of the morning, or the humour of the individual, may suggest a bath in the tank, for the sake of a swim, or a ride upon a *mussuk*, which is a bag used by water-carriers to hold water; it is formed of an entire sheep-skin, and when inflated, may be bestriden in the water like a horse, by one expert in the management of it. Should the rider, however, through want of [164] skill or other cause, lose, in the least, command of his equilibrium, he is instantly immersed, mouth foremost, in the water.

The languor induced by this exercise will render a couple of hours, repose upon a couch exceedingly fascinating, and then more coffee and more tobacco will possibly be consumed, and bachelor-visitors, habited in a style showing a special disregard of vulgar prejudices, will from time to time drop in, to hear or circulate the latest news, or the most recent scandal. Parties thus formed of idle bachelors, are termed levees, and are undeniably the pools in which are spawned and brought to life all the countless varieties of tales and scandalous reports, which form a breed of animalculi indispensable in the element which supports life in the Anglo-Indian community.

At about ten o'clock, a second and more elaborate toilet is performed, and breakfast is usually taken at eleven o'clock, or before noon: unless a court-martial, committee, or other military duty, should require earlier hours, in which case an effort must be made, as business is usually commenced at ten o'clock. The occupation of the time from breakfast until tiffin, must necessarily depend upon the taste or inclination of the individual; music, draw-[165]ing, reading, or the like, will have

attractions for the one, while the other will prefer a rubber of billiards, or a stroll to the dog-kennel and the stables ; perhaps a round of visits may be made the order of the day, more especially if there be any fresh bit of scandal to retail, or minutes of recent English news to propagate, or surest attraction of all, a newly-arrived spinster to be exhibited ; such inducements as these will lead men to run, from house to house, all over the station, gossiping and dropping mischief, at each dwelling they enter.

Tiffin is usually brought on table about two o'clock, and consists principally of light viands, or at most a curry moistened with a glass or two of good claret or madeira ; after which meal, smoking, a few glasses of weak brandy and water, and perhaps a nap, conduce much to the supposed happiness of many. As the sun approaches the horizon in the West, good Bolaki again summons his master to the duties of the toilet, and parade perhaps must be attended, or the sparkling eyes of some pretty coquette may by chance invite the young rider to caper beside her equipage, and chatter for her amusement. As the shadows of evening lengthen, the several carriages and equestrians assemble round the band, to barter the [166] occurrences of the day, and sell without price the characters of their dearest friends. At half-past seven or eight o'clock, the bugle calls to mess, and here good cheer and excellent wines allure the fastidious palate, and the lazy appetite is sometimes tickled into good humour by the variety of piquant dishes covering the table.

Miss Roberts, to the correct colouring of whose pictures in general I most cheerfully bear testimony, has given a spirited sketch of an Indian dinner-table, such as it existed some eight or ten years since, and of the terrible slaughter which must necessarily have been committed among the sheep, oxen, and poultry, before such a meal could be brought upon the table. But the era of half-batta has led to a complete reform in this as well as in most other domestic arrangements ; and where an ox was formerly slain, cut up, and sent in joints to the board, by the hands of a continued string of attendants, stretching from the cook-house to the dining-room, a good fat capon, or a kid, perhaps a lamb, is now sacrificed and served up as the more substantial part of the meal ; while the sides and interstices of the table are spread with a diversity of made dishes, both in

the French style, and according to the multifarious recipes in [167] vogue among oriental epicures, such as the whole infinity of curries, *kawabs*, *pilaus*, *koormas*, *kouftubs*, &c. ; for the languor induced by the excessive heat of the climate, renders the appetite too sluggish to be excited by plain food, and provocatives are therefore sought in that which is most highly seasoned with every sort of native and foreign condiment.

Solid joints are certainly to be seen at each end of a mess-table, or at any numerous attended board, where they form a necessary ornament, and are a perquisite in most cases to the *kahnsuma*, or head of the *cuisine*, who will, after they are removed from table, dispose of them to the European soldiers, or lowest castes of natives, among whom he finds ready purchasers ; but in provision for a family party such abuses no longer exist. The extravagances formerly practised in this department of house-keeping are now abolished, and the *menage* is no longer left to the discretion of the *kahnsuma*, but is more generally under the immediate scrutiny and superintendence of the lady of the house.

A bachelor's establishment is too narrow a field for any very extensive impositions in this branch of expenditure, and does not call for so much [168] management ; but even here a reformation has been wrought, to the banishment of square joints and plain cookery. True it is, that our tables are more bountifully supplied than is always the case in old England ; and for this there is a necessity. Those who live much in society, or have a large circle of acquaintance, know not exactly how many guests may take their seats unbidden at the meal, the system of hospitality practised in India being upon a much more open and liberal footing than in most countries. This latter remark is applicable to the Mofussil rather than to the Presidency ; especially since the establishment of hotels in the latter.

The Upper Provinces possess no such accommodation for the traveller or new arrival, so that people become dependent on each other's hospitality for board and lodging ; that is, unless they happen to be marching with their tents and retinue ; the consequence is, that every man's house, more particularly if it be situated in a place of great resort or thoroughfare, becomes a kind of 'Red Lion' to the travelling community, and way-

farers as well as one's own immediate friends are continually dropping in without notice. Nor is a visit of this sort looked upon by either [169] party as an intrusion, for the addition of even four or five in a family is scarcely felt as any inconvenience : there is no turning the house upside down for the reception of the comers, and no difficulty in accommodating them. The spread is sufficient, if prepared only for a subaltern and his wife, and the visitor pays for his entertainment by telling his latest news, and all the gossip which he has brought from the places he has just left.

The providing of beds for the travellers is by no means a difficult matter, for in a country like India, where men are continually upon the move, they speedily learn not to be over-scrupulous in this respect, and go without grumbling to a shake-down on the mattress of their palki, or the superior luxury of the first couch which offers itself.

But I have been long absent from the mess-table, where, if I remember rightly, I had just taken my seat when I was led away by Miss Roberts and domestic economy ; however, little remains to be told of the further employment of the hours, until Bolaki again makes his appearance at his master's bedside, with his execrable "*Sahib ! Sahib !!*" It may as well be mentioned, [170] that deep drinking and late hours are very much exploded from society in India. By half-past ten or eleven o'clock, the mess-house will generally be found empty ; though occasionally, 'tis true, the small hours of the morning will surprise a few excited lads over a rubber of whist and an anchovy toast.

This is a pretty general outline of the routine of a young military man's life in India, if life it can be called : notwithstanding its monotony, there is much in it that is agreeable, though much also which is far otherwise. There is, if I may so express myself, a want of attraction, or rather of adhesion between the individual members of Anglo-Indian society, which is sensibly felt by such as have not their own family connexions about them ; the links of the community do not hang together by any closer bond than that of mere acquaintance.

The constant change among the residents at a station, which is caused by the frequent relief of corps, renders India a very

quicksand to friendships ; no sooner do people know each other sufficiently to appreciate and value one another, than, by the removal of one party, the partiality which would probably have ripened into a warmer senti-[171]ment, is dissolved, and new companions are substituted. In this state of things, there is nothing upon which the affections and best feelings of the heart can repose, and a young man who, in quitting England, very probably left behind him all that was dear to him in the world, is thus thrown back upon the hollow resources of an idle community, unless he happily possess springs of more solid pleasures within himself.

A Sub's life in India is, if I may be allowed the use of an antithesis, an arduous, though idle servitude, and the remuneration is slender indeed, though a happy provision for a starving man. With a stipend which would afford every comfort in England, a subaltern in India can seldom manage to pay his tailor's bill, because there are so many unavoidable expenses in what would be deemed luxuries at home ; whereas in a tropical climate they are only necessities—indispensables.

Unless a man should have property besides his pay, marriage is absolutely out of the question, by reason of the *little consequences* which may naturally be expected ; unless, indeed, the young lady, which is very rarely the case in the Indian market, have a *silver teapot*, and a kit to match, together with a small pin-money purse of her [172] own ; or lest one or other of the youthful pair should have good expectations of the needful *in prospectu*, and can submit to live from hand to mouth in the interim, deaf or indifferent to all duns and sheriff's writs.

In one respect the young officers residing at Dum Dum enjoy a valuable advantage over those who are cantoned at out-stations. The place itself is quiet, and if a man be desirous of husbanding his scanty means, he may be as retired as the heart of a hermit could wish, without losing caste among his brother officers, and then if he love society better than pelf, he is within half-an-hour's drive of all the gaiety and revelling of the Presidency ; whereas in stations where the community are dependent upon each other for sport and diversion, every individual is expected to lend his aid and co-operation in what is going forward, or otherwise he will be looked upon as a mere cipher, and be shut out from all social intercourse and fellowship with his brother officers.

BUDGEROW

[229]. . . A budgerow, then, is an elegant, dangerous, uncomfortable-looking boat, something after the fashion of an inverted military cocked-hat. Two thirds of the deck is the space appropriated to the accommodation of the occupant; and it is divided into two apartments, the inner one being generally used as the sleeping room, and the other one as sitting and dining room; in front of this is a virandah enclosed, for the double purpose of protecting the entrance from the direct rays of the [230] sun, and also as a convenient shelter to the servants in waiting. The remaining portion of the deck is occupied by the *dandis*, or boatmen, who, standing upright, ply a long paddle, made of bamboo, with a small piece of board attached to the extreme point; and this uncouth instrument is lashed by the centre to the boat-side, being worked straight up and down, as well as backward and forward, in the most barbarous style possible, without feathering or an even stress, to the incessant annoyance of an amateur oar.

The roofing of the rooms is used as a sort of upper deck, or rather as a poop; here too are frequently deposited *palkis*, boxes, bundles, sacks, &c., *ad infinitum*; and upon the hindermost extremity of it sits the *menji* or helmsman, who is the responsible man, in fact, the master of the boat. The rudder itself is a gothic affair, more like an overgrown oar than what it is meant for, and would hardly be recognized as a rudder by a black man, if by accident one should be found resisting as much water as is allowed to pass through the interstices of its planks.

The apartments are of dimensions ample for the accommodation of one or a married couple, though at the hazard of being "taken in and done [231] for"; and they may be rendered sufficiently comfortable during the moderate seasons by proper precautions and appliances. The walls, or rather sides, are composed of *jhil-mils* or venetians, which may be opened all around; and this is pleasant enough in the cool of the evening although in a high wind, suffocation with dust furnishes a hint that closed walls and glazed windows would add much to the comfort and good humour of the traveller.

The prow of this strange, unchristian-looking barge terminates in the figure-head, having no bowsprit; the only sails in common

use are two or three lugs hoisted one above the other, in the fashion of our square-rigged vessels, though I have seen an attempt made to bend a stay-sail, and one or two eccentric instances of a jigger. These boats are generally clipping sailers, presenting the least possible resistance to the water; but they are continually upsetting, owing to their top-heavy stowage, and the broad resistance offered to the wind by the overgrown superstructure, when compared with the draft. Persons, however, who prefer sticking in the mud, or on a sand-bank, with superior accommodation and greater security, will find a pinnacle a delightful habitation; they are [232] pretty boats, larger and better finished than the budgerows, and approximating nearer to the rig and build of our English craft.

In consort with, or rather in attendance upon either of these, is a sorry-looking, ill-conditioned thing, miscalled a boat, exhibiting a few rough planks, surmounted with grass hut, and paddled along by two or three beggarly unclad blacks. This affair is designated by the important and mellifluous title of the *bawarchi kanu ki nao*, or cooking-boat; and though not exactly an ornamental appendage, it is at least a very indispensable part of one's floating establishment.

In progressing, as Jonathan would say, up the river, if there be insufficient wind, or if the breeze be foul, the paddles are seldom of much use, and locomotion is effected by affixing a tow-rope half-mast-high, upon which the crew, consisting of twelve, fourteen, or sixteen men, apply their weight in a measured tread of about three miles an hour.

The *manji* remains on board to man the helm, and another man, designated the *golía*, stands in the bows, with a long bamboo, to shove off from all the banks, rocks, and other obstructions, and to sound the depth. . . .

ADVENT OF STEAM

[II. 431] Before quitting Dinapore I went on board the "George Swinton," one of the little iron steam-boats built and sent from England by the Company, for the navigation of the Ganges. I could not but admire the beautiful finish of the works and machinery of these miniature engines: everything was fitted-up

in excellent style, being kept free from flaw or stain, and carefully polished. The commander was particularly polite, and ex-[432]plained to me the use and application of the machinery, in a manner which shewed him to be well-acquainted with the subject and his duty. There are now four or five of these little boats upon the Ganges, plying between Calcutta and Allahabad. I forget their exact burden, but they are very small and being flats draw very little water, (if I remember right, only a few inches more than two feet,) and yet they are continually carrying away their paddles, sticking upon the innumerable shoals and sand-banks which impede the navigation during the dry season. These boats are of very great advantage, both in convenience and economy, to the Government, for the conveyance of treasure and stores; a comparatively small guard of *Sipahis* being sufficient, and there being of course no necessity for tents or marching establishments. They are also used as tugs to accommodation-barges fitted-up expressly for passengers; but unfortunately the fares are fixed at too high a rate to be serviceable to any, save the more wealthy or more extravagant of travellers. The same remark is equally applicable to the conveyance of baggage or parcels. A reduction of the rates would not only add very greatly to the convenience of the community, but [433] it would also secure a larger emolument, by an increase of numbers. I was myself deterred, as were also three or four of my friends, from taking my passage on board the boat at Allahabad, in consequence of the heavy demand.

Some of my servants on board had never before seen such a thing as a steamer, and their wonder and admiration were infinite, as was their curiosity, to have explained to them the means by which the *augun-jehaz* (fire-ship) was made to go against the stream of the mighty *Gunga*, without sail or paddle. This I endeavoured, as well as I could, to explain; and I further told them of steam-carriages, and also of balloons.

"Nay, sir; now you are laughing at your slaves;" replied Sahaduk, "we are credulous; it is our nature; but we are not without reason. That the *augun jehaz* goes by steam we have proof, and it is therefore easy to believe that a carriage may be moved in the same manner; but when you tell us of a boat flying in the air, we know that you do but make sport of our credulity."

Only a few days subsequently to this conversation, on my arrival in Calcutta, Sahaduk and his companions had an opportunity of witnessing [434] the ascent of Mr. Robinson, the aeronaut. Sahaduk came to me and said; "Sir, you are right; the English are, indeed, gods; we have nothing in India which can be compared to this. Can your countrymen survive at the bottom of the sea?" I told him of the diving-bell, and his disbelief was again beginning to display itself when suddenly he exclaimed—"No, if you can fly in the heavens like an eagle, surely you may live in the sea. You are gods." When steamers first appeared in India, the inhabitants flocked in thousands to the bank of the river to worship them and implore mercy, believing them to be the engines of a supernatural creation. In how very few years will steamers and balloons be familiar to all classes of the natives, from the highest points of navigation on the Ganges and Jumna to Cape Comorin!

From Dinapore I made a rapid passage to Calcutta, meeting with no incident particularly worthy of record upon my route; and having now come back to the spot from whence I set forth upon my peregrinations through the Bengal Presidency, it is full time I should make my *salam*.

... [433] On the 10th of April 1836, within a month of my return to the Presidency, the good ship *Hibernia*, in which I embarked for Old England, shook [436] out her "Blue Peter," and in a few short hours, I was riding over a foaming sea, with a spanking fair wind, homeward-bound. (The End).

NOTES

1. Thomas Bacon (1813-1892), son of John Bacon, of Sidmouth, Devon, sculptor, and Susannah Sophia his wife, was baptised on 8th September 1813, at London. He was a cadet at Addiscombe in 1829-30 and arrived in India on 4th August 1831, after obtaining commission as 2nd Lieutenant on 10th December 1830. He resigned his commission on 28th July 1838. He took furlough from 29th March 1836 till his resignation on account of private affairs. There is no record of his active service. He was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in 1841. He took holy orders; Deacon, 1841, and Priest, 1847 and was canon of Gibraltar in 1847. He was Rector of King's Worthy in 1852-72. He died at Torquay, Devon, on 19th February, 1892, aged 78. Apart from

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CALCUTTA IN 1835*

From *Oriental Annual*

[253] On the fifth day after we quitted Gour we reached Calcutta, from the splendour of the buildings now called the City of Palaces, though within a century it was nothing better than a rude straggling town without regularity or beauty, containing indeed a dense population, and surrounded by a dreary and unwholesome jungle, the haunt of robbers, and the abode of beasts of prey.

The modern town extends above six miles along the eastern bank of the Hoogley, and presents a very animated picture from the river here curving into a large bay, from the opposite side of which, called Garden-house reach, the view is taken represented in the engraving. This reach takes its name from several elegant country houses erected in the neighbourhood, each enclosed by an extensive garden; and here their opulent owners retire after the business of the day is concluded at their offices in the city. The buildings of the European portion of the town present an appearance of great splendour from their almost invariably having extensive and lofty porticos, supported on numerous pillars, which impart an air of Grecian grandeur to those edifices. To persons just arrived [254] from Europe the houses appear very imposing from their novelty of style, their size, and the richness of their architectural embellishments. The squareness and simplicity of their forms is striking, though this simplicity is perhaps too much intruded upon by the gorgeous facades and numerous columns with which they are generally adorned. The absence of chimneys is a novelty that does not escape a European

From the "*ORIENTAL ANNUAL*, Or Scenes in India; comprising Twenty-five engravings" from original drawings by William Daniell, R.A. and a descriptive account by the Rev. (John) Hobart Couter, B.D., London, published by Bull, and Churton, Holles Street, Cavendish Square, 1835, Chapter XXII, pp. 253-263.

eye, and associates with their grandeur of aspect the idea of a want of comfort rather repugnant to our notions of social enjoyment. The roofs of the houses are invariably terraced and surrounded by handsome balustrades, these being far more light and elegant than a parapet. The windows are large, and instead of being glazed are covered with venetian blinds, in order at once to admit the air and exclude the light, for heat is inseparable from light in this warm climate. The architecture which is of the Italian school, is well adapted to a tropical country, though in some instances taste has been sacrificed to vulgar whim, many of the private dwellings having two pediments, as if, because one formed an elegant finish, two must give a proportionate increase of magnificence to the structure.

There is a square within the city extending upwards of a quarter of a mile each way, in the centre of which is a large tank surrounded by a low wall, and protected by an elegant iron railing. The top of the wall is at least fifty feet above the level of the water, to which there is a descent by a broad handsome flight of steps.

RAIN WATER

As rain water is much used in Calcutta for domes-[255]tic and culinary purposes, there is set apart in every house a room, in which is a number of large earthen jars. These are filled from the terraced roofs during the monsoons, and the water is preserved by an infusion of charcoal pounded small and thrown into each jar, which, by arresting the process of putrefaction, keeps the water sweet for any reasonable period.

The most striking edifice in Calcutta is the Government house. The lower story forms a handsome solid basement, with arcades on every side. All the pillars are of the Ionic order, though one of the largest rooms in the building is supported by Doric columns so beautifully chunamed as to resemble the finest white marble. There are four wings, one at each corner of the house, connected by circular passages, by which means there is a free circulation of air all round. These wings contain the private apartments, the main structure being devoted to the several public rooms set apart for the despatch of Government business, and for those public entertainments for which the metropolis of

British India has been long distinguished in the palace of her rulers.

There are only two English churches in this large city, one of which appears in the engraving. It is a graceful structure, built by an officer of engineers, and does him great credit, as he has displayed a refined taste in the disposal of its architectural features. The other church is a much plainer building, and altogether inferior. Although from Garden-house reach the city has an air of grandeur unequalled by any native town in India, it must nevertheless be confessed that [256] at Delhi, Agra, and Lucknow, there are edifices of a far superior order in point of architecture, than the finest at Calcutta, and which indeed may fairly challenge comparison with anything of a similar kind in Europe.

Next to the Government house the principal building is the Custom-house, a low but capacious edifice with an elegant front, and containing extensive and commodious warerooms. At Cheringhee, the fashionable part of the town, there is a line of magnificent houses, extending like a row of palaces, and almost realizing some of the fictions of Eastern splendour. These houses are all inhabited by Europeans. They are mostly stuccoed, and stand each within a large area, being well ventilated; nor indeed is there wanting anything which the greatest refinement in luxury can suggest to remove the inconveniences of climate, and render them delightful abodes.

Although the portion of Calcutta inhabited by Europeans is airy, attractive, and imposing, nothing can exceed the wretchedness of that part of it occupied by natives. The streets are narrow, dirty, and unpaved. The great proportion of houses are little better than mud hovels, swarming with a squalid, half-starved, miserable population. Here disease, that constant ally of poverty and privation, is perpetually raging, and thousands are yearly victims to the awful evils thus superinduced to the miseries of destitution; nor does there appear any prospect of amelioration, to those wretched beings who crowd together in the suburbs of this vast metropolis, only to form a sad community of wretchedness. While the [257] cholera prevailed, seven hundred daily are said to have fallen victims to this terrible scourge for a period of many weeks, during which time enjoyment of

all kinds seemed suspended, and not an hour passed in which the wail of lamentation for the dead did not remind the living of the desolation that was spreading around them.

Fort William, standing about four or five hundred yards below the city, is a place of great strength. From the city a road runs by the river in front of the fort to Garden-house reach, round the shore of the bay, a distance of at least three miles, and from this point the best general views of Calcutta are obtained. The citadel towards the water, by which the only approach can be made with any reasonable prospect of success, has the form of a large salient angle, the faces of which enfilade the course of the river. The ditch is dry, with a reservoir in the middle, that receives the water of the Hoogley by means of two sluices protected by the fort. The citadel was commenced by Lord Clive after the battle of Plassey. It is capable of accommodating a garrison of fifteen thousand men, and the works are so extensive that at least ten thousand would be required to defend them efficiently. They are said to have cost the Company upwards of two millions sterling. The interior of the fort is perfectly open, presenting to the view large grass plats and gravel walks, kept cool by rows of trees all in the finest order and fullest vigour of their growth, intermixed with piles of balls, bombshells, and canon. Between the town and fort is the esplanade, a fine level, where the inhabitants enjoy a refreshing ride [258] "at shut of even," when a grateful breeze from the river generally prevails, cooling the body and imparting an elasticity to the spirits altogether delightful.

THE BORE

The Hoogley exhibits at all times a very animated scene, but more especially at flood tide, when vessels from all parts of the world, and of every size and form, cover the broad bosom of its majestic stream. Indiamen of six hundred tons are frequently seen at anchor off Calcutta. A remarkable peculiarity of this river is that sudden influx of the tide called the bore, which rises in a huge wave sometime to the height of sixteen or eighteen feet, sweeping up the stream at the rate of seventeen miles an hour, and overwhelming all the small craft within its rapid flow.

It runs on the Calcutta side, but seldom extends above one-fourth part across the river, so that the shipping are generally beyond the reach of its influence. It nevertheless at times causes such an agitation that the largest vessels at anchor nearer the opposite shore pitch and roll with considerable violence.

One eminent advantage that Calcutta possesses is its inland navigation, which renders it the emporium of a vast variety of foreign imports; these are conveyed on the Ganges and its subsidiary streams to the northern parts of Hindostan, which return their commercial produce to the capital through the same channel. The amount of property commonly kept on sale by the native merchants is incredible;—the article of cloth has been estimated at a million sterling on the average. From the great variety of merchandise brought to this city, the property afloat is perhaps [259] seldom less than eighteen or twenty million sterling, though it is probable that the late large failures, by paralysing the monied and commercial interests, have considerably abridged this prodigious flux of capital. In 1808 the Calcutta Government bank was established. Fifty lacs of rupees—about five hundred thousand pounds—were advanced by the Government and private speculators, both native and European; forty lacs, or four hundred thousand pounds, belonging to the latter, and ten lacs, or a hundred thousand pounds, to the former.

Calcutta has undergone great improvements and is much enlarged within the last fifty years. The blackhole, the monument erected by Mr. Holwell to commemorate the horrible cruelty of Serajee ud Dowlah, who, having captured the British capital of Bengal, shut up a hundred and forty-six prisoners in a dismal cellar twenty feet square, in which all perished except twenty-three—the old Government house and several other buildings which existed a half century ago exist no more. The city has been mostly added to on the eastern bank of the river. Govinda Ram Mitter's pagoda, I believe, still exists: it is an extensive pile of peculiar form, and though partaking of none of the higher beauties of Hindoo architecture, is nevertheless a structure of much beauty. It was formerly, I believe, a place of great sanctity, though now no longer resorted to but by a few of the lower castes.

The inhabitants of Calcutta, native and European, are computed at about six hundred thousand souls, and the immediate

neighbourhood within a circuit of [260] twenty miles is supposed to contain a population of nearly two millions and half.

Just before sunrise the air is cool and refreshing; it is therefore the custom to rise early and take a ride before breakfast, which is ready about nine. At half-past one o'clock tiffin, or luncheon, is served, and dinner at sunset. The wines chiefly drunk are Madeira and claret. The tables are served with a variety of game, partridges, quails, peafowl, wild ducks, ortolans, hares, and venison. Fruits are to be had in great profusion and exceedingly cheap. But the chief luxury of Calcutta is the mango fish, so called from its only appearing during the mango season, and which is not approached in delicacy of flavour by any fish known in Europe. The style in which civilians live can scarcely be imagined by any one who has not crossed the Indian ocean. Even young writers affect such an air of state, and keep such extensive establishments, that notwithstanding their liberal allowances they often become so deeply involved as to be ever after unable to release themselves from the incumbrance.

SUNDERBUNDS

Nearly a hundred miles below Calcutta, at the embouchure of the Hoogley, is the delta of the Ganges, called the Sunderbunds, composed of a labyrinth of streams and creeks, all of which are salt, except those that communicate immediately with the principal arm of the sacred river; those numerous canals being so disposed, as to form a complete inland navigation

A few years before our visit to Calcutta, the captain of a country ship, while passing the Sunderbunds, [261] sent a boat into one of the creeks to obtain some fresh fruits which are cultivated by the few miserable inhabitants of this inhospitable region. Having reached the shore the crew moored the boat under a bank, and left one of their party to take care of her. During their absence, the lascar, who remained in charge of the boat, overcome by heat, lay down under the seats and fell asleep. Whilst he was in this happy state of unconsciousness, an enormous boa-constrictor emerged from the jungle, reached the boat, had already coiled its huge body round the sleeper, and was in the very act of crushing him to death, when his com-

*panions fortunately returned at this auspicious moment, and attacking the monster severed a portion of its tail, which so disabled it that it no longer retained the power of doing mischief. The snake was then easily despatched, and found to measure sixty-two feet and some inches in length.** The immense size of these snakes has been frequently called in question, but I know not why it should when the fact has been authenticated by so many eye-witnesses. Nor was it unknown to ancient historians; for Suetonious, in the forty third chapter of his *Lives* of the first Twelve Caesars, mentions that the Emperor Augustus over and above the regular shows, gave others occasionally for the purpose of exhibiting any extraordinary object of which he might have [262] obtained possession; amongst these he mentions a rhinoceros, a tiger, and a snake, seventy-five feet long—*quingquaginta cubitorum*.

The wild tract extends a hundred and eighty miles along the bay of Bengal, and is filled with tigers and alligators of the largest kind, together with other creatures of similar power and ferocity. There are two passages through it, the northern Sunderbund passage, and the Balliaghaut passage. The first opens into the Hoogley sixty-five miles below Calcutta, the other into a shallow lake on the eastern side of the city. The navigation of these channels extends more than two hundred miles through an impenetrable jungle divided by creeks occasionally so narrow, that in some places branches of trees almost meet on either side, and in others you sail upon an expanded river beautifully skirted with wood. Alligators innumerable are seen sleeping along the shores, looking like huge trunks of trees. It is scarcely possible to imagine them to be alive until they are disturbed, when they scramble with surprising activity into the stream and sink. Great numbers of natives who frequent the banks of the creeks that divide the Sunderbunds, to cut wood and collect salt, are yearly devoured by these and other beasts of prey; indeed, the tigers

* The original picture, painted by Mr. W. Daniell, is in the possession of le Baron de Noual de la Loyrie; and that of the "Favourite of the Harem," also by the same artist, is the property of R.W. Cox, Esq. of Lawford, Essex. (note on p. 261).

are so ravenous, that they have been known to swim off to boats and attack the crews at a considerable distance from the shore.

Notwithstanding these perils, many devotees erect their rude huts in this region of desolation. In spite of the charms which they pretend to possess, and their [263] propitiatory offerings to the tigers and alligators, these ignorant fanatics are almost invariably destroyed by them; still other fanatics supply their places: thus the wild savages of the forest are yearly supplied with no inconsiderable portion of sacred food. It is astonishing to what lengths fanaticism will go.

CALCUTTA IN 1835*

By Emma Roberts¹

[1] The approach to the City of Palaces from the river is exceedingly fine ; the Hooghly at all periods of the year presents a broad surface of sparkling water, and as it winds through a richly wooded country, clothed with eternal verdure, and interspersed with stately buildings, the stranger feels that banishment may be endured amid scenes of so much picturesque beauty, attended by so many luxurious accompaniments. The usual landing-place, Champaul Ghaut, consists of a handsome stone esplanade, with a flight of broad steps leading to the water, which on the land side is entered through a sort of triumphal arch or gateway, supported upon pillars. Immediately in front of this edifice, a wide plain or *meidan* spreads over a spacious area, intersected by very broad roads, and on two sides of this superb quadrangle a part of the city and the fashionable suburb of Chowringhee extend themselves. The claims to architectural beauty of the City of Palaces have been questioned, and possibly there may be numberless faults to call forth the strictures of connoisseurs, but these are lost upon less erudite judges, who remain rapt in admiration at the magnificence of the *coup d'oeil*. The houses for the most part are either entirely detached from each other, or connected only by long ranges of terraces, surmounted, like the flat roofs of the houses, with balustrades. The greater number of these mansions have pillared verandahs extending the whole way up, sometimes to the height of three stories, besides a large portico in front ; and these clusters of columns, long colonnades, and lofty gateways, have a very im-

* From the *SCENES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF HINDOSTAN. WITH SKETCHES OF ANGLO-INDIAN SOCIETY* by Emma Roberts (first edition, 3 volumes, 1835), second edition (two volumes), London, W.H. Allen & Co., 1837 ; 2nd edn., Volume I (pages 1-393) ; CALCUTTA : 1-13.

posing effect, especially when intermingled with forest trees and flowering shrubs. The material of the houses is what is termed *puckha*, brick coated with cement, resembling stone; and even those residences intended for families of very moderate income cover a large extent of ground, and afford architectural displays which would be vainly sought amid habitations belonging to the same class in England. These are the characteristics of the fashionable part of Calcutta; but even here, it must be acknowledged, that a certain want of keeping and consistency, common to every thing relating to India, injures the effect of the scene. A mud hut, or rows of native hovels, constructed of mats, thatch, and bamboos, not superior to the rudest wigwam, often rest against the outer walls of palaces, while there are avenues opening from the principal streets, intersected in all directions by native bazaars, filled with unsightly articles of every description. Few of the houses excepting those exclusively occupied by Europeans, are kept in good repair; the least neglect becomes immediately visible, and nothing [3] can be more melancholy than the aspect of a building in India which has been suffered to fall into a dilapidated state. The cement drops from the walls in large patches, the bare brick-work is diversified by weather stains, in which lichens and fungus tribe speedily appear; the iron hinges of the outer venetians rust and break, and these gigantic lattices fall down, or hang suspended in the air, creaking and groaning with every breeze: the court yards are allowed to accumulate litter, and there is an air of squalor spread over the whole establishment which disgusts the eye.

ADVENT OF HOTELS

Formerly, strangers visiting Calcutta were dependent upon the hospitality of the residents, or were compelled to take large unfurnished houses, there being neither lodgings nor hotels for the reception of guests. But the capital of Bengal has become too large to admit of the continuance of old customs; boarding, and other houses of public entertainment have been opened, and conducted in so respectable a manner, that notwithstanding the great difficulty of subduing ancient prejudices, no person, however fastidious, can now scruple to become an inmate of them.

The inconvenience of entering an empty house after a long voyage, is not so strongly felt as might be imagined by persons unacquainted with the customs of India ; little is wanted besides the furniture which has been used for the cabin on board ship, and that little can be immediately supplied from the bazaars. A new arrival at Calcutta is instantaneously surrounded by persons who offer their services, both as domestics and purveyors, and it is always advisable to ask some resident friend or acquaintance to recommend proper people, as otherwise, there is no city in the world in which there would be greater danger of falling into the hands of cheats and robbers. Notwithstanding the long and strict intercourse which has taken place between the Bengallees and the English, a very small proportion of the natives have acquired the language of their masters : nor is the accomplishment, with very few exceptions, deemed at all desirable, since those who possess it are generally found to have lost all the virtues of the Indian character, without gaining any thing in exchange. The *circars*, who may be styled agents, of all descriptions, are for the most part tolerably well acquainted with the English language ; but these men are notorious for their knavery : they live by encouraging the extravagance of their employers, and the ruin of more than half of the Company's servants may be traced to the facilities thrown in their way by the supple *circar*, who, in his pretended zeal for "master", has obtained for him money on credit to any amount. *Circars*, however, are a necessary evil, and the present scarcity of money renders them less dangerous than heretofore ; nor does the character of rogue apply to all. It would be unjust and ungrateful to withhold the praise honestly earned by many of these men, who have shewn the utmost gratitude and fidelity to employers from whom their gains have been exceedingly trifling, consisting merely of a small percentage upon the articles supplied, and which no European purchaser could have obtained at so low a rate. With the assistance of a *circar*, the household affairs are easily and speedily managed ; but in too many cases the first impression has been unfavourable, and persons who [5] are unwilling to sit down to the acquirement of Hindostanee, choose to fancy all natives alike, and prefer having people about them of more than doubtful character, with whom they can converse, to the employment of a better class, who have no acquaintance

with any language save their own. It is scarcely possible to impress the mind of a stranger in Calcutta too strongly with the necessity of collecting respectable persons in every department of the domestic establishment. The comfort of the household, and the security of property, which must necessarily be exposed to the forbearance of these people, are dependent upon the good conduct of the servants and no one in India will be well served who does not comply with the customs of the country, or who has not sufficient command of temper to submit to many things which will at first appear irksome and disagreeable.

The furniture of a Calcutta house, though scanty, is handsome. The floors are covered with fine matting, and the walls are adorned with sconces having glass shades to them, some containing two, and others three lights. The loftiness of the apartments renders a strong illumination necessary, and as cocoa-nut oil is very cheap, all the houses have the advantage of being exceedingly well lighted. One of the most beautiful features of the city at night, consists of the bright floods issuing from innumerable lamps in the houses of the rich, when, all the windows being open, the radiance is thrown across the neighbouring roads. The *punkah* is another distinguishing ornament of a Calcutta mansion; it is formed of a wooden frame-work, a foot and a-half, or two feet broad, hung in the centre [6] of the room and extending nearly its whole length. This frame is covered with painted canvas or fluted silk, finished round the edges with gilt mouldings. It is suspended from the ceiling by ropes covered with scarlet cloth, very tastefully disposed, and hangs within seven feet of the ground. A rope is fastened to the centre, and the whole apparatus waves to and fro, creating, if pulled vigorously, a strong current of air, and rendering the surrounding atmosphere endurable, when the heat would be much too great to be borne without it. The chairs and tables are usually of very fine wood, handsomely carved, and the sofas are for the most part covered with satin damask; but comfort and convenience being more studied than appearance, there are few of those elegant little trifles in the way of furniture, by which an upholsterer in London contrives to make a fortune. It is thought that the *bijouterie* so much in esteem in Europe would foster insects, and also tend to impede the free circulation of air; and perhaps this notion is carried rather too far, for to

unaccustomed eyes, at least, the interior of the handsomest houses of Calcutta have rather a desolate aspect.

Chinese goods, though so highly esteemed in England, are of little account in a place where they may be easily obtained ; and there are fewer screens, vases, or lanthorns, of the manufacture of the Celestial Empire, than might be expected from the quantities annually shipped from Canton to the Calcutta market. One peculiarity strikes a stranger immediately as he enters a house in India inhabited by Europeans : all the sofas, chairs, tables, &c. are placed at the distance of a foot at least from the wall ; a very necessary precaution in [7] a country abounding with insects and reptiles of all kinds. Every side of every apartment is pierced with doors, and the whole of the surrounding ante-chambers appear to be peopled with ghosts. Servants clad in flowing white garments glide about with noiseless feet in all directions ; and it is very long before people accustomed to solitude and privacy in their own apartments, can become reconciled to the multitude of domestics who think themselves privileged to roam all over the house. A protracted residence in India will render the most active European perfectly dependent upon his servants : we are taught by experience the impossibility of living without them, and surrender ourselves at last wholly to their direction ; but meanwhile we are struck and rather scandalized by the strange position which they occupy. Notwithstanding the division of castes, and the extreme contempt with which the higher orders of domestics look down upon their more humble brethren ; their refusal to eat or smoke with them, or to touch any thing that has been defiled by their hands ; to outward appearance there seems to be a confusion of ranks which would not be tolerated in other places. None of the inferior domestics keep themselves, as in England, in the background : the water-carrier alone confines his perambulations to the back staircases, all the others, down to the scullions, make their appearance in the state apartments, whenever they deem it expedient to do so ; and in Bengal, where the lower orders of palanquin-bearers wear very little clothing, it is not very agreeable to a female stranger to see them walk into drawing-rooms, and employ themselves in dusting books or other occu-[8]pations of the like nature. It would be highly disrespectful in any of the upper servants to appear in the presence of their masters without their turbans, or any other

garment usually worn, but these things are deemed quite superfluous by the inferior classes, and they never seem to think that they can shock any body by the scantiness of their drapery, or the incongruity of their appearance.

Those who are fortunate enough to arrive in Calcutta in cold season, find little reason to complain of the climate; the days are bright and cool, and the noon-day sun, though still powerful, may be braved in any carriage. An invitation to the house of some resident friend secures the party from every inconvenience; but these invitations are not now very frequently given, and even during periods of more extensive hospitality, parties were often left to provide for themselves, letters of introduction not always meeting with the promptest or warmest attention. Under such circumstances, nothing could be more forlorn than the situation of a stranger. If belonging to either service, the Writers Buildings, or Fort William, offered an immediate asylum; but the shelter afforded by the latter, unless to persons well accustomed to campaigning, must appear of the most dreary and comfortless description. A couple of bare unfurnished rooms strewed with boxes and packages, and a crowd of natives offering themselves for service in bad Bengallee and worse English, the coolies or porters vociferating to each other, and all striving to increase the hubbub and confusion, must be styled a melancholy reception in a strange land. The hotels and boarding houses [9] lately established afford much better accommodation, and nothing except the necessity for economy would now induce parties from England to repair at once into an empty lodging. Travellers from the provinces, accustomed to the modes and manners of Indian life, and carrying every thing absolutely essential to their comfort about with them, are easily and almost instantaneously settled; young men, unencumbered with families, do not object to inhabit their tents during the cold weather; and it is no uncommon circumstance for parties to remain at a ghaut in a budgerow for a week at a time.

SUBURB OF CHOWRINGHEE

The suburb of Chowringhee, which has lately extended over an immense tract of country, is the favourite residence of the European community. The houses are all separate, standing

in the midst of gardens, sometimes divided from each other by very narrow avenues, though more frequently intersected by broad roads. No particular plan appears to have been followed in their erection, and the whole, excepting the range facing the great plain, Park-street, Free-school-street, and one or two others, present a sort of confused labyrinth which, however, is very far from displeasing to the eye ; the number of trees, grass-plats, and flowering shrubs, occasioning a most agreeable diversity of objects. From the roofs of these houses a strange, rich, and varied scene discloses itself ; the river covered with innumerable vessels,—Fort William, and Government House, standing majestically at opposite angles of the plain,—the city of Calcutta, with its innumerable towers, spires, and pinnacles in the distance, —and nearer at hand, swamps and patches [10] of unreclaimed jungle, showing how very lately the ground in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital of Bengal was an uncultivated waste, left to the wild beasts of the forest. A drive along the Circular Road brings the visitor into more immediate contact with the morasses and wildernesses which surround the habitations of Europeans in the outskirts of the city. This part of Calcutta is chiefly the residence of shopkeepers, clerks, &c., Britons and Indo-Britons, but particularly the latter ; and, except as a mere matter of curiosity, it is seldom visited by the fashionable portion of the community. The European quarter of the city is extremely handsome, consisting of streets and squares, in which the greater portion of the houses are only united to each other by ranges of terraces built over the godowns (warehouses), stables, and servants' offices. The cathedral and the Scotch church are the two principal places of Protestant religious worship : the latter is the handsomer edifice of the two ; but, strange to say, notwithstanding the preponderance of the sons and daughters of Caledonia in the European population of Calcutta, it is very thinly attended, while the cathedral is always full to overflowing.

The Black Town, as it is called, extends along the river to the north, and a more wretched-looking place can scarcely be imagined : dirty, crowded, ill-built, and abounding with beggars and bad smells. There is, however, a sort of debateable ground between the mud huts, the small dingy brick tenements, and the mean dilapidated bazaars of the middling and lower classes of

natives, which is occupied by handsome houses inclosed in court-yards, belonging to Armenian [11] merchants, Parsees, and Bengallee gentlemen of great wealth and respectability. The avenues which lead to these mansions are exceedingly narrow, but the premises themselves are often very extensive, the principal apartments looking out upon pretty gardens, decorated with that profusion of flowers which renders every part of Calcutta so blooming. The drives and rides about the city are not very numerous, nor very extensive, excepting towards Barrackpore, for the whole of the surrounding country is still forest or lake ; a large piece of water extends on one side to the Sunderbunds, and the city is often very sensibly affected by the malaria brought from that woody desert. It is not possible to proceed a single mile in any direction without being struck by the excess of rank vegetation, which the toils of the husbandman have not sufficed to keep down, giving to the whole scene an air of savageness which its luxuriance is unable to redeem.

The population of Calcutta and its environs is extremely great, and at every hour of the day the streets and the roads are filled with crowds of natives, chiefly dressed in white muslin, a costume which produces a singular effect upon a large multitude. The European and Christian inhabitants bear but a small proportion to the Mohammedans and Hindoos, not amounting at the utmost to more than twenty thousand persons, amid a population of three hundred thousand. One circumstance attending the Christian community is very remarkable, although perhaps hitherto unnoticed in any description of Calcutta :—they are never seen on any occasion to congregate together ; there does not seem to be any one point of union, any object of [12] general attraction, which can bring the whole into even momentary association. No church is sufficiently large to contain all the Protestant members, and the remaining sects are scattered through the Roman Catholic and Armenian places of worship. The public drive, though well frequented, by no means comprehends the larger portion of *Anglo-Indian* and *Indo-Briton residents* ; the theatre is seldom full, and would not contain a tenth part ; and neither at the races nor any other spectacle do they all assemble at one and the same time. Such an outpouring as London frequently exhibits is never to be seen, and it is questionable whether, if Government House were to take fire, it would bring them

"All abroad to gaze
And wonder at the blaze."

A good deal of animation and activity is exhibited about sunset ; horses, carriages, palanquins, or vehicles of some description. are to be seen at the doors of all the houses, and the roads are traversed by equipages of various degrees of splendour ; but with the exception of those which wind their way to the Strand, the favourite scene of an airing, they disperse, and as no one thinks of walking abroad, people who have no conveyances confine themselves to the gardens, terraces, and house-tops.

The public drive in Calcutta affords a gay and interesting spectacle, but is sadly deficient in the elegance which might be expected from the wealth and taste of those who frequent it. There would be no difficulty in finding, upon any hackney-coach stand in London, carriages quite equal in appearance to many [13] of those which figure amid this motley assembly, and there is not one that will bear any comparison with the elaborately finished equipages of Hyde Park, where the servants, horses, footmen, harness, and every trapping are in keeping with the magnificence of the vehicle. The expedient is always considered in India, and when not carried to an outrageous excess, people deserve credit for sacrificing the pomps and vanities to the comforts of life ; but there are displays upon the course of Calcutta which, to say the least of them, are very indecorous. Gentlemen are rather too apt to adopt a favourite method of repose : when seated in their carriages, it is no uncommon sight to see the feet resting upon the door of the vehicle, an attitude much adopted by old and rich *Qui His*, and imitated by those who are desirous to shew their independence of every etiquette of civilized society. The dresses of the ladies have very little pretensions to splendour compared to the displays of the toilette in the capital of Europe. Many during the warm weather dispense with bonnets and wear their hair in the plainest manner : circumstances which, though rendered almost necessary by the climate, detract from the general effect. There is not so great a variety of Oriental costumes as might be expected ; some of the Armenians appear in their national dress ; a few Hindoo and Mahomedan gentlemen are to be seen clad in very picturesque attire ; and a Chinese physician, in an old tumble-down chariot, personifies all the gravity and dignity of his nation.

BENGAL BRIDALS AND BRIDAL CANDIDATES.

[14] Few opinions can be more erroneous than those which prevail in Europe upon the subject of Indian marriages. According to the popular idea, a young lady visiting the Honourable Company's territories, is destined to be sacrificed to some old, dingy, rich, bilious nawab, or as he is styled on this side of the Atlantic, "nabob", a class of persons unfortunately exceedingly rare. Ancient subjects devoted to the interests of the conclave in Leadenhall-street, belonging to both services, are doubtless to be found in India, some dingy, and some bilious, but very few rich; and, generally speaking, these elderly gentlemen have either taken to themselves wives in their younger days, or have become such confirmed bachelors, that neither flashing eyes, smiling lips, lilies, roses, dimples, &c., comprehending the whole catalogue of female fascinations, can make the slightest impression upon their flinty hearts. Happy may be the fair expectant account herself, who has the opportunity of choosing or refusing a *rura avis* of this nature,—some yellow civilian out of debt, or some battered brigadier, who saw service in the days of sacks and sieges, and who comes wooing in the olden style, preceded by trains of servants bearing presents of shawls and diamonds! Such prizes are scarce. The damsel, educated in the fallacious hope of seeing a rich antiquated suitor at her feet, laden with "barbaric pearl and gold," soon discovers to her horror that, if she should decide upon marrying at all, she will be absolutely compelled to make a love-match, and select the husband of her choice out of the half-dozen subalterns who may offer; fortunate may she esteem herself if there be one amongst them who can boast a staff-appointment, the adjutancy or quarter-mastership of his corps. Formerly, when the importations of European females were much smaller than at present, men grew grey in the service before they had an opportunity of meeting with a wife; there consequently was a supply of rich old gentlemen ready at every station to lay their wealth at the feet of the new arrival; and as we are told that "mammon wins its way, where seraphs might despair", it may be supposed that younger and poorer suitors had no chance against these wealthy wooers. The golden age has passed away in India; the silver

fruitage of the rupec-tree has been plucked, and love, poverty-stricken, has nothing left to offer but his roses.

In the dearth of actual possessions, expectancies become of consequence : and now that old civilians are less attainable, young writers rank amongst the eligibles. A supply of these desirables, by no means adequate to the demand, is brought out to Calcutta every year, and upon the arrival of a young man who has been lucky enough to secure a civil appointment, he is immediately accommodated with a handsome suite of apartments in Tank Square, styled, *par distinction*, "the Buildings," and entered at the college, where he is condemned to the study of the Hindoostanee and [16] Persian languages, until he can pass an examination which shall qualify him to become an assistant to a judge, collector, or other official belonging to the civil department. A few hours of the day are spent under the surveillance of a moonshee, or some more learned pundit, and the remainder are devoted to amusements. This is the dangerous period for young men bent upon making fortunes in India, and upon returning home. They are usually younger sons, disregarded in England on account of the slenderness of their finances, or too juvenile to have attracted matrimonial speculations. Launched into the society of Calcutta, they enact the parts of the young dukes and heirs-apparent of a London circle ; where there are daughters or sisters to dispose of. The "*great parti*" is caressed, fêted, dressed at, danced at, and flirted with, until perfectly bewildered ; either falling desperately in love, or fancying himself so, he makes an offer, which is eagerly accepted by some young lady, too happy to escape the much-dreaded horrors of a half-batta station. The writers, of course, speedily acquire a due sense of their importance, and conduct themselves accordingly. Vainly do the gay uniforms strive to compete with their more sombre rivals ; no dashing cavalry officer, feathered, and sashed, and epauletted, has a chance against the men privileged to wear a plain coat and a round hat ; and in the evening drives in Calcutta, sparkling eyes will be turned away from the military equestrian, gracefully reigning up his Arab steed to the carriage-window, to rest upon some awkward rider, who sits his horse like a sack, and, more attentive to his own comfort than to the elegance of his appearance, may, if [17] it should be the rainy season, have thrust his white jean trowsers into jockey boots,

and introduced a black velvet waistcoat under his white calico jacket. Figures even more extraordinary are not rare; for, though the ladies follow European fashions as closely as circumstances will admit, few gentlemen, not compelled by general orders to attend strictly to the regulations of the service, are willing to sacrifice to the Graces. An Anglo-Indian dandy is generally a very grotesque personage; for where tailors have little sway, and individual taste is left to its own devices, the attire will be found to present strange incongruities.

When a matrimonial proposal has been accepted, the engagement of the parties is made known to the community at large by their appearance together in public. The gentleman drives the lady out in his buggy. This is conclusive; and should either prove fickle, and refuse to fulfil the contract, a breach of promise might be established in the Supreme Court, based upon the single fact, that the pair were actually seen in the same carriage, without a third person. The nuptials of a newly-arrived civilian, entrapped at his outset, are usually appointed to take place at some indefinite period, namely, when the bridegroom shall have got out of college. It is difficult to say whether the strength of his affection should be measured by a speedy exit, or a protracted residence, for love may be supposed to interfere with study, and though excited to diligence by his matrimonial prospects, a mind distracted between rose-coloured billet-doux, and long rolls of vellum covered with puzzling characters in Arabic and Persian, will not easily master the difficulties of Oriental lore.

WRITERS

[18] The allowances of a writer in the Buildings are not exceedingly splendid; writers do not, according to the notion adopted in England, step immediately into a salary of three or four thousand a year, though, very probably with the brilliant respect before them which dazzled their eyes upon their embarkation, not yet sobered down to dull reality, they commence writing at that rate. The bridegroom elect, consequently, is compelled to borrow one or two thousand rupees to equip himself with household goods necessary for the married state, and thus lays the foundation for an increasing debt, bearing an in-

terest of twelve per cent. at the least. The bride, who would not find it quite so easy to borrow money, and whose relatives do not consider it necessary to be very magnificent upon these occasions, either contrives to make her outfit (the grand expense incurred in her behalf) serve the purpose, or should that have faded and grown old-fashioned, purchases some scanty addition to her wardrobe. Thus the bridal paraphernalia, the bales of gold and silver muslins, the feathers, jewels, carved ivory, splendid brocades, exquisite embroidery, and all the rich products of the East, on which our imaginations luxuriate when we read of an Indian marriage, sinks down into a few yards of white sarsnet. There is always an immense concourse of wedding guests present at the ceremony, but as invitations to accompany a bridal party to the church, are of very frequent occurrence, they do not make any extraordinary display of new dresses and decorations. Sometimes, the company separate at the church-door; at others there is some sort of entertainment given by the relatives of [19] the bride; but the whole business, compared with the pomp and circumstance attending weddings of persons of a certain rank in England, is flat, dull, and destitute of show.

The mode of living in India is exceedingly adverse to bridal tours. Unless the parties procure the loan of some friend's country mansion, a few miles from Calcutta, they must proceed straight to their own residence; for there are no hotels, no watering places, and no post-horses:—circumstances which detract materially from the eclat of a marriage. The poor bride, instead of enjoying a pleasant excursion, is obliged to remain shut up at home, and her first appearance in public creates very little sensation, probably from the absence of expectation on the score of new garments.

In the up-country stations, marriages are even more common-place affairs, and the clerk of the country church would be absolutely scandalised at the neglect of the customary observances. Some writer upon India has remarked that the ladies are overdressed. That must have been the case in the by-gone days of splendour, when they could afford to give *carte blanche* to milliners in London or at the presidencies: much to their credit be it spoken, in the wildest jungles they endeavour to make an appearance suitable to their rank and circumstances; but this is very frequently a matter of great difficulty. Patterns

are sometimes useless from the want of materials to make them up, and materials nearly so from the impossibility of procuring patterns.

Articles of British manufacture are exceedingly expensive, and often beyond the reach of narrow purses. The demand is not sufficiently great to induce a trader [20] to keep a large assortment of goods, and he cannot afford to supply the few articles required by the small female community at a low price. The Indian market is frequently overstocked, and valuable articles knocked down at sales for little or nothing : but they seldom come very cheaply into the hands of the consumer, the climate, unlike that of Kippletringan, eulogized by Dominic Sampson, is exceedingly injurious to wearing apparel, and much waste and destruction is effected by the want of care of native dealers, who do not understand the method of preserving European manufactures from dust and decay.

The contrast between the splendid dresses of a London ball-room, fresh in their first gloss, with the tarnished, faded, lustreless habiliments exhibited in Calcutta, is very striking to a stranger's eye ; while, after a long residence in the upper provinces, the fair assemblages at the presidency appear to be decked in the utmost glory of sumptuous array. But although Indian weddings may be destitute of magnificence, they are generally productive of lasting happiness ; they entail, comparatively speaking, little additional expense, and the small preparations which alone are considered essential, offer great facilities for early unions. A young man, depending, as he must do, for all his enjoyments, upon domestic comfort, naturally feels anxious to secure a companion to enliven his otherwise dull home : his resources out of doors are few ; there may not be many houses in which he can lounge away his mornings in idle visits ; the billiard-room does not suit all tastes, and however addicted he may be to field sports, during several hours of the day he must seek [21] the shelter of a roof : his military duties occupy a very small portion of his time, and with little to interest, and nothing to divert him, he becomes anxiously desirous to taste the calm delights of wedded life. If he should be so fortunate as to be a successful wooer, the marriage speedily takes place.

There are few regimental messes established in native regiments ; the officers inhabit separate bungalows, and if two happen

to chum together, the intended Benedict turns his friend out to make way for his bride. If he should be rich enough, he may be seen at sales (for there is always some person quitting a station and selling off), purchasing looking-glasses, toilette-tables, and such unwonted luxuries in a bachelor's mansion. But they are not absolutely necessary, nor are they considered essential to connubial felicity; very frequently the whole of the preparations consist in the exit of the chum and his *petarrahs* (boxes which may be carried banghie, that is, suspended at either end of a bamboo slung across a bearer's shoulder), and the entrance of the bride and her wardrobe, crammed, to the special injury of the flounces and furbelows, into half a dozen square conical tin cases, painted green.

BOX WALLAHS

The *trousseau* of the bride varies according to the means and appliances of the station, and of her own or relatives' purses. There are a set of men in India, very closely resembling the pedlars and duffers of Scotland and England, denominated *box-wallahs*, who enact the character of *marchand des modes*, both in Calcutta and in the upper provinces. The box-wallah himself is a well-dressed respectable personage, frequently very rich; his goods are conveyed in large tin chests upon [22] the heads of coolies, and instead of making a tour of shopping, the lady, desirous to add to her wardrobe, sends for all the box-wallahs and examines the contents of their chests. The party thus formed presents a singular scene; nearly the whole are seated, the lady upon a chair, the merchants and their ragged attendants upon the floor; each vender pulls out his own goods, and offers them for sale, with numerous but not noisy commendations.

The spirit of rivalry assumes a very amiable aspect: all the principals speak a little English; having to deal with new arrivals, young ladies who have made a very small progress in Hindoostance, they find it to their advantage to acquire the means of bargaining with their fair customers. The prices of goods are regulated not so much by their intrinsic value, as by the stock in hand, and the demand. Ribbons, which are always called

for, are never cheap ; but rich silks and satins, blondes, gauzes, and the like, are often sold at very low prices.

Some attention to method is observed in the arrangements of the boxes : one contains a multifarious assortment of mercery and haberdashery, in which we are often startled by the apparition of some obsolete manufacture, which, after having slumbered in an English warehouse during a quarter of a century, is sent out on a venture to India, under the idea that it may pass current in the upper provinces as a fashionable article. The poor deluded boxwallah is astonished and confounded at the contempt and horror which his Chamberry's, his Plowman's nets, and Picket muslins excite. In vain he endeavours to recommend them to notice ; [23] his English goes no farther than "I beg pardon, ma'am ; very good thing—very handsome—no dear price—very rich lady—very poor man—you give what I ask." Frequently, during the course of the bargaining, the servants interfere on behalf of their mistresses, and procure more advantageous terms.

Stationery, pen-knives, soap, lavender-water, tooth-brushes, hair-brushes, small looking-glasses, and minor articles of hardware, are deposited in another chest ; these are taken out and displayed, until the whole floor is strewn with trumpery of various kinds, the sweepings of London shops, condemned to return to their boxes until, in some moderate time of scarcity, they are purchased for want of better things.

The bride makes her selection where there is probably little choice, and the dresses are handed over to the household tailor (the *dirzee*, as he is called), who occupies a conspicuous place in the ante-room or verandah, seated upon a piece of white cloth, with his work spread out around him. Should there be occasion for despatch, assistants are hired by the day ; and with these poor substitutes for milliners and dress-makers, the bride must perforce be content : probably a bonnet comes up with the licence from Calcutta, but as the latter is conveyed by dawk (post), and the former must travel dawk-banghie, a less rapid mode of transportation, it is not unfrequently dispensed with. Female ingenuity is severely taxed upon these occasions, and many and weariful are the fittings out and the cuttings out, before the hat and pelisse can be made to resemble the pattern-figures in *La Belle Assemblée*.

[24] The whole of the residents of the station, or, if it should

be a large one, the greater part, invited to witness the ceremony, and those ladies who consider white to be indispensable for a wedding, who think it proper to appear in full dress, and who are unable to obtain new vestments, exhibit to great disadvantage. A muslin gown is probably ironed out, and the betraying daylight not only reveals the spots and specks, which have been carefully ironed in, but also the discrepancies of the trimming, in which French white and pearl white, tolerably good matches by candlelight, disagree exceedingly in open day. No kind of etiquette is observed in the order of the celebration; the bridegroom, contrary to all established rule, is often seen to drive the bride in his buggy, to church; the company, instead of being properly arranged, stand promiscuously round the altar; and the clerk, usually a soldier, is a person of no sort of authority.

JUVENILE COUPLE

The parties are frequently very juvenile—a young ensign and a still younger partner; but such unions are not considered imprudent, for they are often the means of preventing extravagance, dissipation, and all their concomitant evils. Instances of domestic infelicity are comparatively rare in India: the value of a wife is known and appreciated, and, though there may be many bachelors from choice, the majority of Anglo-Indians are exceedingly anxious to obtain for themselves a security against the tedium and *ennui* of a solitary jungle,—a being interested in their welfare, and not only attached to them by the tenderest and most sacred of all ties, but who supplies the place of relatives whom they may never hope to see again.

[25] The greatest drawback upon the chances of happiness in an Indian marriage, exists in the sort of compulsion sometimes used to effect the consent of a lady. Many young women in India may be considered almost homeless; their parents or friends have no means of providing for them except by a matrimonial establishment; they feel that they are burthens upon families who can ill afford to support them, and they do not consider themselves at liberty to refuse an offer, although the person proposing may not be particularly agreeable to them. Mrs. Malaprop tells us, that it is safest to begin with a little aversion, and the truth of her aphorism has been frequently exemplified in India: gratitude and

esteem are admirable substitutes for love—they last much longer, and the affection, based upon such solid supports, is purer in its nature, and far more durable, than that which owes its existence to mere fancy. It is rarely that a wife leaves the protection of her husband, and in the instances that have occurred, it is generally observed that the lady had made a love-match.

But though marriages of convenience, in nine cases out of ten, turn out very happily, we are by no means prepared to dispute the propriety of freedom of choice on the part of the bride, and deem those daughters, sisters, and nieces most fortunate, who live in the bosoms of relatives not anxious to dispose of them to the first suitor who may apply. It is only under these happy circumstances that India can be considered a paradise to a single woman, where she can be truly free and unfettered, and where her existence may glide away in the enjoyment of a beloved home, until she [26] shall be tempted to quit it by some object dearer far than parents, friends, and all the world beside.

There cannot be a more wretched situation than that of a young woman who has been induced to follow the tortures of a married sister, under the delusive expectation that she will exchange the privations attached to limited means in England for the far-famed luxuries of the East. The husband is usually desirous to lessen the regret of his wife at quitting her home, by persuading an affectionate relative to accompany her, and does not calculate beforehand the expense and inconvenience which he has entailed upon himself by the additional burthen.

Soon after their arrival in India, the family, in all probability, have to travel to an up-country station,—and here the poor girl's troubles begin : she is thrust into an outer cabin in a budgerow, or into an inner room in a tent ; she makes perhaps a third in a buggy, and finds herself always in the way ; she discovers that she is a continual expense ; that an additional person in a family imposes the necessity of keeping several additional servants, and where there is not a close carriage she must remain a prisoner. She cannot walk out beyond the garden or the verandah, and all the out-of-door recreations, in which she may have been accustomed to indulge in at home, are denied her.

Tending flowers, that truly feminine employment, is an utter impossibility ; the garden may be full of plants (which she has

only seen in their exotic state) in all the abundance and beauty of native luxuriance, but, except before the sun has risen, after it has set, they [27] are not to be approached ; and even then, the frame is too completely enervated by the climate to admit of those little pleasing labours, which render the greenhouse and parterre so interesting. She may be condemned to a long melancholy sojourn at some out-station, offering little society, and none to her taste.

If she should be musical, so much the worse ; the hot winds have her piano and her guitar, or the former is in a wretched condition, and there is nobody to tune it ; the white ants have demolished her music-books, and new ones are not to be had. Drawing offers a better resource, but it is often suspended from want of materials ; and needle-work is not suited to the climate. Her brother and sister are domestic, and do not sympathize in her *ennui*, they either see little company, or invite guests merely with a view to be quit of an incumbrance.

SPINSTERS

If the few young men who may be at the station should not entertain matrimonial views, they will be shy of their attention to a single woman, lest expectations should be formed which they are not inclined to fulfil. It is dangerous to hand a disengaged lady too often to table, for though no conversation may take place between the parties, the gentleman's silence is attributed to want of courage to speak, and the offer, if not forthcoming, is inferred. A determined flirt may certainly succeed in drawing a train of admirers around her ; but such exhibitions are not common, and where ladies are exceedingly scarce, they are sometimes subject to very extraordinary instances of neglect. These are sufficiently frequent to be designated by a peculiar phrase : the wife or sister who may be obliged to accept [28] a relative's arm, or walking alone, is said to be "wrecked," perhaps an undue degree of apprehension is entertained upon the subject ; a mark of rudeness of this nature reflecting more discredit upon the persons who can be guilty of it, than upon those subjected to the affront. Few young women, who have accompanied their married sisters to India, possess the means of returning home ; however strong their dislike may be to the country, their

lot is cast in it, and they must remain in a state of miserable dependance, with the danger of being left unprovided for before them, until they shall be rescued from this distressing situation by an offer of marriage.

The tie between husband and wife is the only one from which Anglo-Indians can hope to derive solid happiness ; that between parents and children is subject to many shocks. The difficulty, amounting almost to impossibility, of educating young people in India, occasions early separation, which, in too many instances, proves fatal to the enjoyments of a re-union. After a long absence, parents and children meet as strangers : the latter, probably consigned to some large school, have not been brought up with any very exalted ideas upon the subject of filial duty. They are keen and quick observers of the faults and follies of those whom they have not been early accustomed to regard with respect ; and the former are apt to exact too much submission. Both parties are disappointed, the younger having hoped to meet with unlimited indulgence, while the elder flatter themselves with erroneous expectation of obedience.

Accomplished girls, fresh from England, are unprepared for the modes and habits of Indian life ; the charm of novelty does not always reconcile them to things strange, and often uncouth ; while mothers, to whom all around is familiar are astonished and displeased to find that the young ladies do not readily fall into their ways, and are more prone to dictate than to obey. Where these differences of opinion do not create strife and contention, they are productive of coldness ; each person feels deeply aggrieved by the conduct of others towards them ; those who possess amiable disposition, make allowances for circumstances and situation, but seldom do we see the attached and happy families which afford such beautiful pictures of domestic felicity in England.

It is no unusual thing for persons who have accumulated a fortune, and who are desirous to spend the remainder of their days in luxury in England, to marry off the females of their family as fast as they possibly can, little caring to whom they are consigned, and leaving them to combat with every sort of hardship, without a hope of their ever meeting again. The condition of girls thus situated is far from enviable ; overtures are made to their parents, and accepted by [30] them without

consulting the parties who are the most deeply concerned in the transaction; the young lady is simply told that a proposal has been made in which she must acquiesce, and she goes to the altar, if not unwilling, at least indifferent. Many are so strongly impressed with the comfortless nature of their situation, that they gladly avail themselves of the first opportunity to effect a change, and nothing more disagreeable can readily be imagined than the condition of the last of four or five sisters, who by some inexplicable fatality remains single. She is frequently bandied about from one family to another, seeking rest and finding none. Whether she may have matrimonial views, or if perfectly guiltless of all design, it is the same thing, she is supposed to be manoeuvring for a husband, and those whom she may fascinate do not always possess the moral courage requisite to acknowledge a partiality for a girl, who has failed to secure early offers, or the reputation of having refused them. At length, when her pretensions have almost become a jest, some candidate for her hand appears, and is of course successful; it is then discovered that she is a very fine young woman, and all agree that her protracted state of spinsterhood must have been a matter of choice.

It is an amusing thing for a spectator to observe the straightforward, business-like manner in which marriages in India are brought about. The opinion entertained by the princess Hunca-munca, respecting the expediency of short courtships, seems to prevail. A gentleman, desirous to enter the holy pale, does not always wait until he shall meet with some fair one suiting his peculiar taste, but the instant that he hears [31] of an expected arrival, despatches a proposal to meet her upon the road; this is either rejected *in toto*, or accepted conditionally; and if there should be nothing very objectionable in the suitor, the marriage takes place. Others travel over to some distant station, in the hope of returning with a wife; and many visit the presidency on the same errand. Numbers return without achieving their object, and these unfortunates are said to be members of the "*juwaub club*," a favourite Indian phrase, which is exceedingly expressive of the forlorn state of bachelors upon compulsion.

Young men who are qualifying themselves for interpreterships, or who expect staff-appointments, are often supposed to be quite guiltless of matrimonial designs; they may be attached to a large station without even entering into any of the gaieties,—are not

seen at balls, plays, or races, and do not frequent the morning levees of ladies of distinction. Suddenly, upon obtaining the promised post, they appear at a ball, and some girl who has been a leading *belle*, and who has flirted with half the station, is quietly approached. She, with more sense than sentiment, disengages herself from her butterfly-admirers, on whom the astounding fact of her approaching marriage acts like an electric shock; they look very foolishly at each other, and make a faint attempt to laugh.

SPINSTERHOOD

The spinsterhood in India consists of three different classes; the first consists of the daughters of civil and military servants, merchants, and others settled in India, who had been sent to England for education, and who generally return between the ages of sixteen and twenty; these may be said to belong to the country, and to possess homes, although upon the expectation of the arrival of a second or third daughter, they are often disposed of after a very summary fashion. In the second are to be found the sisters and near relatives of those brides who have married Indian officers, &c.; during the period of a visit to the mother-country, and who, either through affection for their relatives, or in consequence of having no provision in England, have been induced to accompany them to the Eastern world. The third is formed of the orphan daughters, legitimate and illegitimate, of Indian residents, who have been educated at the presidencies. This latter class is exceedingly numerous, and as they are frequently destitute of family connexions, those who are not so fortunate as to possess relatives in a certain rank in life, see very little of society, and have comparatively little chance of being well-established. The progress of refinement has materially altered the condition of these young ladies, but has acted in a manner the very reverse of improvement, as far as their individual interests are concerned.

A considerable number having no support excepting that which is derived from the Orphan Fund, reside at a large house at Kidderpore, about a mile and a-half from Calcutta, belonging to that institution; others who may be endowed with the interest

of a few thousand rupees, become parlour-boarders at schools of various degrees of respectability, where they await the chance of attracting some young officer, the military being objects of consideration when civilians are unattainable.

Formerly it was the practice to give balls at the [33] establishment at Kidderpore, to which vast numbers of beaux were invited, but this undisguised method of seeking husbands is now at variance with the received notions of propriety, and the Female Orphan School has assumed, in consequence of the discontinuance of these parties, somewhat of the character of a nunnery. In fact, the young ladies immured within the walls have no chance of meeting with suitors, unless they should possess friends in Calcutta to give them occasional invitations, or the fame of their beauty should spread itself abroad. Every year, by increasing the number of arrivals educated in England, lessens their chance of meeting with eligible matches.

The prejudices against "dark beauties" (the phrase usually employed to designate those who are the inheritors of the native complexion) are daily gaining ground, and in the present state of female intellectuality, their uncultivated minds form a decided objection. The English language has degenerated in the possession of the "country-born;" their pronunciation is short and disagreeable, and they usually place the accent on the wrong syllable: though not so completely barbarized as in America, the mother, or rather father-tongue, has lost all its strength and beauty, and acquired a peculiar idiom.

There are not many heiresses to be found in India, and those who are gifted with property of any kind, almost invariably belong to the dark population, the daughters or grand-daughters of the Company's servants of more prosperous times, the representatives of merchants of Portuguese extraction, or the ladies of Armenian families. These latter named are frequently [34] extremely handsome, and nearly as fair as European; but though adopting English fashions in dress, they do not speak the language, and sing in Hindoostanee to their performances on the piano. They mix very little in the British society of Calcutta, but usually intermarry with persons belonging to their own nation, living in a retired manner within the bosoms of their families, without being entirely secluded like the females of the country in which their ancestors have been so long domiciled.

The daughters and wives of the Portuguese, a numerous and wealthy class, are quite as tawny, and not so handsome, as the natives ; they usually dress in a rich and tawdry manner, after the European fashion, which is particularly unbecoming to them : they form a peculiar circle of their own, and though the spinster portion of this community, it is said, prefer British officers to husbands of Portuguese extraction, unions between them are extremely rare.

* * *

CALCUTTA CEMETERIES

"Mr. Cleveland died at sea, and his body occupies a neglected spot in a cemetery at Calcutta ; but this circumstance appears to be overlooked by both natives and Europeans, who usually suppose that the tomb of Boglipore is the place of his interment". (I, p. 274).

* * *

[284] . . The undertakers of Calcutta are accustomed to send circular printed notices of funerals, filled up with the name of the deceased, to the houses of those persons who were expected to attend. This is probably the first intimation which many dear and attached friends obtain of their loss. On one occasion, a gentleman, after a few hours' absence from home, found on the hall-table a black-edged ominous missive of this kind, which acquainted him with the death of an individual whom he regarded with affection surpassing that of a brother, and with whom he had parted the preceding evening in perfect health. He rushed to the house where he was wont to meet with the most cordial welcome from lips now closed for ever, and only arrived in time to take a last view of the insensible remains. The officials were almost in the act of nailing the lid of the coffin down as he entered, preparatory to its committal to the hearse, and in the course of another hour he was standing suffocated with grief beside the grave of his dearest friend.

The sensibilities of many persons are so much affected by the sight of the funeral processions, which almost every evening wend their way to the burial-ground of Calcutta, as to render

them unwilling to live in Park Street, the avenue which leads to it. This cemetery occupies a large tract of ground on the outskirts of the fashionable suburb, Chowringhee. [285] Beyond it, the waste jungly space, partially covered with native huts, and intersected by pools of stagnant water, adds to the desolate air of the enclosure, with its tasteless and ill-kept monuments. The scene is calculated to inspire the most gloomy emotions, and it is saying a great deal for the fortitude displayed by females, that no instance is recorded of their sinking under the combination of depressing circumstances which must weigh upon their imaginations, when they are compelled to appear in person as mourners. The office of bearing the pall devolves upon the dearest friends of the deceased, who, upon alighting from their carriages at the porch of the burial-ground, arrange themselves in the melancholy order which has been pointed out to them. Funerals always take place at sunset ; and in the rainy season the state of the atmosphere, and the dampness of the ground, materially increase the perils to be encountered by delicate women, exposed to mental and bodily suffering in a manner considered so unnecessary in the land of their birth. But the rules established by Anglo-Indian society are absolute, and must be complied with, upon pain of outlawry.

In former times, the burial-ground belonging to the cathedral was the only place of interment in Calcutta ; but funerals have long been discontinued in this part of the city. "Before the commencement of the year 1102", says the monumental register, "the tombs in this cemetery had fallen into irreparable decay ; and to prevent any dangerous accident which the tottering ruins threatened to such as approached them, it was deemed necessary to pull down most of them. The [286] stone and marble tablets were carefully cleared from the rubbish, and laid against the wall of the cemetery, where they now stand." Our chronicler, however, does not go on to say that this act of desecration, the work of the reverend gentleman at the head of clerical affairs, gave great umbrage to the Christian population of Calcutta, who, though perchance in some degree answerable for the consequences of the neglect which produced the ruin above described, became exceedingly incensed at the root-and-branch work, considered expedient to level the church-yard, and get rid of all its incumbrances.

One of the monuments thus ruthlessly removed, had been erected to the memory of Governor Job Charnock, the founder of the most splendid British settlement in the world. The chequered fortunes of this hardy adventurer are too well known to all who take an interest in the proceedings of the early Indian colonists, to need any notice here. He died on the 10th January 1692. "If," says our chronicler, "the dead knew any thing of the living, and could behold with mortal feelings this sublunary world, with what sensations would the father of Calcutta glow to look down this day upon his city!" The private life of Governor Charnock presents a romantic incident not very uncommon at the period in which he flourished. Abolishing the rite of suttee, in a more summary manner than has been considered politic by his successors, he, struck by the charms of a young Hindoo female, about to be sacrificed for the eternal welfare of her husband, directed his guards to rescue the unwilling victim from the pile. They obeyed, and [287] conveying the widow, who happened to be exceedingly beautiful, and not more than fifteen years old, to his house, he took her under his protection, and an attachment thus hastily formed lasted until the time of her death, many years afterwards. Notwithstanding the loss of caste which the lady sustained in exchanging a frightful sacrifice for a little of splendid luxury, the governor does not seem to have been at any pains to induce her to embrace Christianity. On the contrary, he himself appears to have been strangely imbued with Pagan superstitions, for, having erected a mausoleum for the reception of the body, he ordered the sacrifice of a cock to her manes on the anniversary of her death, and this custom was continued until he was also gathered to his fathers. This mausoleum, one of the oldest pieces of masonry in Calcutta, is still in existence. Monuments of the like nature, with the exception of the annual slaughter of an animal, are to be seen in many parts of India; connexions between Indian women and English gentlemen of rank and education being often of the tenderest and most enduring description. Nor do these unions excite the horror and indignation amongst the natives that might be expected from their intolerant character; so far from it, indeed, that in many instances they have been known to offer public testimonials of their respect to those who have been faithful in their attachment throughout a series of years. . . .

... [289] ... GENERAL CLAUDE MARTIN, who has been, not unjustly, styled "a brave, ambitious, fortunate, and munificent Frenchman," having from a private soldier risen to the highest rank in the Company's army, constructed a tomb for himself in the underground floor of a [290] grotesquely magnificent house, which he built at Lucknow. The body is deposited in a handsome altar-shaped sarcophagus of white marble, surmounted by a marble bust, and inscribed with a few lines which do credit to his modesty : "Major-General Claude Martin, born at Lyons, January 1738 ; arrived in India as a common soldier, and died at Lucknow, on the 15th of September 1800. Pray for his soul !" Surrounding the tomb, stand four figures of grenadiers, as large as life, with their arms reversed, in the striking and expressive attitude used at military funerals ; but the effect of this group is completely marred by the substitution of mean plaster effigies for the marble statutes which General Martin intended should have formed the appropriate appendages of his monument. A large proportion of the property of this fortunate adventurer was devoted to charitable purposes, which, according to the prevailing notions on the subject of political economy, do more honour to the hearts than the heads of testators. Such doctrines, however, would be at present extremely ill-understood in India, where the wisdom would withhold succour to the poor, the aged, and the infirm, requires a much more intimate acquaintance with the schoolmaster to be properly appreciated.

ADJUTANT BIRD

[Vol. II, p. 42] ... The *argeelah*, or butcher bird, though sometimes inhabiting solitary places, prefers a large cantonment to the jungle ; they are always to be seen where European soldiers are quartered, but scarcely think it worth their while to visit small stations garrisoned by native troops, the few English officers in command not killing enough provisions to satisfy their inordinate appetites. Their nests are, however, almost invariably found in remote and thinly-peopled tracts ; the country retirement, at the breeding season, for the fashionable visitants of the metropolis of Bengal, being the neighbourhood of Commercolly. It is not generally known, [43] that the marabout feathers, by some supposed to be the tribute of the paddy-goose,

are, in fact, furnished by this disgusting looking animal, whose coarse ragged attire gives no promise of the delicate beauty of the plumes so much in esteem in France and England. They grow in a tuft under the tail, and are not visible except upon close inspection. The men who get their bread by the sale of these feathers, conceal the fact as much as possible, under the idea that it would deteriorate their value. As the *argeelah* is protected by law in Calcutta, the people who collect the plumes, visit the place of their retirement for the purpose, and give its name to their merchandize, which is sold under the appellation of Commercolly feathers. The tuft is easily extracted, and it sometimes happens that when an adjutant, as the bird is commonly called, is caught upon some high terrace or roof-top, where the depredation cannot come under the surveillance of the authorities, he is robbed of the valuable appendage ; it is only necessary to catch him by the feathers under the tail ; the first struggle to be free leaves them in the hand of the marauder. Excepting the heron's, there are no other Indian plumes so highly prized, and, as an article of commerce, the marabout's are the most important.

MISS EMMA ROBERTS

The last overland mail, amongst other intelligence of a painful nature, has brought the unexpected announcement of the death of Miss Emma Roberts, whose contributions to this Journal cannot fail to have conciliated in her favour the esteem even of those of its readers who knew this lady only from the productions of her pen, and who were unable from personal knowledge of her character to appreciate the valuable and shining qualities which composed it. The possession of literary talents has often been supposed to be inimical to the softer graces and social virtues of the female character. In Miss Roberts, however, they co-existed in happy harmony. Her intellectual accomplishments, set off by an attractive person, agreeable vivacity of manners and much sweetness of temper, were enhanced by the virtue of her heart, —a warmth and sincerity of friendship, and a benevolence of disposition ever active in objects of utility and clarity.

The family of this lady are of Welsh extraction, —of Skimmel Park, Denbighshire, which estate was sold to the present Lord Dinorben's father. She was born about the year 1794, and was the second daughter of William Roberts, Esq., who entered the Russian service early in life, and served with distinction, as aid-de-camp to the late General Lloyd,

in several campaigns [282] against the Turks on the Danube. He had two brothers, the late General Thomas Roberts, formerly of the 111th regiment, and Colonel David Roberts, of the 51st regiment, who distinguished himself in General Moore's celebrated retreat, on the 7th January 1809, near the heights of Lugo, when he (then Major Roberts) led a party which repulsed the French Light Brigade, and had his cloak riddled with bullets, two passing through his right hand, which was amputated. He was afterwards severely wounded at Waterloo, or in Belgium. Colonel Roberts was the author of a comic military sketch, called *Johnny Newcome*, and other works of a more strictly professional character.

Miss Roberts resided with her mother (a lady of some literary pretensions) at Bath, and she soon began to evince a taste for composition, and poetical talents of much promise. After her mother's death, she accompanied her sister (the lady of Captain R.A. Macnaghten) to India. Her person was, at this time especially, handsome; her features, expressive of intellectual power, beamed with animation and good humour.

After the death of her sister, she returned to England in 1832. The fame, which her literary productions had procured for her in India, preceded her to this country, and she was speedily introduced into the scientific and literary circles of the metropolis, where her talents and accomplishments secured her a conspicuous position. A very pleasing poet, with a rich vein of fancy and invention, possessed of great powers of observation and delineation, with an extensive, though discursive range of reading, and an easy and elegant style, her pen was in universal request, and the number of her productions furnishes ample evidence of her industry and resources. The varied knowledge she had acquired of India was developed in several series of articles published in this Journal; some of these papers were afterwards re-published under the title of *Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan*, a work which has had a large circulation, and helped, by its fascinations of style and matter, to reconcile the public of England to Indian topics.

In the autumn of last year, she determined to pay a visit to Bombay and Western India, travelling by the overland route, and the readers of this Journal have had the benefit of her acute and lively observations upon this route and upon the Presidency itself, in the *Notes*, of which, by a singular coincidence, the last paper appears in a preceding page of this month's Journal. Up to the month of August, the health of Miss Roberts appears to have been unaffected by the climate: being not unused to it, her constitution was, perhaps, less exposed to its influence; but the accounts received by the October mail stated that our amiable friend was seriously indisposed at the residence of Colonel Ovens, at Sattarah. She removed, in the hopes of improvement, to Poona, on the 16th September, but expired unexpectedly at four o'clock on the morning of Thursday, the 17th.

Her loss will be felt by the native population of the Bombay Presidency, where her fascinating qualities had recommended her to the higher classes, and she had already begun to apply her talents to the useful object of improving the character of the Indian females, whose present condition and habits she rightly concluded to be one of the greatest impediments to the amelioration of the native community ("The *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China and Australasia*", New series, vol. XXXIII. September-December, 1840, pp. 281-283).

CALCUTTA IN 1836*

By Henry Edward Fane

[26] 1836 *August 9th.*—Anchored in the morning off the Sand-heads, but got under weigh again with a strong breeze about twelve o'clock. Entered the river Houghly, and anchored about seven o'clock off Kedgerree, ready for the morning tide.

August 10th.—Made sail at half-past six in the morning. Stuck fast off Mud Point. The whole banks of the part of the river [27] were low and swampy, appearing covered, in most places, with luxuriant vegetation and jungle; though considerable tracts have, of late years, been cultivated, the inhabitants almost disputing, inch by inch, with the wild beasts with which this low country abounds.

August 11th.—Succeeded in getting off at last with the tide; and, after four times heaving up and letting go the anchor, made good our passage to Diamond Harbour, where the vessel arrived about eight o'clock at night.

Met, much to my surprise, about half-way up, Sir Henry Fane, Capt. M., his aide-de-camp and Dr. W., the staff-surgeon, on board one of the Company's steamers. The strong breeze and contrary tide prevented the steamer catching the Asia before her arrival at Diamond Harbour, where she and the steamer anchored, and I went on board, the steamer having turned about with us.

From "*FIVE YEARS IN INDIA* ; comprising A narrative of Travels in the Presidency of Bengal, A visit to the court of Runjeet Sing. A residence in the Himalayan mountains. An account of the late expedition to Cabul and Affghanistan, Voyage down the Indus. and journey overland to England" by Henry Edward Fane, Esq., late Aide-de-camp to His Excellency the Commander-in-chief in India (2 volumes. London, 1842; Henry Colburn, Great Marlborough Street; volume I, 323 pages; volume II, 319 pages; size octavo, illustrated) Volume I.

They are going to cruise off Diamond [28] Harbour and the Sand-heads for the benefit of the General's health ; which, I fear, is most necessary, as he looks very thin and ill, and much altered for the worse since I last saw him in England.

I found, on arriving at Calcutta, that Sir Henry intended starting, in a few weeks, on his tour of inspection in the Upper Provinces. An expedition most useful, both to the personal comforts of the Commander-in-Chief and his staff, and to the discipline of his army, which, from the heat of the climate, require to be more looked after than even in Europe. This is fortunate, as it will give me time to see some little of Calcutta, and prevent its climate having time to take hold of me.

LIFE IN THE CITY OF PALACES

The life one leads in the City of Palaces is much that of all India—namely, rising two hours before sunrise ; a gallop round the course follows, when consigning both your horse and yourself to the hands of their respective servants, by half-past [29] nine they manage to wind one up for breakfast. By an Indian breakfast by no means must be understood that simple bread, tea, and butter, which compose an English one : on the contrary, it involves among its component parts meat, fish, eggs, omelets ; not to mention the eternal curry and rice, which neither breakfast nor dinner in this country is complete without. Visiting, scandal (which last abounds in India), and the usual routine of a large English society, kill time till luncheon, or tiffin, as it is called here, which is again a most substantial meal. After this meal, parties generally disperse to their rooms, and amuse themselves as best they may till driving hour (five, or half-past five), which cannot take place till after the sun is down. At that time a most extraordinary collection of vehicles make their appearance on what is called the course, from the superb "turns out" of the grandee to the little gig of the Calcutta shopkeeper.

[30] Calcutta, its society, people, and buildings have been too often described before for me again to do so, and I shall therefore say no more than that dinner-parties are numerous in Calcutta, and the heat of them is only to be compared to changing places with one of the tartlets in the oven. Balls and evening

parties are far from scarce, at which figure all the new importations of the season ; and, generally speaking, the show of beauty is far from small.

August 18th.—The General came back from his cruise, looking much better, and, I hope, quite convalescent.

August 20th.—Did my first duty as A.D.C., by attending the General in his morning ride.

September 12th.—Employed during the day preparing for our trip up the country, and the noise of boxes nailing and servants grumbling past bearing. A grand dinner at night, given by the Governor-general in honour of my uncle ; to which all [31] his staff, of course, went, and I among the number. Like all such public parties, more honour than pleasure was received.

September 13th.—Breakfast with Mr. P., and started in one of the Governor-general's carriages ; my uncle and the rest of our party in another, attended by an escort of dragoons ; and proceeded in state through the fort, the streets of which were lined with troops, down to the Gaute, where we all embarked under a salute from the batteries, and arrived safely on board the flat about two o'clock, when she immediately started in tow of a steamer up the river. Arrived at Barrackpore, the country residence of the Governor-general, at five o'clock, P.M., and took in the guard. Anchored there for the night. Two brother A.D.C.'s and myself, went ashore, and dined at the mess of the 43d N.I., and remained there till ten o'clock. Re-embarked again, having to get into our boats, carried on men's shoulders [32] down to them, through the mud, about forty yards. Heat abominable during the night. Thermometer 85°.

September 14th.—The flat made sail ; or, rather, the steamer got up her steam, in the morning at dawn, passing along the river at a great rate, with the scenery continually varied. Passed Chinsurah, Houghly, and several villages. Every thing very comfortable on board, and living quite as good as on shore. The flat and steamer, of which the accompanying is a view, are a kind of most convenient passage-boats, under the direction of government, instituted by Lord William Bentinck, and trading once a fortnight between Calcutta and Allahabad, a distance of 800 miles ; being an immense convenience to parties going up the country, and also for parcels. This one was given over ex-

clusively to the use of Sir Henry and his personal staff, the general staff having preceded us to Allahabad. In ordinary trips these boats contain some twenty cabins, all [33] fitted with Venetian blinds on either side ; so that whatever breeze there may happen to be must blow through, and which in some manner manages to keep off the heat, which would otherwise, at this time of the year, be intolerable.

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CALCUTTA IN 1837*

By **HONORIA LAWRENCE**¹

[40] (Cossipore, August 1837).—Owing to our singularly rapid passage I had outstripped the letters which announced my coming. And the arrangements for my landing were not, therefore, just as they were intended to be. At 3 p.m., I went ashore in a *bholia*, a long narrow boat pointed at each end, and after part converted in so as to form a little cabin, Venetianed and cushioned round.

Hotels are but of recent establishment in Calcutta, hospitality in India, as in other half-civilised countries, being a matter of necessity. But as the influx of strangers increased, the inhabitants must have felt their entertainment rather a tax, and public accommodations have sprung up. The best hotel is Spencer's,² to which I went, and which is really a noble one. The sets of rooms so well arranged that parties do not interfere with one another, and the attendance is excellent.

I landed with a lady and gentleman who had been fellow passengers and we got very nice apartments, a sitting room, with two bedrooms and dressing rooms opening off it. But four pairs of lofty doors threw the whole pretty nearly into one. Stranger still was it to see men act as chambermaids, making beds, arranging the dressing tables etc. Certainly the difference in colour and costume makes a wonderful difference in our notions. A black form does not give the idea of indelicacy and exposure, though nearly naked, and the white robed bearers going into a bedroom do not give the least of the feeling it would do to see footmen there.

From *THE JOURNALS OF HONORIA LAWRENCE: India Observed 1837-1854*, edited by John Lawrence & Audrey Woodiwiss (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1980, pp. 253; illustrated 1 8th Royal.)

The following day I came here (Cossipore) and have been for the last three weeks with very kind friends, Major and Mrs. Hutchinson . . .

[42] I have spoken of servants in this country, and I have further to say that I think the system respecting them, exceedingly hurtful to one's mind. You hire your servant at so much a month, they do your work, and you have no further concern with them. If they do not please you, you dismiss them, they make their salam, and next day you are surrounded by new faces. At home every conscientious person feels responsible to a certain degree for the moral conduct and religious instruction of his domestics as well as the duty of consulting their comfort. Here the difference of religion does away with the first, and the habits of life in a great measure obviate the second, and it is difficult for the master and mistress to recollect that their servants are responsible immortal beings.

I was surprised to find among Europeans the prejudice of caste and that many of them object to a low caste native simply on that ground, as much as a Hindoo would. The obsequious manner of the servants annoys me greatly. I do not mean they ought not to be respectful, but a man's standing with folded hands waiting for his master's orders seems to me more like devotion than service. The train of domestics in an Indian establishment is entailed by the impossibility of getting one to do anything he does not consider his work. Your bearers will not take a teacup off the tea table. Nor would the *khatmutgar* pull the *punkah*. I asked Mrs. Hutchinson yesterday how many servants they had, she replied, "I am not sure, but we are very moderate people, I can soon reckon." The number amounted to nearly thirty. An *ayah* (waiting maid) and underwoman, a sweeper, the sirdar (head) bearer, mate-bearer, and six under-bearers. A *khansamah*, or house steward, three *khitmutgars* or attendants, and a *bawurchee*, or cook, the *malee*, or gardener, *bheestie* (water carrier), *dabee* (washerman), *durzee* (tailor), a coachman, two *saeeses* (grooms), two grass cutters, and a man to tend the goats, two *chaprassess* (men to go messages) and a woman to keep off the bodies which float down the stream by the house. All these servants will only wait on their own employers. Everyone going visiting takes his own. A lady who came here for a week lately, brought two women, two *khitmut-*

gars, two bearers and a *durzee*. I have still my *balatee ayah*, or English maid, whom I brought out. Valuable as she is I shall not be sorry to part with her, for it is difficult in this country to have a European servant without making a companion of her. She sits all day in my dressing room and, when I go in and see her there so unaccompanied, I cannot but speak to her with a sort of familiarity I would not use had she society of her own rank.

BURMESE COOKS

While on the subject of servants, I may add a few words about their costume. The *khitmutgars* are Mussulmanns. No Hindoo of any good caste would touch our food. In Calcutta the Mhugs¹ or Burmese act as [43] cooks to the Europeans. And among the Hindoos themselves, the poorer Brahmins earn their livelihood as cooks. Their caste being the highest, no one is contaminated by eating what they have touched. The term *khitmutgar* literally means servant, but is applied only to table attendants. They wear white trousers of white muslin, a long upper vest, somewhat like a dressing gown, of the same and a belt or sash generally of white, edged with some bright colour. On their heads turbans of white muslin, with a wide brim made of *shola* (a light wood like elder) and covered with very minute folds of muslin⁴. In many establishments they have a livery denoted by a colour folded in with the sash and turban. The bearers or *kahars* (who hold somewhat the place of footmen) are Hindoos. Their turbans generally consist of one piece of cloth, folded round and round the head, and often have I admired the graceful waves in which they lie. The bearers wear a short tightly fitting vest which closes at the right side, to distinguish them from the Mussulmann's who fasten theirs at the left. Instead of trousers the bearer has a long piece of cotton cloth, folded round the hips and tucked in at the waist. The women wear a wide petticoat of white or coloured chintz, a tight jacket with short sleeves, and a long piece of muslin, a *chuddar*, which is thrown over the left shoulder, one end hanging down as a mantilla, the other folding round the head as a hood. All when out of doors wear shoes, generally of yellow or scarlet leather, with turned up toes, but they never come into

the house with them on. Indeed a man could not show more disrespect than by coming into your presence with covered feet and bare head—such are the different notions of politeness. By an odd burlesque very high titles are given to persons whose occupations are least esteemed. The man of lowest caste, who sweeps the ground and would eat after a Christian, is called *Mehtur*, (*Maitre*) or Prince, and a taylor, who is not much more in esteem here than his brethren of the thimble are in Europe, is called *Kalifa*, or King.

Going in from Cossipore to Calcutta we passed through the Bangbazaar,⁵ a very long range of native town, sufficiently disagreeable in itself, but to a stranger very amusing. The streets are always crowded with bullock carts, coolies carrying loads on their heads, banghy-bearers, carrying their burthen^{5a} suspended from each end of a long elastic piece of bamboo, laid across one shoulder. Buggies, (gigs or cabriolets), with the hood put up to exclude the sun, perhaps a fakir shouting out for charity, and exhibiting an arm which for years he has held in an erect position, till the flesh has washed away, and the nails are like birds' claws. Africans, Chinese and Armenians each with their distinctive characteristics of feature and dress. A *rattle*⁶ or idol car on high wheels with a raised platform on which are frightful images. And, never to be forgotten, the *cranchee*, a four wheeled carriage which [44] looks like a ghost of a deceased Hackney coach. It is drawn by two *tattoos* or small shaggy native horses. The harness is of rope and as in the *hackeries*, there is a pole with a transverse bar resting on the horses' necks. On a low seat behind the steeds sits the driver, generally a dirty, wild looking man, with a quantity of matted hair and wielding a whip long enough for a four in hand. The conveyance is used as you may suppose, only by natives, and within it may be seen perhaps six fat men, covered only round the loins, so that as they squat in the *cranchee*⁷ they seem quite naked, their skin shining with oil, and of a peculiarly disagreeable yellow hue, which the natives acquire as they grow fat. The carriage thus filled, looks like a nest of lizards. And away it flies, over rough and smooth.

All these glowing under an Indian sky, and rattling, creaking, shouting, pushing, grunting along make such a confusion as to me was more bewildering than the crossing from the Mansion House to the Bank. The buildings on each side were quite in

character with the scenes in the streets. Being chiefly shops, open in front, raised a few steps, the wares spread on the ground, and the owners squatting and lounging beside them. Among the goods were cotton clothes of all descriptions, brass and earthen pots, shoes and caps, sweetmeats and grain. All sorts of inferior European hardware⁸ goods. Chinese toys and pictures, fans of every kind, women's ornaments of glass and tinsel, wreaths of flowers for the temples, *hookahs* of all kinds, and of course house furniture.

NATIVE LIFE

Of a Sunday, after having the shade, coolness, and quiet of church it was quite stunning to come out to such a scene. On this road we passed two temples⁹, which stood in the street as houses, but the wide doors were always open. When lighted up at night I could see within a frightful many armed figure, before which stood a priest with a hand *punkah*, fanning the idol. The sight of these horrors, gives great force to the scriptural appeals and remonstrances on the absurdity as well as crime of idolatry. At night the shops looked very pretty, being lighted up with many little lamps, and the people within kindling their wood fires to cook their food or prepare *metahee* (sweetmeats). Or perhaps the merchant seated cross legged on the ground, with an open book spread on his knee, summing up his day's accounts, or a more literary character in the same posture, following his studies or reading aloud in a chanting tone, and keeping time with his body which he swayed back and forwards.

Some huts in the suburbs were formed wholly of matting, and so open that when the light was burning we could see in. One in particular I used to admire ; it was a forge, and the whole building was of semi-transparent matting. We used to pass it in the dark when returning from our evening drive. And very picturesque was the half-veiled [45] view of the interior. The bright flame rising and sinking and the swarthy workmen leaning over the blaze.

Among the sights in and about Calcutta, I used to be amused at seeing a native young gentleman or two in an English buggy. Their white robes and soft limbs look so unfit for even the exer-

tion of driving and the appearance of all is such an odd mixture of Europe and Asia, that few objects attracted my attention more.

In the crowded streets of Calcutta one is struck with seeing so few women. Only the lowest description, the oldest and the ugliest are seen abroad. The younger are generally pretty, but age very early, and before thirty look very old. The *pan* they chew discolours the teeth. Their skin wrinkles, their eyes become bloodshot and their flesh flaccid. They then are very hideous, and the more so from the ornaments with which they load their persons. The women marry young, my *ayah* has with her daughter, a widow aged thirteen. Elephantiasis is a very common complaint among the females, affecting one leg with frightful swellings but not affecting the general health.

Most of the upper class of Europeans in the Presidency have houses out of town, especially about Chowringhee, a part bordering on the river and very pretty; each house is detached and surrounded by a compound, or enclosure laid out in garden and shrubberies. The houses are upper roomed and have generally flat roofs surrounded by a balustrade and open porticos in front. I saw but little of English society in Calcutta, but some points struck me as characteristic. One was that the conversation continually turned on home. "When do you go home . . . I took my furlough and went home five years ago." And when the papers come in of a morning the first questions are "Any news from England?" . . . "When does the next ship sail for England?"

AMERICAN ICE

One piece of luxury at the Presidency astonished me. It was American ice. It is packed surrounded with jam in the ship's hold and arrives with wonderfully little loss. A lump of it put into a glass of wine is as great a luxury as can be tasted in this climate. Indian etiquette is in some respects different to English. "May I take a glass of wine with you?" "Thank you, I'll take beer." sounds at first very odd. Moreover, here the signal for the ladies rising from the table is given by the principal lady guest, not by the mistress of the house.

The richer natives in Calcutta are imitating European manners, equipages, and buildings. Near Cossipore is a house with

large grounds belonging to a Hindoo.¹⁰ We went into the grounds one evening to look at his pet rhinoceros. There were four or five of these curious creatures, walking about tame and grazing or rather grubbing [46] in the earth for roots. Their keepers sat by, but their office was only to watch that their charge did not wander away. The animals were perfectly tame and allowed us to pat them, they followed their keepers and are quite harmless.

It is the universal feeling that in Calcutta, where the wealthier natives mix a good deal with Europeans, their Hindoo prejudices are fast giving way, not I fear to the Gospel but to English science and literature. Good however must be done by the extension of knowledge, and by a breach being made in the seven fold shield of *dustoor* (custom) which has so long defied improvement.

We were struck when reading the observations in *Saturday Evening* on the Grecianising Jews how much they applied to the Anglicised Hindoos of Calcutta. European female teachers are employed as day governesses of some rich natives and I heard a very intelligent Englishman, who had been long in the country, notice the great change when respectable native ladies were seen taking a drive in an open carriage. Some Hindoo gentlemen even eat with Europeans, and at the Hindoo College the youths are instructed in the English language and literature. Though they nominally continue Hindoos, they are in fact Deists. Government seminaries for the diffusion of education without any direct attempt at proselytising are established in all large stations. One lad who had been brought up at the college used frequently to come to Major Hutchinson. He was a fine, intelligent looking fellow, who seemed thirsty after information. He had a pretty correct idea of the outline of Christianity and spoke of the absurdities of Hindooism but seemed untouched at heart by either "the sinfulness of sin", or the beauty of holiness. This lad spoke English very well, and one day brought us a composition of his own in that language, a rambling essay on the advantages of science.

In the Indian papers and journals there are frequent contributions from the students, generally correct as to grammar, and shewing a considerable knowledge of our standard authors, but the questions are elaborately brought in and the style is

universally bad, inflated, full of false metaphor and frequently a mere caricature of Giffon's inversions and circumlocutions.

The sensuality of Hindoo faith and practice is so gross that to them the self denying doctrines of Christianity must be peculiarly distasteful, and the daily habits of falsehood and licentiousness must almost incapacitate their minds from comprehending the Christian standard of morals.

MRS. WILSON'S REFUGE

I went to see the Orphan Refuge of Mrs. Wilson and was much delighted with her and her labours. She is a widow and has an asylum for female orphans about eight miles above Calcutta on the Hooghly. The building is large and commodious, standing within an enclosure [47] which opens by a *ghat*, flight of steps, on the river. We entered and, walking across the courtyard, we found ourselves at the door of a room which is a chapel. Here on the matted floor were seated a hundred girls, their ages varying from three to twelve years arranged in rows of twenty-five each, the little ones in front, the older behind. All were dressed exactly alike and exquisitely clean and, not being disfigured with ear-rings and nose-rings, they looked simple and child-like. The dress consisted of one large piece of white muslin bordered with crimson, and each girl's name worked on it. This is called a *saree*. The girls all looked healthy and happy and either there was, or I fancied, much more intellectual expression in the countenances of the elder ones than I had seen in any other female. When we entered they were singing the evening hymn in Bangalee, and it was very sweet to hear a hundred young voices join in its simple music, especially when one thought from what they had been rescued.

Mrs. Wilson is an elderly woman, of lady-like, quiet, firm demeanour, with an intelligent, benevolent countenance. Nothing in her manner enthusiastic, but like one who had counted her cost, and given herself heart and soul to the work she had chosen. She prayed in Hindustanee, and afterwards, as we were there, in English. She wished us to question the children and we asked them of some of the leading facts and doctrines of the Gospel, Mrs. Wilson acting as interpreter. The children answered readily and intelligently. We then went into the school

room which is large, clean and airy, the Venetians light green, the walls white, the floors matted. Off it opened the sleeping rooms, one a large dormitory, where the girls spread their mats and blankets, the other and smaller room had *charpaees* or bedsteads, and was the hospital. Going out of this building, and crossing a parade court, we entered a long room where the children eat. Down the middle was a channel for water and on each side sat the girls, each pair provided with a brass plate of rice, with a seasoning of fish, or *dal*. At the top of the room were Mrs. Wilson's two assistants, who were I fancy country born, i.e., half caste young women. They superintended the distribution of the food. All the domestic habits of the girls brought up here are native, and while their minds are educated they are not unfitted for simple life. As they grow up they are married with native Christians, and some of the very young ones we saw were betrothed. They do needlework beautifully, and it is sold for the benefit of the institution. The upper part of the house is appropriated to Mrs. Wilson and her assistants, all seemed clean, orderly and cheerful, and I never looked with more respect on any being than I did on Mrs. Wilson. . . .

[51] We are in a pinnacle. It is fifty-five feet long but not drawing above two feet of water, with two masts, and rigging somewhat like a yacht, but ruder. It has sixteen oars, but we proceed chiefly by sailing and tacking. The pinnacle has a poop, covering about two-thirds of its length, and forming the cabins. One fifteen feet square; the other fifteen by twenty feet and about seven feet high. These two rooms venetianed all round, having a *purdah* or curtain let down from the outside during the heat of the day. The heat has been oppressive, the thermometer being 90° and 92° . . . One of my greatest annoyances is the prickly heat, which is a red rash breaking out over the body with an infinity of little watery specks excessively irritating.

We are, on board, about forty souls, ourselves, our servants, the *manjee* (commander) and crew. The boatmen are called *dandees*, from *dand*, an oar, and the profession is followed by both Hindus and Mussalmans. Our men are dark, spare and active, most of them young, for their work does not favour long life. They wear mainly a waist-cloth and small skull cap of white or coloured cotton. The *manjee* is in no way distinguished from those under him, except that instead of pulling the

ropes, he steers and gives orders, which he delivers in a sort of loud, prolonged chant audible at a good distance.

[52] They are all a most loquacious race, and their chief pleasure seems to be smoking a "*hubble-bubble*" or pipe, a cocoa-nut shell or small hollow globe of wood which has a long tube inserted at the upper part, with a little earthen saucer on the top, where the lighted tobacco is placed. The globe is filled with water and from one side of it projects another tube, to which the mouth is applied and thus the smoke is inhaled through the water. The *hubble-bubble* is the chief refreshment of all the hard working classes, as the *hookah* is the grand recreation of the idle.

NOTES

- 1 Honoria, wife of Henry Lawrence of Lucknow fame (Brigadier-General Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence, K.C.G., 1806-1857) kept journals throughout her life. Honoria Marshall was born on Christmas Day, 1808, as the twelfth of the fifteen children of the Rev. George Marshall, Rector of Carndonagh, Ireland. She was brought up at Fahn, by her uncle, Admiral Heath. The Lawrences were cousins from the same corner of Ireland. Henry's father, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Lawrence (1763-1835) was a man of humble origin. He married Catherine Letitia Knox (1774-1846). John Lawrence, Henry's brother, became the Governor-General and Viceroy of India. Henry had five sisters and Letitia was his favourite. In 1827 Letitia was seriously ill and went to stay at Fahn. Both Letitia and Honoria became life-long friends thence. Henry met Honoria in August 1827 and fell in love with her. He proposed her through Letitia in 1836 and she agreed. Honoria reached Madras on board the *Reliance* on June 29, 1837 and Calcutta within two months. They were married very quietly on August 21, 1837. Though Honoria visited England after her marriage, she returned to India. She died at Mount Abu on 15th January 1854 and lies buried there. Sir Henry Lawrence died on 4th July 1857 at the Lucknow Residency during the Sepoy Mutiny from a shot received two days earlier.

Maud Diver's *Honoria Lawrence: A Fragment of Indian History* (London, John Murray, 1936, illustrated, 1/8th, 524 pages) is a biographical study. The quotations, purported to be taken from her Journal, have not been properly transcribed.

Pat Barr (*The Memsahibs: The Women of Victorian India*, London, 1976; Indian reprint, 1978) has also given an account of

Honorio Lawrence. He seems to have depended upon Maud Diver's biography of Honorio Lawrence.

2. Read Spence's Hotel. John Spence established his hotel at Wellesley Place in front of the Government House in 1828/1829.
3. Mhugs = Maghs—people from Chittagong. Maghs were inveterate slave dealers.
4. See Douglas Dewar's *Bygone Days in India*, London, 1922, pp. 53-57 for sola topi. Fanny Parks was the first to refer to *sola topi* in 1833.
5. Bagh Bazar.
- 5a. Burthern—possibly a copyist's mistake for burthen = burden.
6. Rut or Rath = chariot.
7. Cranchee = Karanchee—hackney coach peculiar to Bengal.
8. Read hardware.
9. Gokul Mitra's Madan Mohan temple and Govindram Mitra's Pagoda are possibly the temples referred to here.
10. The reference is perhaps to Raja Buddynath Roy's menagerie, which is still remembered by "Chiriyamore".

CALCUTTA IN 1838*

By W.H. Leigh

[223] On the 7th January, 1838, I arrived at the city of palaces. As we were six or seven days in coming up the river, I must not omit to relate what I saw in that time. At the extreme south of the Ganges, where the low island of Saugor is not yet visible, there are several dangerous sandbanks, on one of which now lies the wreck of the Windsor. Here then are stationed many pilot vessels, continually cruising for the purpose of sending one of their pilots with the strange ships to Calcutta. The river Hoogly being one of exceedingly intricate and difficult navigation, by good fortune or good seamanship, or perhaps both, we hit directly upon these vessels, and thus suffered no delay in searching for them. Passing by the island of Saugor (which is the first [224] we see of the Indian soil) we fairly enter the river, which is so wide, that the eye of a person in the middle can but faintly trace the land on either side. The island has a telegraph, and is celebrated for its abounding in tigers, as well as for having some hundreds of bodies washed upon its banks during the prevalence of cholera.

The river Hoogly, or, as some erroneously call it, the Ganges, is of all rivers the most perplexing to the seaman, and the law, aware of its dangers, enforces the taking a pilot on board. At one part it is so broad that the eye cannot reach the land ; while

* From *Reconnoitering Voyages and Travels with Adventures in the new colonies of South Australia ; A particular description of the Town of Adelaide, and Kangaroo Island, And an Account of the present state of Sydney and parts adjacent, including visits to The Nicobar and other Islands of the Indian Seas, Calcutta, the Cape of Good Hope, and St. Helena, during the years 1836, 1837, 1838.* By W.H. Leigh, Esq., Late Surgeon of the Australian Company's ship "South Australian", Embellished by numerous engravings. London, Smith, Elder & Co., Cornhill, 1839. Chapters XX, pp. 223-246 and XXI, pp. 247-271. Chapter headings omitted.

at others it is so narrow, that it seems almost to preclude the passage of any large vessel. The water is of the dirtiest description, resembling the gutters of a turnpike-road after a heavy storm. If, however, a small quantity be taken in a tumbler, it appears comparatively fine ; but if drunk without filtration, it causes dysentery and other spasmodic actions of the bowels, of which we had sufficient proof, for in leaving the river for the last time, we filled our deck barrels, and the sailors used this water at pleasure ; the result was, that many of them were soon taken ill. To remedy this evil, alum should be introduced, which will speedily precipitate the impurities. The river swarms with sharks, crocodiles, and alligators, which may frequently be observed on the surface of the water, or basking on the muddy banks. Some English gentlemen were amusing themselves by throwing into the water a piece of bamboo, in order to exercise a very fine Newfoundland dog in recovering it. The passers-by advised them to desist if they valued the dog ; the advice was, how-[225]ever, unhappily disregarded ; all that was ever seen of poor Nero afterwards being his head and forequarters : he had been literally bitten in half.

The scenery on either side of the river, till we arrived within five or six miles of Calcutta, was low flat jungle land, covered with cocoa-nut trees, palms, &c. &c., while, here and there, might be seen villages. A description of one these native towns will convey an idea of them all. At the mouth of the river there is a settlement, or village, called Kedgerree, where are residing two or three government officers, customs men, &c. Here also is a native hamlet or bazaar ; for every place where any thing is sold in India is styled a "bazaar", and is distinguished by a tall bamboo, surmounted by a fluttering rag. Here we went ashore. The bazaar consisted of from 150 to 200 huts, at a rough guess, built, as nearly all of them are, of reeds, &c., and open in the front ; where are displayed rice, fruit, mats, and such commodities as the natives are able to produce ; while behind all these good things is discovered the proprietor, who sits and smokes for customers. The variety of articles is not very great, for the wants of the Hindoos are simple and limited, and a few cowries (little white shells) will buy him his most favourite dinner. In some of these huts several merchants were assembled, no doubt to kill the time by conversation ; and in others

were several waiting to undergo the operation of shaving. Now might be heard a kind of half-humming and half-singing noise, which was found to proceed from a party who were squatting in a group on the ground, and listening to the musical voice of an old fellow, [226] who was provided with several flat bits of wood like Venetian blinds, and these were covered with characters, which he read off with wonderful fluency, and no doubt, effect, for his auditors exhibited the most profound attention. Then flitted by us the clean-robed Hindoo girl, with her unspotted muslin thrown elegantly over her body ; her ancles holding two massive silver bangles, and her nose glorying in the dazzling ornament of an enormous ring. She was on her way to the market, and rolled her dark eye as she passed us gaping strangers. There was much bustle in this bazaar, and a good deal to be seen, and, it being the first we had witnessed, highly amused us ; yet it dwindled into insignificance in comparison with the bazaars which we afterwards saw at Calcutta.

GARDEN REACH—BOTANICAL GARDEN

There is a fine part of the river near Calcutta, where the merchants have their country retreats, and unbend after the bustle of the day. This place is called Garden-reach, and a very picturesque-looking place it is ; for, the houses being very large and airy, with green Venetian balconies, pillars, &c. &c. in imitation of stone, and being surrounded by Eastern foliage, the effect is wonderfully beautiful and pleasing. Here it is also that the college of Calcutta, called the Bishop's College, is situated, and a magnificent building it is. The Botanical Garden of the Honourable Company is also here. A visit which I paid to it was of the most interesting description ; every plant of the East is here collected, and the mighty banyan-tree throws out his thousand arms in the centre of the garden, and ten thousand flowers of various dyes and wondrous perfume bloom around [227] it ; there are beautiful avenues of trees that never fade, bounded on either side by running streams ; while, here and there, were canals for the double purpose of ornament and watering the garden. Hither the pleasure-courting gentry of Calcutta resort ; and, at the landing steps, or ghat, may be seen budgerows exhibiting the most exquisite painting and workmanship.

When the rowers have laid down their bottledore-like paddles, and brought the budgerow close to the steps, the lovely, but somewhat colourless faces of the Calcutta belles are revealed to the spectator. Seats are placed in almost every desirable situation in the garden, some being under the shape of the many-coloured almond-trees, while the mina* is singing above.

Immediately on our arrival at Calcutta I went on shore. Notwithstanding its being the dead of winter here, it was most intolerably hot, and, as I stood in the dingy during the ten minutes we were going ashore, I thought I should have dropped from the oppression of the sun. No sooner had I set my foot upon the ghat, than from twenty to thirty natives laid hold of me, that is, as many as could get a handful. The tremendous chatter among themselves, the salaams and salutes with which I was greeted, so utterly confused me, that I almost forgot for what I came on shore, and the name of the parties I had come to visit. Whilst I stood considering and shuffling over my papers, a native came up and spoke in half English. "What Sahib want go?" I was [228] thankful to hear my native tongue, murdered as it was; and having given him the requisite information, I was bundled into a palkee, to the great danger of my neck; for I was thrust in head foremost. However, in a twinkling, four stout natives were running away with me to—street. This expedition was in search of lodgings; and, notwithstanding the aid of my man Friday and his English, I managed to visit four or five private gentlemen's houses before I found the right one. I rebuked my interpreter for his bungling, but he only answered by a salaam. Having found out the real house, I marched up the broad stairs, and enquired for mine hostess. I had not to wait long, when in stalked an enormous being, dressed in female attire, but whose sex would else have been extremely doubtful. I informed her of the object of my visit, when, with something like a grunt, she muttered "Follow me!" I obeyed, and was shewn into a filthy-looking room. I went no further than the door, when she said, "I 'spose 't do." I said "No, it would not do by any means;" and I very unceremoniously made my escape.

A bird that sings far more delightfully than the English thrush;
in fact, the nightingale of India.

Not a fortnight after this I was at a party, and a gentleman present observed, "Have you heard of the affray at Mrs.—'s?" "No!". He then related that a young gentleman, lodging there, had said something at table which Mrs.—interpreted as a reflection on herself. She immediately rose from her seat, and, with the soup ladle, beat the luckless young man into a state of insensibility. So much for my skill in physiognomy.

Obtaining lodgings in Calcutta, when all the shipping are in the river, and when, as at the present season, so many indigo-planters have arrived from [229] the interior, is a very difficult task. I, however, succeeded, after two or three days, in obtaining a small back room, with bathing place attached, at Mrs. Humphry's, Gaskin's Place, and I found myself in very snug quarters. The party of twenty-five or thirty that met at dinner, were all very agreeable people. I must not forget to mention, for the benefit of Calcutta visitors, that the native who shewed me into so many domiciles, followed me on board the vessel; and, notwithstanding my having paid him liberally, he said it was not enough, and his continual presence became an intolerable nuisance. 'till, unable to bear the man's importunity any longer, I spoke to my friend, Captain Wootten, and he, being an old Indian, soon made my persecutor decamp. I find that there are always a number of these lurking vagabonds, who station themselves at the ghats, and pounce upon any unhappy stranger who is unacquainted with the place or language.

HOSPITALITY

I now fumbled over my letters of introduction, and not fulfilling the laws of English etiquette, I delivered them in *propria persona*, and afterwards found that was the Calcutta way of doing things. These letters were productive of the greatest benefit to me, and the hospitality I experienced in consequence was of such a nature, that I hope to carry a grateful remembrance of it to my grave. I was invited by some of my new friends to their country houses at Garden-reach, whither I went, and passed some time delightfully. Their houses are very spacious, provided with private billiard tables, and abound with every luxury of England, as well as the East. I know of few things

more delightful than to meet with friendship, such as I met with, twenty thousand miles from one's home.

[230] The first object that presented itself upon my return to my apartments was a Hindoo with his turban, and fine white muslin thrown gracefully over his body. He was sitting in my room when I entered, but immediately arose, and made a salaam. Not knowing his business, and making pretty sure that he knew nothing of English, I looked out to see if any one was near, likely to become my interpreter. As the man had a dozen bottles before him, I thought it probable he was come to sell me something. At last I said, "What do you want?" He then said his master, Mr. Russel, had sent him to attend upon me at dinner, till he could procure me a servant for myself. I then enquired "What are all these bottles?" He replied, Mr. R—'s compliments, and begs your acceptance of half a dozen of claret, and half a dozen of sherry". I was overwhelmed with this generosity; and, whilst in the midst of my quandary, in comes Mr. R—himself. Now I could unloose my tongue, and accordingly poured forth my gratitude. He said, "Mr. Leigh, I am come with some moquito curtains in my buggy, for it struck me you might not have any, and the insects are very annoying to strangers." I agreed with him, as well I might, for I was bitten till I resembled a person well whipped with nettles. He had also brought me an invitation to dine on the morrow; and indeed gave me such proofs of disinterested friendship, that I had not given man credit for scarcely a tythe of such kindness of heart. My other friends were equally profuse in their attentions to me. Indeed I can never hope to repay the kindness which I experienced on all hands.

Nothing surprises an European more on his en-[231]trance into Calcutta than the houses. He does not see, as in England, glass windows, and pretty faces peeping out of them, but they are all barricaded with Venetian blinds, of immense thickness and magnitude, like Apsley House in riot time. Every European house of any importance is a small palace. They are all of imitation-stone, and the spacious verandahs, supported by pillars, and backed by fine green blinds, give them a very noble appearance. Nor are we disappointed on entering them; when we find ourselves in rooms of extraordinary height and dimensions. These rooms are hung with what is called a punkah, or

a number of punkahs ;—a kind of machine, worked by one or two men, in order to create coolness. They are made of canvass, or something similar, and stretched on a frame. These, being waved over one's head produce a very pleasant current of air, without which, in the heats, it would be difficult to continue at table. Many of the wealthy merchants' houses are richly floored with marble, and the grand rooms and massive staircases give an idea of Eastern magnificence not easily forgotten.

SERVANTS

Another subject for wonder to the stranger in Calcutta is, the number of servants at table ; but the fact is, that unless you have a Khitmurghar, or meal-attendant, you stand a fair chance of going without your dinner, for none other than your own servant will render you the least assistance. I was obliged to have three of these men :—one, the Khitmurghar, or dinner, &c. waiter ; the other, the Bearer, or man to dress and undress me, sort out my washing, brush my coat, &c. ; and the third was a kind of under-[232]strapper, that did the meanest of all work, such as filling my water-pots, and similar operations which my other two worthies would not have performed on any consideration.

It is absolutely impossible to get on at all comfortably, unless you have a swarm of these laziest of all vagabonds about you ; and as they knew I did not understand Bengalee, they laid their heads together to cheat me on all occasions. I soon picked up a few of the Bengalee words in general use, and thus managed to make out the subject of a dispute between two of my gentlemen, from which I gathered, that the bearer had agreed with a tailor, whom he had recommended to me, that he, the tailor, was to charge me so much extra ; and this villain was to tell me how remarkably cheap it was, and thus they were to pigeon me between them. I let matters run on ; the man made all the clothes I wanted, brought me his bill of a hundred and odd rupees—(a rupee is about 2 s.) I showed this bill to a friend of mine in the house, an old indigo-planter, and begged him to tell me how much was the market price. I found out he had charged me at least forty rupees too much, which I deducted, paying him

myself, instead of giving the money to the bearer to pay him ; by which means I got five rupees' custom for myself, which is always given in Calcutta, at so much in the rupee. It is a kind of discount. If my man had behaved honestly, he would have had this ; but now I kept it myself, and afterwards explained to him my reason for doing so. I once came into my room suddenly, and saw part of the corner of one of my handkerchiefs, peeping beneath the waist-[233]belt of my Khitmurghar. I seized the end of it, and drawing it out, asked him what he did with it there. He made a very bungling apology ; and I administered justice to him on the spot with my foot, never allowing him afterwards to enter the room. I mention these anecdotes to show what a plague these fellows are. If I dropped a book, or any thing else, and the Khitmurghar stood by, he would run, bawling about the house, and into the street, to get the bearer to pick it up, it being beneath him to do so. The Khitmurghar's dress is a kind of turban of white muslin, with a heavy stiffening inside, and a white muslin body, with either a kind of petticoat or loose trowsers,—all of the most exquisite whiteness. Sometimes the turban is pink ; and when there is a large party at dinner, their appearance is very imposing. At the conclusion of the dinner, the gentry have their hookahs brought in, by the man whose sole occupation is attending the hookah, trimming it, cleaning it, &c. &c. ; and the pay of these men exceeds that of any other domestic. They are called the Hookah Burdahs, and are considered of the highest importance to the inveterate hookah smoker. Some gentry scarcely ever have it out of their mouths, night or day, have a hole in the mosquito curtain of their bed, through which the precious tube is introduced, and the luxurious smoker enjoys it in bed, till Morpheus arrives, and the pipe, though no longer sucked, still rests between those lips that seldom suffer its absence for an hour.

The smell of the hookahs is pleasant, the chillum or pellet, put into the tube, being composed of [234] tobacco, spice, treacle, &c., &c., all mixed together. The preparation in England, with the servants and other appendages, would render smoking the hookah, as it is done in the East, a very expensive amusement, at the least, a guinea a week. It makes a very unpleasant, bubbling noise, and that, in my opinion, detracts considerably

from its enjoyment. Formerly, on the arrival of a cadet in India, he attacked the hookah ; and that, with the assistance of brandy-pawny (brandy-and-water), soon apprized the unthinking Briton, that India was not England ; and thousands found an early grave, from acting in India as they had done in a bracing northern climate. This pernicious practice, as well as gambling, is now quite unfashionable in the army.

Englishmen, going to Calcutta, should never, on any account, expose themselves for two minutes in the heat. Let them not trust to their strong constitution, for the sickly sun of India will wither them in an instant. A good dose of calomel, previous to going ashore, may be of great benefit, as a preservative against the luxurious living practised in India, where they have three tremendous dinners in a day ;—breakfast being a dinner, and tiffin a dinner ; and then comes the real dinner ;—and this upon one's stomach, without the chance of exercise, must soon disorder an English constitution.

ESPLANADE

It is amusing for a stranger in Calcutta to sally forth to a place called the Esplanade, where, in the evening, all the fashionables of the city of palaces appear ; some may be seen in buggy, chaise, and coach ; some on horseback, with their ladies, chatting on their Bucephalus, beside them. Then comes, [235] tearing up the earth as he gallops along, some madcap ensign ; then a sturdy old veteran and his chums. There go two mid-dies, rattling along in a buggy, for which they pay 18 s. for the evening, and now they are in the height of their glory. There is a wealthy Baboo (merchant native) and his tribe ; and here is a coach load of natives, trying to "do the English." Here is Mrs. Such-a-one, and her deary ; and there is Mrs. So-and-so, and she has a very fine equipage in comparison with that of Mrs. Such-a-one ; and therefore Mrs. Such-a-one envies her, and as they pass, turns up her nose in affected contempt. Here is a load of Calcutta Anglo-English belles ; they have still good features, but their face is the colour of the desert of Zaarah. After proceeding rather, more than a quarter of a mile, they all turn round and gaze at each other ; and this amusement continues till the sun has set, when, there being no twilight in Cal-

cutta, it becomes almost instantly dark, and the worthies all drive to their respective domiciles to dinner.

This is a true picture of the Calcutta promenade ; the same old shabby vehicles (for I never saw anything like a good one), and the same folks inside, with the same grin on their faces, nodding to one and mandarining it to another—the same monotonous cavalcade. There is a theatre a little way out of the town, but the price of admission is so enormous (12 s.) that I never went to it. The performers are very inferior. One Mrs. Leach had a benefit here ; she was a good singer and actress, and it is reported that she cleared £ 300. The streets of this city, that is, those of the respectable parts of it, are wide, and men are constantly employed, with skins of water on [236] their backs, to water them ; their method is to expel the water from the neck of the skin, one man following another to the breadth of the street. It is remarkable that when the cholera raged so fearfully here, not one of the “beasties,” as they are called, fell a victim. The water is obtained from enormous tanks in the middle of the city, and there are streams of water running round it in stone channels, for this and other uses. These small canals are filled from the river by a powerful steam engine. Notwithstanding the watering, the streets are dried up so quickly by the intense heat of the sun, that the least stir of wind nearly suffocates the traveller and makes moving about impossible.

LIFE OF NATIVES

The river in many places is fast retiring ; and situations where, ten years ago, mighty Indiamen anchored in twenty fathoms, are now the site of noble ranges of buildings. I went to see the spot where the Black Hole once stood ; but there is now nothing to be seen, except a patch of grass untrampled, it being in a situation (*viz.* a remarkably wide street) where persons have abundance of room to pass and repass, and this accursed spot maintains its singular verdure as a memento of the horrors of which it was once the scene.

Early in the morning is the best time for a walk ; and if you turn your steps at this hour towards the river, you will see men, women, and children, all in the sacred stream, performing their accustomed ablutions, bowing their heads so many times into

the stream, taking up a double handful of it, and muttering their prayers; then, after sundry duckings, their mouths are filled many times with the [237] water, which, after retaining it a little while, they squirt out with great force and dexterity. So superstitious are the natives as to the virtue of the Ganges, that many of the rich ones send men for its water to the very fountain-head, at an enormous expense.

The natives of India use vast quantities of cocoa-nut oil, for the purpose of greasing their bodies, which in a hot climate is a very natural resource, preventing the skin from cracking, guarding against the bites of insects, besides rendering the limbs soft and pliable. It has been adopted by all tropical nations, and is doubtless a most beneficial custom. If it were resorted to in South America more than it is, perhaps there would not be seen so many disgusting wretches in the streets (of Rio for instance) as are now met with, labouring under that repulsive disorder—the elephantiasis.

These various ceremonies being completed, the next operation is the washing their linen, which occupies a considerable time. They all have a dry change, which, when they come out, they put on; and, being now ready to depart, they turn to the river, make a salaam to it, mumble a prayer, and depart to their homes, when they mark a stripe down the nose, (with lime I believe), and sometimes two fine lines ending in a patch at the end of the nose; the arms, forehead, and chest, are then scored. Next comes their conner, that is, rice and curry, and they then sally forth for the day. One Ram Chundy Doss was so benevolent, that he has built a very handsome ghat, supported by Doric pillars, and descending by convenient steps to the river; this is [238] entirely for bathing purposes, and hundreds resort thither, to pay their devotions daily. Pass the river what time you may, unless late in the evening, you are sure to behold some scores bathing and wallowing in it, with the greatest satisfaction imaginable. The next sight at early day, is their preparations on board the various dingys, budgerows, &c. for the conner: one man is the cook, and it is his peculiar province to see the rice and curry well cooked, as also to serve it honourably out. A large plate of rice, which would astonish a Briton if he was told one man was to eat it, is placed before each, and then a spoonful of curried prawns, or whatever they have got, is placed

beside it. If there appear to be more rice on one plate than another, the cook takes a handful or two till he makes it equal, when all the plates are filled. The natives first wash out their mouths, and then, with the thumb and first three fingers of the right hand, they take a huge mouthful of rice ; then a morsel of curry is introduced into some more rice, and this is worked into a kind of ball, and conveyed to the mouth. Their curries are always very hot, as they consist chiefly of the chillies ground between two large stones. They drink but little. The continually eating this fiery mess produces an eruption of the skin, which is universal, and the sight very disgusting. The appearance of a Hindoo is so familiar to Europeans that I shall only mention that they are generally slim ; some have very pleasing countenances. They can undergo wonderful fatigue in the burning sun ; and their patience is beyond anything I ever conceived of that virtue. Their humility too is remarkable.

[239] If you take a stick and threaten to beat one, he makes his salaam, and merely says "What master please he do to me—I eat his salt!" This is a very common expression ; when they live and feed under your roof, they eat your salt ; and to do you an injury after that would be the blackest ingratitude. But it was different with me, who was "only a lodger." They did not eat my salt, but the rascals drank my wine, though that is strictly forbidden by their religion. There is, however, no danger of their interfering with any eatables that leave your table ; they would absolutely starve rather than touch them. Thus among gentry in the interior there is terrible waste ; if they give an entertainment, they must kill a sheep, half of which is not eaten by the guests, and the domestics will not touch it ; the result is, it is thrown away. If a man of inferior caste touch their pot of rice, as they sit prepared to eat it, it is immediately thrown aside, and the intruder punished. It is too often the wanton practice of seamen, when what are called tow-boats, containing some score of natives, are alongside with their pot of rice, to chuck a piece of pork into it. They see the total ruin of their breakfast, cast a pitiful look to the hard-hearted spoiler of their meal, and the next instant the polluted-victuals are thrown overboard, the pot well scoured, and a fresh mess prepared ; and all this is borne with the greatest patience imaginable. One of the natives on board accidentally brushed by the

native butcher, who had come with supplies ; the indignation expressed in his language and countenance to the innocent author of the mischief was highly diverting. The greatest insult you can pass on them [240] is to say to them "jow seur", which signifies "go, you pig;" this is, in the highest degree, offensive, and the party thus addressed disappears in an instant.

You are exposed to great annoyance when you want to go off to your ship ; for before you get within four hundred yards of the river, you have some dozen fellows surrounding you, and are impeding your progress by their interminable solicitations to enter their dingy. Their words are invariably "Dingy Wallah—sahib!" That is "I am master of dingy, Sir." And the nearer you get to the river, the more numerous your tormentors become, until, by one reinforcement upon another, you are quite stopped in your progress ; when, seeing you hesitate, they rush upon you, and in spite of your teeth, you are bundled on board and shoved off immediately, amidst the most deafening gabbling of the unsuccessful candidates. All this uproar is for about a penny farthing, for which they will pull you a mile against stream, and wait an hour alongside to boot. It is always well to have a "chatta wallah", or man that carries a large umbrella ; he holds this over you, and his pay is one penny.

I have frequently been amused by some of our sailors, when going off to their ships ; the dingy wallahs around them, according to custom, and Jack, getting out of temper, stretches forth his arm, and half a dozen dingy wallahs are upon their beam-ends in a twinkling. If by any accident you tumble out of these rolling awkward boats, the men who are rowing you will not offer you the least assistance, but carelessly pull on as if nothing had happened ; it being against their creed to save one of a different [241] religion, especially a Christian. The Ganges is marked by the fatal peculiarity which distinguishes the Mississippi ; if any one falls into it, let him be even a first rate swimmer, his skill will not avail him, for an under-current sucks him down, and he rises no more, till the body is in a state of putrefaction.

CREMATION

The Bengalees continue to cast their dead into the river and a score of bodies may be seen floating past one's vessel, in the

course of the morning tide. These putrescent carcasses are always attended by vultures, which sit upon them, and tug away in the most shockingly disgusting manner. These bodies frequently get entangled with the cables of the vessels, and the stench that issues from them renders the ship intolerable. Many of them are half-burnt, and go sailing down covered with crows.

One evening, it being somewhat cooler than usual, I determined upon visiting the place where the dead are generally burnt. About the hour of four P.M. I set out, accompanied by my bearer, who generally went with me on any ramble, in order that he might explain different objects that excited my curiosity. He was also useful in taking me to parts where he expected I should be gratified by some Hindoo scene or other.

The first sight we fell in with was a number of most miserable-looking beings, all lying on a spot of ground apparently appropriated for their use. Amongst them were many of the fakcers, or men that live by the charity of others, in consequence of their deforming themselves in some manner or other. Many of these had held up one of their arms, with the fist clenched, till the nails had grown five or six inches [242] through the hand, and the limb was the most withered object to be conceived. These wretched imposters suffer their hair to grow, which becomes most singularly matted, and resembles a monstrous thrum-mop. Their faces and bodies are never washed, but are smeared all over with lime or chalk; their whole appearance being the most disgusting that any person could imagine. One of these wretches was "holding forth" to the abject beings around him, and his oration also arrested the passers-by till he had assembled a vast multitude. On enquiring of my guide what was the opinion of the people concerning these fellows, he observed that they looked upon them with the greatest reverence, and considered them as messengers from another world. Some of these men had not used their feet for years, and were crawling about upon their knees. I examined the nails of one of them, and they were of a round, hard, horny consistence, not in the least resembling the human nail. My next question was*, "Who

* I quote the following questions, put to my bearer, and his answers to shew the difficulty of conversing with these men :—

are all these people with the bit of straw upon which they lie, and are so careful of it?" His answer was, "These poor men, all very poor—no home! no friends! no money!—all very bad—poor". The manner in which he delivered this information did honour to his heart, [243] and at once exalted him in my favour, by shewing that he could feel for the woes of his fellows. His joy was betrayed by his sparkling eyes, when I bade him change a small sum, and give so many pice to the oldest and most miserable-looking; he flew to the execution of this duty with an alacrity which proved the task to be highly pleasing to him. His behaviour, on this occasion, so gained upon me, that I never afterwards feared to entrust him with any of my valuables; and I was pleased to find, that in proportion to the confidence I placed in him, the prouder he became of his charge. I should mention, that this man was of a superior caste to the other of his profession, who was a worthless vagabond. We, in the course of our walk of four miles, passed a great number of these unhappy outcasts, who have the ground for their bed, a stone for their pillow, and heaven for their covering.

My man took me up a small street, and halted before a kind of bazaar, where I saw, in the inside, a number of persons praying. They were all under the direction of one man, who appeared to hold the office of priest, as he had little flat tallies of wood (probably satin wood) in his hand, which were covered with characters, and from which he, in a manner, chaunted to his auditors, bowing his head at the same time very solemnly. At the entrance to this tabernacle were many curiously devised images, which were all sacred. I offered my guide several rupees to purchase one of a man who stood lazily at the door; but he answered, "They were gods, and could not be sold at any price." They were the ugliest [244] images I ever beheld, but very gaudily painted, and had glass eyes.

Q. Does the sun hurt you when you walk in it?

A. I walk every day in him sun; him no hurt me—Englishman walk in him—Him soon sick.

Q. Do men live very old in Calcutta?

A. Him live on curry and rice!

Q. Nay! How do you Hindoos live, and your father live?

A. Him can say—him live half mile off. Him fader no live!—him dead.

We now arrived at the end of our journey, and entered the square of the burning dead. Here I beheld six or seven bodies, all burning, with here and there the remains of some half-roasted; the fire being insufficient totally to consume them. The stench that arose occasionally from the heaps of burning bodies was sickening. In this square, (or rather three parts of a square, for three sides are formed by high walls, and the fourth is open to the river), were probably from two to three hundred vultures, all as tame as a flock of geese; and I drove them before me, as a countryman drives his geese; and until I pelted them lustily with stones, knocking two or three over, they made no attempt to fly. Then, however, they all rose up in an immense dusty flock, darkening the air; and then on the high walls, in which they settled, I beheld an immense flock of adjutants: these birds I also pelted; and their long legs, and enormous beaks, rendered this sight alone worth my journey. There is, very judiciously, an established law, which inflicts on any one destroying these birds, or the jackdaw, a severe fine. Calcutta streets are kept free from the least nuisance, by the presence of some thousand kites and jackdaws, occasionally assisted by the odd-looking adjutant. These birds, from being long unmolested, are the most impudent villains conceivable. Whilst sitting in my room at Calcutta, four kites made a rush at some eatables that were before me, and with which I was at the time in-[245]dulging myself. I happened to be sitting with my back to the window. I did not see the thieves till they made the attack, by which I was startled, that I was, for the moment, quite unnerved. In a short time, recovering myself, I saw my viands partly carried off, and, on looking round, beheld two of the caitiffs sitting on the back of a chair, close to me. I gently groped for my walking-stick, and, with one blow, I had the satisfaction of taking deadly revenge. I then threw the lifeless corpses out of the window, on to a flat-roofed house close by; and, in a minute, there were fifty kites assembled round, no doubt as jurymen, to ascertain the cause of death. Their lamentations were loud and long; at last, the two dead kites (as I thought) arose, looked earnestly at their fellows, made a turn or two amongst them, when the whole host flew off together! Before a penalty was introduced for the destruction of these birds, many adjutants fell victims to their gluttony, and the cruelty of the idlers at Fort William.

A large marrow-bone was provided, and powder placed, with a slow-burning match, in the inside ; the bone was then smeared over with fat, and thrown into the square ; in an instant it was in the capacious pouch of the adjutant, who flew off to disgorge it at leisure ; but his flight was soon stopped by the going off of the powder, which blew the unsuspecting victim into fragments, doubtless to the indescribable delight of the authors of the cruel deed.

The adjutants, as well as the vultures, are most disgusting-looking animals, and, from the nature of their food, their smell is intolerable, and seems scarcely supportable to themselves, as they sit with [246] their wings down and feathers spread, that the air may winnow them. I may mention, that up the country, if they discover an unfortunate buffalo with a sore upon him, they immediately alight around it, and the animal is soon destroyed. These birds feed in company with the pariah dogs ; and they may almost at any time be seen on the banks of the river, both parties tugging away unconcerned at each other's presence.

SUBURBAN SCENES

[247] A party of friends, with whom I happened to be dining, having heard me express a wish to see the Governor's country house at Serampore, a pleasant sail from Calcutta, very kindly proposed a "pic-nic" visit to the spot. The tide serving on the following day, we gave the necessary orders to the pastry-cook, who provided the requisite good cheer ; and we embarked in a beautiful *boleah*, the property of one of the party, manned by fourteen lascars, all cleanly rigged. We went, by the force of the tide, and the assistance of the natives, at a splendid rate through the water, soon leaving Calcutta behind us. The scenery all the way was highly picturesque, displaying groups of villages, under the shade of the palm, or other trees, of deep-green foliage, with[248] the name and character of which I was totally unacquainted. Then came peeping, from amidst the overhanging foliage, some white curiously-fashioned tomb, probably that of a Brahmin. The scene changed ; and, from the edge of the Ganges, rose a flight of broad steps, or ghat, leading to the ancient Hindoo temples, the singular architecture of which cannot

fail to rivet the attention of the stranger. Now an open space shows itself, and, by mounting the roof of the *boleah*, we obtain a fine view of the country, as far as the eye can extend, studded with Eastern trees, amongst which the palm is most conspicuous; and, from under its shade, the Hindoo is often seen to emerge, in his white raiment, relieving the monotony of the level landscape, till he disappears into the green grove in which is his cottage. A turn of the river gave us a view of the Government House, and the pretty little bungalows (cottages) of the gentry at Barrackpore, with the smoke of the paper-mill across the river at Serampore. Here it was we agreed to land. We passed by the college, which a foolish fear of intrusion prevented us from entering, though we afterwards heard that it is entirely open for strangers; and that its wide and massive staircase, constructed of brass, is one of the curiosities of this part of India. The paper-mill is on an extensive scale, worked by steam, and to those who were not acquainted with the process of making paper, it was highly interesting. One moment we behold a bundle of filthy old rags, tossed into a reservoir of water, where they undergo the first purifying process. In the twinkling of an eye, they are hurried into another vat, where they meet [249] with still ruder treatment, and the next vat reduces them to a pulp resembling sour milk. Having seen all the machinery in this part, with the exception of the piston, boilers, and wheels, we descended into a suite of rooms, one of which is very long; where we saw what we should never have identified with the vile bundle of rags which we had seen a minute ago. It is prevented from rushing in too fast by a piece of wood, whose office is to regulate the supply; after passing this regulator, it continues its broad but shallow stream of pulp over some very fine wire, which drains it of the hot water; then we see it pass under some heated and very smooth iron rollers, coming out from them a beautiful piece of the most delicate writing-paper fit for the pen and pencil. The printing next employed our attention; but all I saw in the presses, though thirty or more were at work, were some Hindoo and Persian pamphlets, with a Latin grammar, for the benefit, no doubt, of the college.

Having now satisfied our curiosity at Serampore, we tugged up to within sight of Chinsurah, intending to visit that place, but time and tide were against us, so we were obliged to put

the vessel about, and I and Lieut. H—landed to walk through the cantonments at Barrackpore, which is a very interesting and clean little village. The houses, principally occupied by the military, are very good, and the rents, I think, very good also*. The remainder of our party went on in the Boleah, to sail along the bottom of the park till we had found a convenient situation for the pic-nic. In passing the government-house [250] which I can designate only as a magnificent establishment, I had the satisfaction of beholding another very splendid specimen of the banyan tree, which Southey thus well describes :—

“‘Twas a fair scene wherein we stood,
A green and sunny glade amid the wood,
And in the midst an aged banyan grew.

It was a goodly sight to see
That venerable tree

Far o'er the lawn irregularly spread,
Fifty straight columns propt its lofty head ;

And many a long depending shoot,
Seeking to strike its root,

Straight like a plummet grew towards the ground,
Some on the lower boughs, which cross'd their way,
Fixing their bearded fibres round and round,
With many a ring and wild contortion wound ;
Some on the lower boughs, which cross'd their way,
Of gentle motion swung :

Others, of younger growth, unmoved were hung,
Like stone drops from the cavern's fretted height ;
Beneath was smooth and fair to sight,
Nor weeds nor briars deformed the natural floor,
And through the leafy copse, which bowered it o'er,
Came gleams of chequer'd light ;
So like a temple did it seem, that there
A pious heart's first impulse would be prayer.”

This tree is held highly sacred by the Hindoos, and surely if any tree deserve their veneration it is the banyan (*Ficus Indica*)

* £ 300 or £ 400 for a very insignificant villa.

of India. One near Mancee, in Bengal, is 370 feet in diameter ; Milton, in his *Paradise Lost*, alludes to it :—

“The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
About the mother tree a pillar’d shade,
High overarch’d and echoing walks between.”

We left the banyan and its “daughters”, and soon discovered a very noble tree, with branches touching the ground ; so that, to use an odd simile, [251] it resembled a huge umbrella, with a very short handle. Under this tree the Lieutenant and I decided should be the scene of action, and accordingly we waved our handkerchiefs to our friends, and their boat pulled in for the shore. The ladies and gentlemen, safely landed, marched up in cavalcade, while the caterer of the mess, and one or two volunteers, loaded the lascars with chairs, &c. While the more important Khitmarghars were seen marching in good order towards our establishment, none came empty ; but the result of the worthy pastry-cook’s labours became more and more manifest, as each man arrived from the Boleah. While our fare was in course of arrangement, we employed ourselves in examining the tree and its neighbourhood, lest any unwelcome guest should intrude amongst us. We had music and singing from the ladies ; a glorious current of air fanning us, a rare supply of cigars (A-1), and the wine double-X* exceeding anything before or since.

Our repast having been despatched, we renewed our march, and after winding some mile and a half through this beautiful and interesting park, arrived at the menagerie, where are generally kept a number of rare and curious animals of the East. Though the buildings were tolerably well stocked with the terrors of the jungle, there was nothing particularly interesting. One of our party, seeing a beautiful hunting-leopard asleep with his back near the bars of his prison, ventured to thrust in his arm to pat the “sleeping beauty ;” this went off well [252] enough, and did not disturb his spotted majesty ; but pulling his ear was a different kind of affair altogether ; and in one instant the beast

* It is a common and true saying that porter can only be appreciated in India.

was upon his legs, and the next—he darted his paw, with tremendous force and velocity, through the bars, and struck the Captain a violent blow on the forehead. There is luck even in misfortune; happily, he was at the extreme length of the animal's paw, so that, though the blow made him qualmish for some time, had he been a foot nearer, he would, beyond all doubt, have had his skull stove in. Evening began to draw her curtain over the landscape, and the red face of the sun, as he hurried into his bed of saffron, warned us that it was time to return.

The park is a grand place of an evening, where the gentry practise equestrianism. The band of the military also performs here, and the scene is then, for a small community, wonderfully gay. We arrived at the boleah, and the tide favouring, we were soon wafted swiftly by the borders of the park; the last thing visible being the famous tree under whose friendly shade we had enjoyed ourselves. The moon rose with a strong light, being "round as my shield," and atoned for the loss of the little twilight, that so soon flits away in these Eastern climes. Again was the eye regaled by the majestic appearance of the temples; and the tombs showed off with all their gloomy grandeur; some part or other shining with a ghostly light, as rapidly gliding along it changed its relative position with a clump of palms, the moon illumining its whitewashed sides, and its towering minarets flickering above the sombre spade of the jungle beneath. Ever and anon, borne on the breeze of night, came the mournful howl of the jackal, rising at times like [253] the shrill cry of a child in distress; and then the low moan would echo as that of a person in dying agony. Occasionally a yelping "whow! whow!" from the whole flock was heard, and then the solitary yell of one calling to his fellow. I have heard them in my bed in Calcutta, and the jungles bordering the river all along resound, from sunset to sunrise, with their horrid cries. Thus closed the day, nothing happening to mar the happiness of what I shall ever consider one of the most delightful days of my life.

Notwithstanding the beauty, novelty, and fascination of Eastern scenery, I confess my entire concurrence with the sentiments of the accomplished Miss Roberts, who thus expresses herself:—

NATIVE HOME

“Upon the Ganges’ regal stream,
The sun’s bright splendours rest,
And gorgeously the noontide beam
Reposes on its breast :
But in a small secluded nook,
Beyond the Western sea,
There rippling glides a narrow brook,
That’s dearer far to me.
The lory perches on my hand,
Caressing to be fed,
And spreads its plumes at my command,
And stoops its purple head :
But where the robin, humble guest,
Comes flying from the tree
Which bears its unpretending nest,
Alas ! I’d rather be.
The lotus opes its chalices
Upon the tank’s broad lake,
Where India’s stately palaces
Their ample mirrors make.
But reckless of each tower and dome
The splendid and the grand,
I languish for a cottage home
Within my native land.

INDIGO PLANTERS

[254] I have heard some persons in India, whose word I would take upon any other subject, say, that they delighted with the climate, while their withered and fallow cheek gave the lie to their assertion. Were they to speak the truth, they would say, “I want to make my plum—then off I go.” But these men, at least some of them, indigo planters especially, have an unlucky season or two, borrow immense sums ; next year they are fortunate ; pay all off, and line their pocket besides. “Now,” says the planter to himself, “the *next year* will do it !” His anticipations are realized, and he is tempted to try another, and thus stops till the climate superannuates him in the meridian of life. He is no more satisfied now with his plum, than he was

in his childhood. I know several gentlemen of the blue profession at this moment in India : they heap up immense riches, but they remain too long in the liver-poisoning climate of India to reap the fruits, which may be most truly said to have been earned by the sweat of their brow. Their physicians find the canker is invisibly at work, and they are forced at length to quit the golden soil. Arrived in England, with an enfeebled constitution, they, like a sickly exotic, wither and die.

A slight sketch of the life which an indigo planter leads may not be out of place. These gentlemen first purchase an estate, generally in some out-of-the-way place, where they totally secluded from all the world, except some wayfaring traveller who visits them, stranger as he is, and is sure of meeting with friendship and hospitality. The estate being got into trim, and all the labourers at work upon the plantation, the plant is expected to thrive ; every [255] thing has been done to insure its prosperity ; but alas ! long-continued drought destroys the hopes of the planter, who in vain rides round his drooping and dead plantations, as if to cheer them by his presence. Not a shower, nor even a cloud ! the fiery sun is in full fierceness ; the plant is withered and the leaves crumble as snuff ; or the plantation may be on the banks of the river, and the plants nearly fit for their purpose, when the almost realized hopes of the planter are blasted in one night. Torrents of rain have fallen high in the country above ; the river is swollen, and like a mighty victor has swept all before it, and left nothing but a wilderness, where an hour before was the all—the very farthing—of the now ruined planter. During the hot winds, which resemble the blast of a fierce furnace, the inhabitants of the country are obliged to remain indoors, with every nook well stopped, lest this withering wind rush upon them ; there they are obliged to remain, in almost darkness, with a pile of turf, &c. at the doorway (called a tatty), over which water is continually thrown, and thus, with the assistance of the punkah kept swinging over their heads, they manage to keep themselves in existence during the fearful day ; at sunset they retire to the verandah.

And now the fiery fiend has ceased to blow, but it has left a most suffocating state of atmosphere, which is not relieved till late at night. In the verandah then the parties toss away the night in vainly endeavouring to find a cool place. They may as

well search for it in Zaarah. This life of an Indigo planter I give on the authority of a friend of mine at Doaba, who is endeavouring to gather the plum. But I do not [256] think he will overstrain himself to win it, being a man of moderate desires, and having an ardent wish to return to his native land. He has been in India twenty years, and is as long going in his boeah from Calcutta to his plantation, as vesseles are coming from Calcutta to England, viz. four months.

NATCH IN CALCUTTA

On my arrival at home, (for we always call it home, where the door opens to receive us, even if the domicile be twenty thousand miles from that dear spot whose name we thus profane), I had the satisfaction of receiving from one of my friends a printed invitation*, to be present at Ram Cunn Bolakee Doss' Natch, (having been introduced to the son of Ram Doss, who held the Natch, or dance of the country, in honour of entering partnership with his sire.) About eight o'clock three of us jumped into the carriage which we had hired, in order to go in due state; but no sooner were we comfortably settled in it, than a dispute arose amongst us as to who was to drive? This was a poser; not because we could not drive, for I say it to our honour, we could all drive, but not one of us knew where the "Ram" resided, and it was dark as a tar-barrel. "Never mind", cries Crump, who had fast hold of the reins—"Here goes!" "But I *do mind*", echoed Grumble, who was ensconced under my left fin, "I say I do mind". "Hist!" says Crump, and crack goes the whip, and away we whirled—down one street, round [257] a corner, and into a square, which Crump fairly circumnavigated in his vain endeavours to find any egress but where we had entered. "This piece of seamanship don't suit my creed," exclaims Grumble. "If, Mr. Crump," cries the sailor again—"if, Mr. Crump, you had kept a good look out, there would have

* Literal copy of card from the Ram :—
Calcutta

Ram Cunn Bolakee Doss' Natch, his house, Punchenontollah Street,
7 A.M., Wednesday 10th

W.H. Leigh, Esq.

been no need of traverse sailing :—just give me the helm.” This resignation of the reins of government did not meet the views of Crump, who vowed, now that he had undertaken to convey us there, he would do so. During this debate, we had made rapid progress, for Grumble’s dissatisfaction had irritated Crump, who retorted it on the unlucky beast before him. By the strong lights, and multitudes of people, we discovered we were in a bazaar, when Grumble poked out his head, hallooing forth—“Idder-owe,—you seur,” the English of which is, “Come here, you pig.” Of course he exerted his persuasive powers of speech to little effect; and that same “Idder-owe” being nearly his whole stock of Hindoo, he was at a loss what to do, and none of the party could assist him. At length, disgusted by their disregard of his solicitations, he, for a moment, withdrew his head; but the next instant he thrust it out again, pouring forth a nautical harangue to the unconscious people around, who took no more notice of his English than they had of his Hindoo. He now insisted on getting out; but, from a peaceable enquiry of a respectable Baboo, we learned the situation of the Ram’s abode, beyond which we found we had been hurried two miles. After many windings and turnings, we at last arrived at Ram Cunn Bolakee Doss’s, and from the miserable-looking streets through which we had [258] threaded our dubious path, I began to suspect, with Grumble, that either we had missed the way, or the Ram’s house was not “the thing”. Our surprise, therefore, may be imagined, when, from amidst the dark and cut-throat looking places through which we had passed, we came upon a large court-yard at least thirty yards wide, and one hundred long; while, on either side of the handsomely carved walls that formed it, were suspended variegated lamps, shining from among foliage and flowers, so disposed as to give them the mixed tint of the glasses. At the end of this court was the residence of Doss himself, and this was one blaze of light, with all the colours of the rainbow. We gave our vehicle in proper charge, when Grumble found a fresh cause of complaint; the mosquitoes had so bitten his legs, that, to protect them, he had worn boots, and had forgotten to change them; added to which unhappy circumstance, he discovered that he had lost one glove. Crump had a pair of mittens, but Grumble objected to his fingers poking through the ends. Well, the only alternative was to put the one glove on, and carry his

handkerchief in the other hand. These matters being adjusted at the steps of the house, we stood a few moments hesitating whether it were prudent to enter or not, there being no Europeans but ourselves.

We were soon relieved from our suspense, by young Ram Cunn walking politely towards us, and escorting us to one of the principal seats, in order to do which several richly dressed Baboos were removed. Being fairly seated, we were feasting our eyes on the novel scene before us, but were soon interrupted by a sircar (a kind of servant) bring [259] us, in massive gold vases richly carved, the otto of roses; at the same time presenting us with a bouquet of flowers, which we, after the cockney fashion, conveyed to our button-holes. The otto of roses being duly fingered, we were left at liberty to enjoy ourselves. The scene of action was a kind of building used frequently as a place of Mahomedan worship; it was very spacious, hung round with crimson and gold tapestry, and almost unbearably illuminated. The area was devoted to the dancing-girls and musicians, and around this were arranged, two or three deep, all the visitors; amongst whom were many Brahmins, whose garments were of the most magnificent description. As the various Baboos passed the seats of these priests, great salaaming took place. Some parties, in fact the major part of the native merchants, were simply arrayed in their beautiful muslins, with the Hindoo turban; while the extravagance of others was so irresistibly ridiculous, in the selection of the articles under which they laboured, that to preserve our gravity was quite out of our power. Grumble was so delighted at the appearance of one that entered the circle, that, in his excitement, he burst forth into such a laugh as, for a moment, drew all attention to our party. I apologized to the young Ram for his behaviour, but he said, as well as he was able, that "he gloried in seeing him, 'twas a sign of much pleasure". The great unknown, who had just entered, was a little grim-looking mortal, about five feet high; he had a huge admiral's hat on, which, as the French tailor said, "fit him too big;" he had also a kind of naval coat on, but it was stiffened with gold lace and [260] spangles, to such a degree as to render the little man inside it almost incapable of turning his trousers, to add to his masquerade, were blue, baggy, and out of all reason too long, while the whole was set off by a shawl fastened round his

waist. We enquired who this animal was, but he had a long catalogue of names, and my memory has left them all behind. He was, however, of little importance, notwithstanding all his plumage, for he had difficulty, as Grumble observed, "to get a berth to bring himself to an anchor." We were diverted from the contemplation of this outlandish mortal by the entrance of the musicians*. There were three men, with a very extraordinary kind of fiddle, followed by a man with a kind of drum, called the "tum-tum". By-and-bye in swam the Natch girl, a tall, gristly-looking creature, with the most impudent expression of countenance I ever beheld; she was bedizened all over with spangles, her fingers loaded with rings, and her arms with thick bracelets of silver and gold; she had bangles, another kind of rings, upon her ankles, a long flaming red petticoat, with a variety of coloured upper garments. Her head was highly ornamented with jewels, and very long ear-rings, while an enormous jewelled ring, dangling as low as her chin, had been run through the cartilage of the nose. The picture is completed by the delicate addition of an enormous *quid* of betel-nut, which, like honest Jack, she ever and anon shot from one cheek to the other, taking advantage of a "bar" in her music to squirt out the superfluous saliva. Her song was of the most dronish and sleep-producing description, [261] and the assistance rendered by the three fiddlers was so monotonous that, had it not been for the trump of a fellow who was beating the "tum-tum", I question if we could have sat out the first song. This "tum-tum" is played by the thumb and fingers of both hands, and the tone is varied as he beats the middle of it, or near the side; but the Listonic expression which the performer possessed, and the supreme satisfaction he seemed to feel at his own performance, were to us the richest part of the scene. However, we found nothing to ravish our ears in their music, nor our eyes in the dancing: for the dance, if it can be so called, consisted in shuffling the feet in such a manner as to rattle the bangles. The scene went on in all the beauty of monotony, till the performers were relieved by another set nearly the same as the last, who struck

* Very different from what Mr. Yates dubs the "Bayaderes", but the music and dancing were equally novel and monotonous.

up the same old Persian song and humdrum and spinning-wheel tune, the only difference being that the girls were this time extremely pretty; and, as if for their protection, their old mothers had swaddled up their shapeless trunks in finery, and now and then shoved in a stave or two to keep the lassies in countenance.

Being heartily tired of this ridiculous dance, we proposed retiring, but the Ram insisted upon our seeing a kind of sacred room, at the end of the large theatre. Exalted about a dozen steps (six of which we were allowed to mount, but no more) sat some score of richly dressed natives, smoking the hookah, as they coiled themselves into legless-looking bodies on the floor. These men appeared to enjoy the best part of the Natch by far, for from their lofty seat they commanded a view of all that was going on, with the additional luxury of the hookah. All these, [262] as well as the seven or eight hundred below, listened with the profoundest attention to the songs, whence we argued they must be entertaining. We found some were religious, some amatory, which a kind Baboo interpreted; but if he gave us the real meaning of the song, I am quite prepared to say, no "Brahmin so pure" should have manifested satisfaction at the recital. We saw in the room several ugly-looking images, and to us unintelligible ornaments, and being satisfied, we descended. Our kind host now asked us to walk with him, and take a cigar, to which we readily assented. He led us through magnificent apartments, the sides of which were open, in order that the ladies might get a peep at the goings on below, they not being allowed to shew their faces in public.

We now arrived at the smoking-room, enriched by views in England, which covered the walls in all directions. The young Ram, who was a sensible fellow, admired these views, and observed "England fine! England look good!" We seconded his notion, and recommended him to visit it, but he said it was "against his creed". Cigars being now produced, we soon converted a few into thin air, and began to look anxiously for the coffee, or whatever it was to be, but none being forthcoming, Grumble said to the Ram, "Dont you drink after smoking?" "I no smoke!" "I never can smoke", continued Grumble, "without drinking". The Ram observed "We drink leetle. Smoke hookah, no drink". We now,—that is, Crump and I,—joined Grumble's petition, and, in plain terms, told the Ram we were

very thirsty. "Oh, you tirsty!" then [263] giving the command to his servant in Hindoo, they vanished and re-appeared with a large jug and glasses. Grumble began to take credit to himself, observing, "There, you see, you would have sat choking all night if it had not been for me; here comes some double X." By this time, Grumble had seized the tremendous large jug, to have the first pull, when lo! instead of double X, it was "aqua pura," vulgarly yelped Adam's ale. "Where's the brandy?" shouted Grumble; "you have forgot the brandy;" then, scrubbing up his Hindoo, he cried, "this is pawny (*water*), we people drink brandy pawny". At this period of the debate entered "Monsieur Ram", and Grumble soon told him that water was unwholesome taken by itself, and we would thank him for a little brandy. Whether it was extreme meanness or not, we could not obtain it at any price. He continually kept informing us that coffee would be served up at the conclusion of the Natch. "When will that be?" cries Grumble. "It quite over eight to-morrow—den tiffen (lunch)." Hereupon Grumble cries out, in despair, "Come, let's be off! no more to be seen, and nothing to be got". Accordingly, after thanking the host for his hospitality, we left the place, and got home in half the time we were in coming, when we made up for our long fast at the very temperate Ram Cunn's.

I may add, that, generally speaking, at these entertainments, where there are many English invited, proper wines, &c. are laid out for their use, but only we three being present, it is probable he had no wine in his house. His native friends cost him little for their entertainment, as he gives them no refreshment, [264] unless they choose to sit up all night, when they get coffee, &c.

BAZARS

There are two or three important places where every production of Calcutta, and almost the whole of the East, may be purchased. These are named the China and the Burrah (big) bazaars. The shops are all open in the front, where the master and his commodities may be seen. The shop is frequently not four feet wide, and sometimes not as many long. As you pass along in the palkee, these parties sally from their little shops,

crying "very good shawls, sahib, and capital muslins." "Any silk handkerchiefs," &c. &c. Thus you are followed all the way you go; and when you actually essay to get out of your retreat, the clamour set up is most tremendous. The streets will scarcely admit a horse-carriage, and they are seldom seen there, as the immense stream of people passing and repassing, renders its transit dangerous and tedious. All tailors' work is performed remarkably cheap. You can have one of these functionaries for five rupees a month, continually employed under your own roof. Silk handkerchiefs are seven rupees, or 14 s. for a piece of seven; and cashmere shawls from £ 50 and upwards. A laughable adventure occurred to a lady of my acquaintance; she was in want of a pair of shawls, and a merchant waited upon her at her lodgings; she not being at home, he left his valuable bundle in the room, and was so unlucky for several days as to call in vain; at length he had the good fortune to find her within, and the shawls were examined. However, the lady complained of his exorbitant charges, as well as of the want of variety, and bade him bring some others. [265] Without the least distrust, he left his bundle, and off he went. Next day he came again, with others, and being too early, he had sufficient leisure and cunning to ask the English maid-servant if her mistress was poor. The girl, thinking to give her lady a lift, and get them cheaper, answered that her mistress "was very poor; indeed had but little rupees, &c." The merchant hearing this, resolved how to act. Accordingly, when the lady looked again over his wares, she fixed upon three shawls, promising to take two out of the three, when her friend came home, whom she wished to consult. The lady to be consulted would not come till evening, and this was ten A.M. To the surprise of all, the man did not depart, but remained patiently, sitting beside his shawls, one hour after another, till evening came, with it the lady, but it was too dark to judge; he must leave them till morning, when he would receive the value of the two chosen, but he had resolved to leave no others; he had elicited sufficient from the maid; the lady was poor, and he had no doubt set her down as a schemer, for he insolently demanded his shawls, and departed.

The folly of forming too good an opinion of this race of men, before you have had sufficient experience, was this day (January 12) made manifest to me, by the felonious abduction of a

purse of money from a trunk, in which I had accidentally left the keys. Who did it, remains unknown ; but doubtless it must have been one of my *body* guard. I am unfortunate in purses ; this is the second stolen from me, and both full.

The river at this time, is a lively sight, full of the most splendid merchantmen in the world, from all [266] nations, amongst which I was surprised to see what fine vessels belong to the Arabs. Speaking of this nation, I may mention a fracas that occurred the other day with a boat's crew of Arabs, that had landed accidentally where a party of Bengalees were offering up their devotion to an image that was erected in the midst of them. The Arabs stood ridiculing the various ceremonies, and ultimately rushed upon their deity, and, he being composed of brittle materials, fell a disjointed victim in the first charge. The infuriated worshippers called upon the demolished god, and rushed for vengeance on the authors of the horrid deed. The war raged violently on either side, one Arab sweeping away, by his natural prowess, a whole host of the furious, but feeble and unwarlike Bengalees. The villagers around being made acquainted with what had occurred, came, in overwhelming reinforcements, to the scene of action ; but by this time some of the Arabs had procured sabres from their boat, and they were hewing and hacking the naked enemy on all sides, putting the unwieldy multitude to flight in all directions. Numbers were left disabled on the field, and some half dozen of Hindoos were hurried into eternity.

I saw the school to-day, where the orphan girls are educated, and from whom many select their ebony beauties. It is said, if a gentleman goes there to propose, the *fair* girl says to the swain, "Suppose you silber tea-pot?—Den me hab you!" "Suppose you got Buggy? Den me hab you!" "You no silber tea-pot! No got Buggy, suppose!—me no hab!"

Having, in the course of the month of January, been appointed surgeon to the "Clifton", I joined her, [269] on the 31st of that month, and the following morning we got under weigh. The steam-vessel engaged to tow us down was, by some accident, delayed, and we had to undergo the tedious process of dropping down with the tide. On the 5th of February we came to an anchor at Mud Point

CALCUTTA IN 1836-1837 & 1840-1842*

By Miss Emily Eden¹

[78] (To a friend. Diamond Harbour, March 4, 1836) . . . We anchored off Saugur two days ago, having been seventy-two days out of sight of land, a circumstance that has happened to but few sailors in the ship . . . I never shall forget the delight, the absolute ecstasy, of the arrival of what they in their lingo call the *dawk* boat, and when *ten* fat letters came out of the parcel for me. I locked my cabin door, *flumped* myself down on the bed, and absolutely wallowed in my letters like a pig . . . [79]. Yesterday we got up to Diamond Harbour from Saugur, but I must take up my life where my long letter left off . . . We had a great deal of telegraphic² communication all day with Calcutta. Found we could not arrive till very late last night if we went on, and we must then have gone in a [80] steamer, and the 'Jupiter' people had so set their hearts on taking us right up that we agreed not to desert the ship. Last night another steamer came down to help us, bringing the 'Soonamookie' (I have not an idea how it is spelt), George's own yacht, manned by Hindoos in such lovely dresses, and bringing also Captain Byrne and Captain Taylor, one of Sir Charles's *aides-de-camp*, and the military secretary. They gave us all the programme of to-day's landing, and George has made Captain Byrne (who was at the head of Lord W. Bentinck's establishment), one of his *aides-de-camp*; so that he will be our companion, our friend, our confidant, for the next five years.

George is very nervous this morning, and indeed we all wish it well over. The troops are all to be out, and we are to be met on the landing-place by the whole establishment, and it is

* From *LETTERS FROM INDIA* by the Hon. Emily Eden, edited by her Niece (Eleanor Eden), Richard Bentley, London, 1872 (two volumes, volume I, VII+352 pages; vol. II, 297 pages; size octavo; no illustrations).

so hot for a calm demeanour and so difficult to be smart. George and William will be in full dress, and I hope, after the first moment, Fanny and I shall be bundled off into one of the carriages. George is to walk through the line of the troops. Sir C. Metcalfe gives us a great dinner at Government House, and leaves it to us in the evening

[82] (To a friend. Diamond Harbour, Friday, March 4, 1836). My birthday, which nobody knows or cares about except myself, who would rather be a year younger each time than a year older; and I cannot help thinking that would be a worthy reward for each year passed in India. The steamer began to tow us up the river at nine. Finished our letters and sent them to the 'Zenobia,' which met us in the river, homeward bound. Between twelve and one, when we were going eleven knots an hour and growing fidgetty for fear we should arrive too soon, we came to a brig at anchor. The steamer stood a little to the left, to leave room; was caught in an eddy, and drove the 'Jupiter' and the other steamer aground. The 'Soonamookie' (George's yacht), which was towed astern, of course ran against the 'Jupiter' and broke some of its railings—in short, it was quite a collision; and after two hours' delay and work, we were obliged to take to the steamer and give up the 'Jupiter'. It was the greatest mortification to all parties: Captain Grey had set his heart on landing us at Calcutta; the officers and midshipmen had [83] volunteered to man the barge and row us ashore. We had wished them to see the fun of the landing, so it was a great disappointment, besides the annoyance of arriving too late at Calcutta. . . .

We had a tiresome voyage up the river against the tide, and feeling all the time that somebody would be waiting dinner at Government House. No arm-chairs or sofas, the heat very great, and the steamer very noisy. Arrived at Calcutta at ten; landed, and were met by Mr. Prinsep, Captain Higginson, &c., with the carriages, a guard of honour, &c.; they drove us to Government House. Went through the great hall, where we left George. Sir H. Fane³ and Captain Higginson showed us to our own drawing-room, which is very English-looking, only beyond the common size of rooms. We had some dinner, and the mosquitoes took their first meal of us—handsome to begin with—and

then we went up to bed. George was sworn in, ten minutes after he arrived.

[84] (Sunday, March 6). Went to church at ten. When George goes out with us we have five guards to ride by the carriage, and two when we go out alone. There are three velvet chairs in the middle of the aisle in the cathedral,⁴ with an open railing round them and a space railed off behind for the aides-de-camp. All the pews are made with open railings. Some of the ladies come without bonnets, and they all fan themselves with large feather fans unceasingly, otherwise it was much like an English church. Great part of the service very well chanted. Quiet afternoon. George drove out with us.

QUI HIS AT GOVT. HOUSE

... We have all our separate establishments of servants now. My particular attendant, who never loses sight of me, is an astonishingly agreeable kitmagar⁵, whose name I have asked so often that I am ashamed to ask it again, and cannot possibly remember it; but he speaks English, which none of the others do. He and four [85] others glide behind me whenever I move from one room to another; besides these, there are two bearers with a sedan at the bottom of the stairs, in case I am too idle to walk, but I have not trusted my precious person to their care yet.

There is a sentry at my dressing-room door, who presents arms when I go to fetch my pocket-handkerchief, or find my keys. There is a tailor, with a magnificent long beard, mending up some of my old habit-shirts before they go to the wash, putting strings to my petticoats, &c., and there is an ayah to assist Wright, and a very old woman, called a metrannee, who is the lowest servant of all, a short of under-house-maid. Of all these, only one can speak English. George never stirs without a tail of fifteen joints after him. William has reduced his to three, but leaves a large supply at home; and Fanny has at present three outriders, and expects more; but it is rather amusing when by any accident we all meet, all with our tails on. By an unheard-of piece of tyranny, George is the only individual who is allowed to have his mosquitoes driven away by two men, who stand behind him with long fans of feathers. We are not allowed this luxury in his presence; and of [86] course have, besides

our own mosquitoes, his refuse troop to feed. Nobody can guess what these animals are till they have lived amongst them. Many people have been laid up for many weeks by their bites on their first arrival.

(Monday, March 7). We had a great many visitors after breakfast, both male and female. The aides-de-camp hand in the ladies and give them chairs, and if there are more in the room at once than we can conveniently attend to, they stay and talk to them; if not, they wait outside and hand the ladies out again. The visits are not long; but I hope they will not all compare notes as to what we have said. I know some of *my* topics are served many times over. Visits are all over at 12.30 A.M., on account of the heat. We luncheon at 2 P.M. (the people will call it *tiffin*), and then all go off to our own rooms, take off our gowns, and set the punkahs going, take up a book, and I for one shall generally go to sleep, judging from the experience of the last three days. At 5.30 P.M. everybody goes out. We drove to-day to Garden Reach to visit Sir C. Metcalfe, and round George and Captain [87] Byrne with him. Captain Grey and —went with us. The house and garden are very much like any of the Fulham villas, only the rooms are much larger; but the lawn is quite as green, and rivers are rivers everywhere.

(Tuesday, March 8). George held his first levee—about 700 people; we had fewer visitors in consequence, and a quieter day. Drove to the Chowringhee, which is the Regent's Park of Calcutta, to leave a card with the Fanes, who give us a ball to-night; dressed after dinner. All our things were unpacked to-day, and except one or two gauze ribbons, everything is as fresh as possible. After fancying we had bought too many gowns in England, we find we have not enough, it is such constant dressing. Coloured muslins for the morning we are particularly deficient in, and, after all the boasted supply of French goods, it appears that after the rainy season in particular, and occasionally, at other times, there is not a yard of silk or ribbon to be had. At all times they say that rupees are charged for shillings (which is 2s. 3d. for twelve pence), and I should think it is true. I gave [88] four rupees for a little handbell, which would not have cost 1s. 6d. in any London toyshop. I am shy of saying 'Qui hi' when I want a servant, so I have got this little *dear* bell. We went to the ball at 10 P.M.—an immense pro-

cession! Ten men with lights ran before George's carriage, besides the usual day accompaniment of servants, guards, &c. The ball was much like a London ball to look, only the uniforms make it look more dressed, and there is more space for dancing. They dance away as if they were not in a furnace, and instead of resting between the dances they walk round the room in pairs. There were few young ladies, but some young brides, and they all seem to dance to a most respectable old age. Several mothers of grown-up daughters never missed a quadrille or waltz; they were all very well dressed, and seemed to take pains to be so. Came home at 12 P.M. Our new aides-de-camp, Captain—, mentioned that he was not going home with us, and I believe he slunk back, after putting us in our carriage, to have a good dance. It cannot be such a bad climate, or the old gentlemen who were figuring away at this ball would not be so active.

[89] (Wednesday, March 9). We had rather more than sixty visitors between 10 and 12 A.M. to-day—most of them ladies; the day was intensely hot, and the fatigue of so many fresh people is very great. Drove to Garden Reach to visit Lady Ryan, the wife of the chief judge. She is a nice person and fond of her garden, and has contrived to rear some violets and sweetbriar; therefore has probably many other good qualities. We dined at Sir H. Bain's (Fane's?), to meet what they call the 'heads of departments and their wives.' The mosquitoes were worse there than at Government House. When we came home, George, it appeared, had made the same resolution that I had, which is never to dine out again. There is so much to do at home that no constitution could bear engagements abroad too.

FANNY'S FIRST IMPRESSIONS

[89] (From the Hon. F. H. Eden, Calcutta, March 9, 1836). I shall begin a letter to you, dear, though I do not know when it will go; but I may as well give you my first impressions.

I know you will be glad to hear that my Calcutta impressions are more cheerful than I [90] expected. Though all the *gorgeousness* of it which you write about, I see a great deal of positive comfort scattered about, ready to be piled up into something solid. I write this after having been here only four days, so I may perhaps contradict myself in half I tell you now before I

end. I am writing at the quiet hours of the day, from luncheon at two o'clock, till going out to drive at five. The delight of these quiet hours after having had almost the whole of Calcutta to see us this morning, nobody can tell. This is the time that we shall go to sleep, when we get up to ride at five in the morning. I have a week's respite from that, till the horses are rested from the voyage.

I wrote to you a week ago, before we landed. Just after I wrote, the pilot got us aground, and our arrival was delayed till late at night ; so we missed all the formal reception ; but at the first moment of seeing this house, I thought I had never fancied anything so magnificent. The moonlight is almost as bright as day.

Sir C. Metcalfe had meant us to dine with eighty people who were still there when we arrived. All the halls were lighted up ; the steps of the portico leading to them were covered with [91] all the turbaned attendants in their white muslin dresses, the native guards galloping before us, and this enormous building looking more like a real palace, a palace in the 'Arabian Nights,' than anything I have been able to dream on the subject. It is something like what I expected, and yet not the least, at present, as far as externals go : it seems to me that we are acting a long opera.

I am now in my boudoir ; very much the size of the Picture Gallery at Grosvenor House ; three large glass doors on one side look over the city, three more at the end at the great gate and entrance : they are all venetianed up at present. Three sets of folding doors open into the bedroom and two bath-rooms at the other end ; and three more on the other side into the dressing-room and passage that lead to this suite of rooms, for everyone here has their suite. Emily and I are in opposite wings, far as the poles asunder, and at night when I set about making my way from her room to mine, I am in imminent peril of stepping upon the bales of living white muslin that are sleeping about the galleries.

Our whole Indian system strikes me now, as [92] a wonderful arrangement for human creatures to have given in to. In a week, I suppose, I shall think it very natural, but the subserviency of the natives to the handful of white men, who have got into this country, shocks me, at this moment. Young officers driving

fast through the streets under the burning sun, with their servants running after them, just for show.

In this climate, it is quite necessary to have every door open, but I am making a clever arrangement of screens to screen everybody out; though it seems to me that people push to an extreme the arrangement to prevent having the slightest trouble, even of thought. I can already feel what the langour is that this climate produces. We have arrived upon the verge of the hot season, and at this hour, with the windows and blinds closed, and the punkahs going, the slightest exertion, even of moving across the room, is a real fatigue. Keeping very quiet, there is, as yet, no suffering from the heat, but in a month it will be much greater. Till half past nine or ten in the morning, the air is cool that comes in, but next week, when we begin to ride, we must be out at five in the morning, so as to be in before the sun has any [93] power. We go out to drive, now, at half past five, and then, it is very cool and pleasant.

As to society, I can as yet tell you nothing of it. We have had hundreds of people to see us, and very fatiguing it is; but after first arriving we need only receive visits twice a week, and all visiting is over at two o'clock, which is a blessing. I am so confused by the numbers we have seen, I do not in the least know one from the others: they all looked very much better dressed than ourselves, and not much yellower than we shall be in a week. We have dined at Sir H. Fane's, the Commander-in-Chief, and need dine out no more. Next week we are to give a ball and a concert. All the representation part of our livet must be very fatiguing in such a climate, but for five days in the week, I think we shall make it much more of a home life than I had dared to hope when we left England.

Taking a drive is as yet a very surprising operation to us. There are numbers of carriages, with their turbaned postilions and coachmen. Now and then, a very handsome European one; and one looks inside to see perhaps four natives sitting: two yards of [94] muslin would handsomely suffice for the clothing that is on them all. Every figure one passes looks strange and picturesque. There are moments when a feeling of desperation comes over me to think that I must dream this dream, so distinct from all my past life, for five years, with, I opine, very little of real interest in them; but I mean to make the best of it. At this

time, it really does seem like the dreams one used to get up, in nights when one could not sleep; the houses, the people, the very trees, all unlike anything real that one has seen before.

We are to go to Barrackpore in two days, and I suspect we shall like to live there much better than at Calcutta. The green of the grass even here, surprises me; much greener than the grass near London in summer.

It was rather shocking as we came up the Hooghly to see all the dead bodies floating past, with the birds pecking at them. I had rather be burned than pecked at, I cannot but think.

(Barrackpore, March 12). I find I can send this to-morrow by the 'Roberts;' so I must finish it off first. Yes! [95] this is certainly the place to live at. George must find out that he can *Governor-General* here, as well as at Calcutta. The house is the perfection of comfort, and, moreover, only holds us three: the aides-de-camp and the waiters live in little bungalows about the park, which is a thorough English one, with plenty of light and shade. The gardens are very pretty. We have our elephants to ride here. Emily has not begun yet; but with the greatest presence of mind and dignity—frightened out of my life, but feeling that the eyes of the body guard were upon me—I, yesterday evening scrambled like a cat up the ladder, which is necessary, though the creature kneels down: took a ride with George round the Park, being, I guess, at least twenty feet above the level of the sea, a thing that seldom happens in Bengal.

There are little hills in the Park, but they rose in the days when Lord Hastings said, 'Make a hill' and one was made. There is a billiard table, pianofortes, chessboards, everything as if we had always lived here. No servants are kept here, but all the establishment that is left at Calcutta is established here before we arrive. There is even the tailor squatting at [96] the door with his spectacles on, just as I left him squatting there.

I hope we shall be here at least four days of every week. We have only Captain Grey and some of the midshipmen here, and what the mosquitoes have left of us is very comfortable. Sir C. Metcalfe, who has been here for thirty years, says they bite him, now, as much as they did the first day; and many people seem to be confined for months after they first arrive, from the inflammation of their bites. Emily and I are going to take a quiet airing on an elephant this afternoon.

There are myriads of fireflies and paroquets here—beautiful ! Jackals noisy and bad.

Believe me, yours most affectionately,—F. H. Eden.

(From Hon. Emily Eden to—; Thursday, March 10). Got up with half a headache for want of sleep; the Brahminee kites and the crows and the pariah dogs all croaked and cawed and howled all night. George held a *darbar*, which means in common sensible parlance, that the native princes and *noblesse* came to see him. They bring him offerings—some of them he [97] said offered him what looked like two half-sovereigns, which he touches, but is not allowed to pocket, and he gives some of them a dress of honour, and they go out and put it on and come back, and then he gives them pawn to eat and pours a little attar of roses over their hands, and then they go ... [98] ...

Barrackpore is a charming place, like a beautiful English villa on the banks of the Thames—so green and fresh; the house is about the size of Cashiobury, to all appearance, but it just holds George, Fanny, and me, the rest of the party all sleep in thatched cottages built in the park

[100] Got up at five in the morning—the jackals made such a noise all night. They very often walk through the passages of the bungalows, but never attack anybody.

[101] (Sunday, March 13) ... We went to the old church⁶ to hear a charity sermon from Archdeacon Dealtry⁷ for Mrs. Wilson's Native Orphan School⁸—a very good sermon—and, as all the punkahs were put up, the church was not so hot as I have felt it in London. [102] Our new coach has come into play and looks very handsome George tried to walk with us to the stables; but we were all tired before we reached the entrance-gate, at least two hundred hot yards off, and when we got there the sentry would not let us out. Whereupon all our tails began screaming at him for the indignity of not knowing the Burra Sahib, and of not letting him through his own gate; to which the sentry replied that he knew him very well, and that he expected the Burra Sahib would make him a corporal for being so strict upon guard. However we got out, and then found such a crowd of natives with petitions to present, that we were very glad to get in again, and would have given the sentry a lieutenant-colonelcy, if he had asked it, to let us in. ...

[103] (Monday, March 14) . . . We did not ask anybody to the morning ceremony, but asked what they call the 'Government House List' to a ball in the evening, and advertised that any ladies or gentlemen who wished to be present in the morning would be admitted. The immense ball-room was completely filled by ten o'clock in the morning. We all met in my sitting-room and as soon as Sir Charles was in sight, stalked solemnly off in a grand procession of aides-de-camp, silver-sticks, peacocks' feathers, &c., with Captains Grey and Chads tacked on. George took his place on a sort of a throne, and we on each side of him with a circle of other ladies, and Sir Charles was walked up the room, looking ready to hang himself, and then George got up, and began. He said, 'Sir Charles Metcalfe,' in rather a [104] tremulous tone; but after the first six words he seemed quite at his ease, spoke loud enough to be heard all over the room, and really made a beautiful speech . . .

We had a rest from twelve o'clock till dinner-time and dressed after dinner for the ball. We had the floor chalked with Sir Charles Metcalfe's arms. There was a sitting-down supper for 650 people, and about 1,000 came to the ball. We went in after they were all assembled, and [105] then the dancing began directly. I never saw such a ball-room as that at Government House, and the banqueting-rooms below are just as fine. The ladies were all well dressed, but there is very little beauty amongst them; still, what they want in looks they make up in activity . . . [106] If the punkah ceased for a moment I felt in such a fever; but they hardly ever do stop. . . . [107] (Wednesday, March 16) . . . George went to the opening of some medical college. It is the oddest thing, and shows what he was predestined for: but he never feels tired, and does not mind the heat, and the mosquitoes don't bite him, and he goes on working away, filling all the hours fuller than they can hold, and sleeps like a top at night. It is curious!

To-night there was the concert, at which the natives came, besides all the same society that was at the ball. Fanny said that there was nothing very splendid about the rajahs. I heard the music in my bedroom, and it did not sound ill. Our own band is a very good one, and plays every evening when we have company. The singers are a Madame St. Nesoni, immensely fat, with a cracked voice—she is their Pasta; there is a Pozzeni,

very like Lablache ; and a Mrs. Goodall-Atkinson, whom I remember as Miss Goodall, singing away at Drury Lane, but she is a good singer here ; and they all ask their twenty guineas a night, as if they really were *prima donnas*.

We have done now with great fetes for some time, I think till the hot season is over, six months hence. The climate is much more [108] detestable than I expected, and the evening, which ought to be better than the day, is rather worse. It is not cool, and it is *thick* with mosquitoes.

(Thursday, March 17). George went to see the Botanical Garden, which is on the other side of the river. It fell to—'s turn among the aides-de-camp to attend him, which amused me, as he happens not to know a flower from a leaf ; but he does these sort of things very well.

Fanny and I took an airing quite late. It shows how this climate subdues one to all its ridiculous habits, for I should have been ashamed to be carried upstairs in England, and never hesitated about it here. There are always two men with a sort of sedan at the bottom of my stairs in case they are wanted, and my attentive jemadar (how you all live without a jemadar I cannot guess, I think I always must have had one) had them ready at the carriage-door, in consideration of my weak state of health. For the first time since we came, there were only four at dinner—George and Fanny, and Captains Byrne and Macgregor . . .

BARACKPORE TRUNK ROAD

[109] (Barrackpore, Friday, March 18) . . . The drive down was curious : we went through the native part of the town where the people are so thronged that it is difficult to drive through them. Such odd groups squatting at the doors of the huts, and sometimes such handsome wild countenances ; then every now and then a Chinese, with his twinkling eyes and yellow face and satin dress, stalking along amongst those black naked creatures. I believe this whole country and our being here, and everything about it, is a dream. When we got out of the town the road was straight and shady, and a few scattered savages at the doors of their little clay huts, with their boys climbing up the cocoa-trees, were the only human creatures we met. Then we came to a

camel by the roadside—the first I had seen, then two jackals [110] fighting; then, on the road, we saw a very pretty English britscha⁹, which—at first feared was as good as ours; it was drawn by beautiful horses in silver harness, and a footman running before it, and sitting cross-legged on the front seat was a rajah, dressed precisely as he was the first moment he came into the world—he had not even a turban on, but his long black hair was hanging on his shoulders. He was smoking his hookah, and seemed to be enjoying his airing very much. I rather envied him, he could not have felt half so feverish as I did with my clothes on.

(Saturday, March 19) . . . We have no trouble with our visitors here. They [111] come to breakfast and go back immediately to their bungalows utterly exhausted, poor things! with the trouble of eating their bread and butter. The breakfasts in India are excellent—fish, curries, omelettes, preserves, fruits, &c. After luncheon we assemble in my room for a little while.

(Sunday, March 20). The chapel at Barrackpore is under repair, so the service is performed now in the large dining-room. There are seven regiments quartered here, so our congregation was very red and clanking.

[112] (Calcutta, Monday, March 21) . . . It is all very well managed; our whole household is with us so entirely that our rooms at Calcutta are locked up when we come away and yet, ten minutes after we arrive at Government House, everything is in its place. A hot breakfast (more like a dinner) for eighteen people is on the table, and the servants are as quiet and composed as ever—the immense number of them would only make a confusion in England, but here everyone takes charge of [113] only one thing, and does it thoroughly and exactly to a minute. . .

MRS. WILSON'S ORPHANAGE

(Tuesday, March 22, 1836) . . . Mrs. Robertson went with us to see Mrs. Wilson's Native Orphan School.¹⁰ It was a pretty sight, and it is impossible to look at Mrs. Wilson, in her widow's dress, with her plain, intelligent countenance, without the greatest respect. She has collected 160 of these children; many of them lost their parents in the famine some years ago; many are deserted children. She showed us one little fat-lump, about five years

old, that was picked up at three months old, just as two dogs had begun to eat it ; the mother was starving, and had exposed it on the river side. She brings the children up as Christians, and marries them to native Christians when they are [113] fifteen years old. One of the little girls presented me with a bunch of flowers she had worked herself, with my name at the back of it.

(Wednesday, March 23). Forgot to mention yesterday that I got up at 5.30 for our first early ride. George,—Captain Macgregor, and I were on our horses at six. One of the horses has not yet arrived, so Fanny and I can only ride alternate days, which is as well to begin with . . .

At 4 P.M. George and I set off to the Botanical Garden ; it is the other side of the river, and four miles off. Our own boat met us at Sir E. Ryan's, and Lady Ryan went with us. We went to see the *Amherstia*, a new plant, and quite magnificent. It has flowered [115] for the second time—immense tassels of crimson flowers. I did not see much of the garden, as I was tired, and we are to go again. We had a delicious drive home. Charles Cameron is just as fond of cricket as he was in Eden Farm days, and he and Sir E. Ryan (the Chief Justice) have established a cricket club, and when we drove through their gardens the Calcutta Eleven were playing the officers of the 'Jupiter' and the 'Hyacinthe.' It looked pretty and English, and brought back visions of Prince's Plain.

We had another dinner of forty-six people to-day. Mr. Macaulay¹¹ came to my share at dinner. Just as we were assembling for dinner there came on what they call a 'north-wester'—a most violent storm of thunder, lightning, and wind, which is at its height in a moment. There were hundreds of white-muslined servants rushing about the house, catching at the blinds and shutters, but everything was blown off the table in an instant. I never heard such a row. It cools the air for three or four days ; half our guests were shivering, and borrowing shawls ; I thought it charming.

HINDOO COLLEGE EXAM.

(Thursday, March 24). The Hindoo College examination, immediately after breakfast, in the Marble Hall at Government House—prizes for the boys ; and then they recited English

poems, and acted scenes out of Shakespeare. There are forty-five of them, some of the very highest caste, and every respectable native in Calcutta comes to the show. The great shoe question makes a great heart-burning in society. Sir C. Metcalfe never allowed the natives to come with their shoes on. There is a large class here, who say the natives are now sufficiently well-informed to feel the degradation very sensibly, and who wish the natives to adopt European manners as much as possible. George has taken up that opinion, and the charm of being allowed to come before the Governor-General in shoes brought an immense concourse together—such quantities of new stiff European shoes, and many men seemed to find it difficult to walk in them. There were some splendid dresses among them, and some beautiful turbans, that would have made Madame Carson's fortune, but most of them were in white muslin dresses. It was much the prettiest sight I have seen in Calcutta, [117] and the newspapers observed, 'it was delightful to see the intense interest the Miss Edens evinced in the recitations.' I am so glad we were intensely interested.

There are constantly little paragraphs about manners, habits, and customs in the papers and I cut some out that were very ridiculous to send the children, but I cannot find them . . .

(Saturday, March 26. Barrackpore) . . . [119] . . . We drove to the Military Burial Ground, where there are some very pretty picturesque monuments I wanted to sketch. It was a melancholy sight. There is poor Jeffrey Amherst's monument . . .

(Thursday, March 31) . . . [125] . . . I sent for Dr. Nicholson¹²—the *Doyen* of the medical tribe here—to consult with him as to our private doctor; it is so impossible to find anyone here who would suit us exactly, and old Dr. Nicholson immediately suggested, as his own idea, Dr. Drummond of the 'Jupiter', whom he heard we had liked very much . . . [127] . . . You have no idea what a horrible noise those jackals make at night . . . (Friday, April 1) . . . Miss Fane has been again laid up for a fortnight by mosquito bites, and could not come . . . [128] . . . We got home at half-past seven, when it was becoming very hot, and rested for an hour, then we had a large breakfast, and then Captain Grey and Mr. Pelham went back to Calcutta with some of the Calcuttians. Fanny and—went out in the carriage, and I went in a tonjaun with George, who walked to the garden,

and we sat down there till it was dusk . . . [132] I've got such a paroquet ! too pretty, and tame, and clever ; even when most incensed, it does not bite ; I'm very much distressed, because my *jemadhar*, whom the Europeans always address as Jemmy Dar, wears a dagger, and no other person does . . .

(From the Hon. Emily Eden to— . Monday, April 4) [133] . . . The whole morning, Government House was like a fair. We were buying shawls and muslins and fans, partly to send to England ourselves, and I was employed by Captain Grey and Mr. Pelham and others, to buy for them presents to take home. There is nothing tempting in Calcutta, except shawls of forty or fifty guineas each—out of everybody's reach—a few Chinese things, which are only to be had occasionally.

Captain Grey and Mr. Pelham dined with us, and we all went to the play. The house was [134] very full, and we were received with great applause ; but whether that means that George has begun his government well, or that they were obliged to us for our punctuality (as we arrived to a minute and kept nobody waiting) is more than I know. The actresses were professional people ; but all the actors were amateurs, and not very good. 'Timour the Tartar' was got up with a great magnificence. Fanny and I came away at ten, but George sat it all out.

(Calcutta, Tuesday, April 12) [138] The society here is quite unlike anything I have ever seen before. The climate accounts for its dulness, as people are too languid to speak ; but the way in which whole families plod round and round the great hall, when they are not dining, is very remarkable. The whole of this evening it looked like a regiment marching round, and helping their wives along. In general, people at home like to meet strangers when they go out ; but here, all near connections take it as an affront if they are not asked to dinner the same day. It is all very pleasant, and very superior to anything I have been used to ; but it is rather odd . . .

(Thursday, April 14) [140] We passed through one little mud village and asked for a 'mussautcher¹³,' that is, a man with a torch, but they said there were none living there, and none of the other men would have carried a torch for any sum of money, if we had asked it.

[141] (Monday, April 18). Went out to Calcutta at six in the morning by water. We were there before eight, but were

all done up by the heat. At six in the evening, when the sun went down, Fanny and I went out airing in hopes of a breeze, which generally comes up the river after sunset, but it lost its way to-day, and it was very much like driving through hot-houses. Our postilions appeared in their new liveries, which are very magnificent—all scarlet and gold, and the Syces in theirs; there is one to each horse, and nothing can look more stately than it all does now. I never shall be used to seeing those men running by the side of the horses; but in the first place they would starve if they did not, and the horses—sensible animals!—grow so [142] fractious in this country that it is very dangerous to go out without these running footmen. We tried riding without them, but found we were not safe from other people's horses.

(Tuesday, April 19, and Wednesday 20) . . . The heat was excessive, but I had luckily had a punkah put up in my bed the day I was taken ill, and so I lay there without stirring for two days with the punkah going night and day. It hangs so close to one's face that it keeps off the mosquitoes as well as creates a breeze; but an attack of fever is no joke in this country.

[143] (Saturday, April 23) . . . Pray do you find much inconvenience from the Mohurram Festival? I little thought how much annoyance the death of Hossein, grandson of Mahomet, would occasion me. It is the Mohometan Festival of the year, and lasts ten days, and besides the eternal beatings of their infernal tom-toms, or ill-tuned drums, all the servants want to go away for five days, and [144] here, where no man will take another man's business for a day, it is difficult to know what to do.

George's head man¹⁴ and mine¹⁵ are the only two amongst the whole three hundred who speak English. It does not matter when the aides-de-camp are at hand to interpret: but when they all go back to Calcutta, Dr. Drummond, Miss Fane, and I shall be puzzled . . . The Bengalees are the most servile race in India, and it is impossible to resist their crouching down with clasped hands and begging voices, so I told the jemadar to let them all go, only to make them take it by turns, and his answer was so oracular that I do not know how it will end . . .

[145] . . . Mine came to me the other morning, saying, 'Ladyship, Beebee Wright wish to borrow me for half hour. She no

make washerman understand,' so I gave Beebee Wright the loan of him.

(To a sister. Government House, Wednesday, April . . . 1836) [146] . . . Nobody in Calcutta will look at anything that is not either French or English; but for the sake of example, I am already going to devote myself exclusively to Chinese silks and native jewellery whenever I want anything new. The prices here are too absurd: they charge entirely by the *precedence* of the house they go to, and the scale is very much, ten shillings at Government House for what is nine to members of Council, eight to the rest of the society, and so on, till a native gets the same article for one. It is very provoking, and utterly incurable.

(Barrackpore, Thursday, April 28) [148] . . . I take all the naked black creatures squatting at the doors of their huts in such aversion, and what with the paroquets, and the jackals, and the vultures, which settle in crowds on the dead bodies that are thrown on the banks of the river, and what with the climate and the strange trees and shrubs, I feel all Robinson Crusoe-ish.

(Friday, April 29) [149] Archdeacon Dealtry arrived. He is reckoned an excellent preacher and is a very good man.

We receive visits on Friday at Barrackpore from ten till twelve.

George and I took a drive. We have got several new wild beasts at the menagerie, and some very pretty birds . . .

(Saturday, April 30) . . . [150] As we passed by—'s bungalow we found him and all the rest of the household sitting in front of it smoking. Two chairs at least to each man, and some trying to be more comfortable by putting their feet on the table. Their *hookahbadeers* (I do not know how to spell any of their words) were squatting behind them, and their grooms leading their horses about, as it was too hot to ride. 'What a crowd!' I naturally observed. 'Just look at home!'—said, and I found that George and I, for our quiet walk, had fifteen men gliding after us; our own two head servants (who never lose sight of us), two men with umbrellas, a black gardener, eight palanquin-bearers with their head man, and Chance's servant, skipping about after him.

[151] (Sunday, May 1) . . . One of the clergy accosted me when I went into the breakfast-room this morning with, 'Pray, Miss Eden, are you aware that your motties'¹⁶ are at work this

morning?' 'I am very much shocked,' said I; 'but who are my motties?' (I thought of you at the time.) 'Why, the gardeners,' he said . . .

[152] (Monday, May 2) . . . Went down to Calcutta by water, and excused myself going to breakfast; laid down for two hours, and was not so tired as usual, but the heat is insufferable. In my sitting-room with the doors and windows, closed, except one where there is a *tattie* (a rush mat which covers the whole window, and which is kept constantly wet, so that the *hot* wind may blow *cool* through it) with a large *punkah* constantly going—in short, with all the wretched palliatives that they call luxuries. The thermometer stood at 94° the whole day . . . In the lower floors of the house the thermometer was 4° lower; but the ground-floor is supposed to be unwholesome, and besides there are no rooms for us there.

[153] (Tuesday, May 3) . . . There was a charity meeting to-day at a new school, called 'La Martiniere,' to which Fanny and I were duly summoned, and we went off at six in the evening, grudging the loss of our drive, but willing to give up everything in a good cause.¹⁷ We found in the suburbs a building as big as¹⁸ St. Paul's, with twelve small babies of orphans playing in a play-ground. Our own servants found us a way upstairs, and forced open a door that was called the 'Ladies' Committee room,' and we sat down by ourselves. Presently Sir H. Fane and Miss Fane arrived, and then another lady, and we all sat looking at each other for half an hour, and then Sir H. Fane wisely advised us to go away and take our drive, which we did. As three ladies are [154] enough to make a committee, we might have passed a mild resolution not to leave one stone of La Martiniere standing on another; but we refrained, and it turned out afterwards that the secretary has quarrelled with the ladies, and so neither came nor sent any papers. It is very natural and right to quarrel, but very wrong to make people drive two miles away from the waterside, and mount up to the top of a large house for nothing . . .

(Wednesday, May 4). Captain Richardson, the head of the Hindoo College, brought a little native boy to sit to me for his picture.¹⁹ He is a son of one of the highest caste natives, and splendidly dressed. His pearl and emerald necklaces might have tempted one to burke him, only he was such a [155] pretty little

thing, and it would have been a pity . . . All the natives have beautiful hands and feet, and they show particularly well in these high-born little children. He would not eat anything in our house, and at the college servants of his own sect always come and feed him.

[157] (Sunday, May 8) . . . There is a mosque and a ghaut at the end of our (Barrackpore) park, where they were burning a body to-night; and there were bats, as big as crows, flying over our heads. The river was covered with odd-looking boats, and a red copper-coloured sky rent over all; and then the man who walks by the elephant's side talks to him all the time in a low argumentative tone, telling him to take care he does not hurt his feet, and that there is a hole here and [158] a rising ground there; and they mention it all so confidentially that I never made out till to-day that they were talking to him.

If I die in India, I should rather like my body burnt; it is much the best way of disposing of it, and insects are so troublesome here in life, that I should like to trick them out of a feast afterwards.

[159] (Tuesday, May 10) . . . George and I took a slow drive, which always makes a hot one; but it is impossible to make the syces run this weather for long together, and the horses are so irritable we cannot go without the men to take care of them.

[161] (To a friend. Government House, May 29, 1836) . . . Nobody laughs in this languid country—at least not publicly; but I put this Indian habit at defiance over my English letters, and take such comfortable giggles by myself over them that the respectable individuals who are sitting cross-legged at my door would evidently think, if they dared to think at all, that I was slightly cracked.

. . . [162] . . . The only incident of last week that would have amused you was the reception of a vakeel, or ambassador, from one of the great native princes . . . [163] . . . We were all peering out of the window to see the vakeel's procession, which was very picturesque and theatrical; and as soon as he came to the door, Fanny and I hid ourselves behind some pillars; for the natives look upon those valuable articles, women, with utter scorn . . . It was great fun to see—walking gravely up the ball-room, in his splendid uniform, *hand in hand* with this old black creature, who was in a scarlet turban, with a white muslin gown

very short waisted, with tight long sleeves and a full short petticoat and no shoes and stockings ; for you are to know that though the present magnanimous Governor-General has allowed the natives to come to his levees and our balls with their shoes on, yet [164] this extreme condescension is so unusual that, on these great occasions, he cannot indulge the humane propensities of his magnificent mind ; so whenever he spreads his carpet, the natives are bound to take off their shoes, and on this sublime occasion he did spread at least four yards of Venetian carpeting. They sat down opposite George, with the foreign secretary between them, who interpreted, in a loud slow tone, all the little questions that were asked. Among others, he asked if they had seen Calcutta ? and they said. 'Now we have seen your generous presence, we wish to see nothing else' . . .

There was a rajah who came to visit Fanny and me one day, and he was not dressed like these people, but had two long diamond necklaces on, of the largest diamonds I have ever seen, with an immense ruby locket. He [165] gave us some beautiful parrots, and monkeys and sloths for our menagerie, which nobody can take away from us.

[168] Fish is the only thing, except rice, that the natives will eat, and this is the only time I have ever seen our servants excited . . .

[169] (To a friend. Tuesday, June 17). We drove to the Cossipore Bridge—you know where that is. You have passed it fifty times in your drives, only you never observe anything ; and there we found Captains Champneys and Macgregor with our riding-horses, on which we mounted . . .

(Friday, June 18). Dr. Drummond killed a snake in his bungalow [170] Captain Macgregor ditto, and Mars killed a large one in his bedroom in one hour (at Barrackpore). Very shocking ! . . . Dr. Wallich²⁰ arrived with quantities of more plants for my garden. I was up at five planting it, and in bed again at half-past six.

(Saturday, June 19). We dragged another of the tanks, and just as the net came to land it broke, and hundreds of fish rushed back into the water . . .

(Tuesday, June 22). I went out visiting, for the first time, after breakfast ; and, awfully hot as it was, I went to Mrs. Trevelyn to get her to arrange with some embroiderers from Dacca

to embroider a gown in coloured silk for me. I have engaged two Dacca men by the month. They come into the house, settle their frame in my passage, just *forment* the tailors, and sit on the ground [171] and work all day. Their work is more beautiful than is desirable for a gown; but they cannot be persuaded to work coarser silks.

(Wednesday, June 23). Miss Fane came when Sir Henry came to Council, and brought one of their jemidars, whose picture she wanted for her album. He is a Hindoo, and not a Mussulman, which most of our servants are, and of high caste, which is marked by quantities of gold leaf on his forehead; and he wears a dagger in his belt, and stands in a grand, swaggering position, and altogether he made rather a good drawing . . .

The Calcutta houses seem so small after Government House, and it was a dreadfully hot night.

[172] (Thursday, June 24). We do not go up to Barrackpore this week, as the servants are busy preparing for the ball—has set up a small poney-carriage, and now the rain has made the unwatered roads passable, we find out very pretty drives through lanes and by-roads.

Calcutta is altogether (in the part of it inhabited by Europeans) very like the houses in St. John's Wood; and the drives, barring their being utterly flat, are very pretty, when the weather allows of going off the watered road. We took a beautiful drive in the poney-carriage to-day, and came back by the Kidderpore School, where the orphan girls of Europeans are brought up; and when a tradesman or a noncommissioned officer wants a wife he goes there and chooses one. Formerly he used to choose after a single interview; but, I believe, now it is more delicately managed.

(Friday, June 25). George and I drove to the salt-water lake, about four miles off, through some odd, wild-looking villages, and the lake itself looks like [173] an unfinished bit of creation before the land and sea were put into their proper places.

(Sunday, June 27). We went to the old church: this is only the third Sunday we have passed in Calcutta. They give, by order of the bishop, the whole morning service *here*. It is much too long for the climate. At Barrackpore it is usually

much shorter ; but we had a good sermon from the archdeacon, and lived through it all. George and I took a ride in the evening.

(Monday, June 28)—A quiet morning.—and I went out 'exploring' in his poney-carriage, and lost ourselves, and came out on the high-road five miles from Government House, nearly at dinner time ; but we made great discoveries in the way of mosques, and tanks full of lotus, and 'noble savages running wild through the woods,' and as we believe no European ever drove through these lanes before, we thought of putting up our pocket-handkerchiefs on some sticks, and of taking possession of the country ; but I know that foolish East India Company [174] would be always fidgetting about our little territories if we made them prosper, so it is as well to say nothing about them.

We dressed after dinner, and at 10 P.M. the company began to arrive, and at quarter past we marched in, in state, with a guard of honour at the end of the ball-room, who drew their swords and nearly cut us down, I believe. However, we escaped, and then the Commander-in-Chief arrived.

We had several very oddly dressed native princes. One enormous man—a nephew of the King of Oude, only twenty-seven, and very like the pictures of Daniel Lambert ; and this immense expanse of person was dressed in a thick gold brocade. He would have made a handsome piece of furniture in a large house. The Vakeel came in state, and as he has never been in European society much before, he proposed bringing his three hundred guards up into the ball-room with him, and was with great difficulty persuaded out of it. We went to supper at twelve, and then had an English country dance, and they were all gone before two.

[175] (From the Hon. F. H. Eden, for a friend. June 30)
... Now here's a thing ! I thought four of the aides-de-camp looked pale at breakfast this morning, and it appears that there is a report that the Chitpore Nawab was not asked to the ball we gave last week in honour of our beloved Monarch's birthday. You must at once see what a thing that would be. I dare say it has never happened to you, to overlook a Chitpore Nawab. I'm sure I never missed one when you gave a party. You do things so cleverly. I hope that Chitpore won't declare war upon us ; in fact I hardly know what to hope, or what to fear ; for I don't know where Chitpore is. Probably we have taken posses-

sion [176] of it, and meant to pay for it with an invitation to the ball; which seems to me the terms on which we stand with most of the Nawabs and Rajahs here. The Chitpore Nawab shall have a ball given on purpose for him, and he must be shocked at seeing women dance, George and his suite shall run over Pansot's hornpipe.

We have been out riding this evening, and besides being subjected to a thunderstorm and a shower, we met, in a narrow lane, thirty-three elephants. Half a minute of a shower, here, does the work of drenching so effectually: the effect is like taking a shower-bath on a large scale, horse and all. As to thirty-three elephants and their drivers in a narrow lane; if it should ever happen to you to meet with them about E—, you'll find that it's pretty unpleasant. None are allowed to come within a certain distance of Calcutta, because nine horses out of ten rear and plunge at the sight of them: mine has a particular objection to them; so has George's. All the syces (of course you know that the syces are grooms, who run by your horse) set off screaming at once; an operation particularly calculated to soothe the nerves of [177] oneself and horse. I begged, in a tone of the most dignified cowardice, to be allowed to get off; and then, it was rather grand to see the elephants crash through the hedges to hide behind the bamboos while George passed.

I rather like the great animals of this country; I could make a friend of an elephant, and I have my suspicions that if I were to fall in with a stray tiger or alligator, and had time given me to talk to them, they might listen to reason; but the reptile class is a dreadful one. The snakes almost take possession of the place during this month. The other night at that ball at Government House, they killed a centipede close by my foot: as Emily and I are almost the only women of *any* age who do not dance, I suppose it thought it could not do better. And there is a new horror burst upon me in the shape of spiders. They do say, that there are spiders as large as the palm of a hand, and that those spiders are poisonous, inasmuch, that whenever you are touched by them, large blisters rise.

Do you ever work now? The natives embroider beautifully...

[179] (From the Hon. Emily Eden to the Dowager Countess of Buckinghamshire. Barrackpore, July 2, 1836)... He

(Chance, pet dog) swims so far out into the Ganges that his own attached servant screams with fright. He has learnt from the natives to eat mangoes, and is very much suspected of smoking his hookah whenever he can get comfortably alone with my tailors. He is allowed, for a great treat, to run before our horses on a cool evening and the other day, when George was riding with me, Chance insisted on going to the race-course with us. I asked Captain Macgregor to enquire why Chance's own valet was not with him, and he translated the answer that when the Lord Sahib himself took the dog, the *sircar*²¹, or head of that class of servants, thought it right to go himself

[180] Now that the rains have laid the dust we are making great discoveries in the surrounding country. George laughs at the beautiful lanes we have found, and says we talk as if we were at Matlock, whereas in all Bengal there is not an elevation the size of a mole-hill. But still a green lane with a happy mixture of bamboo and cocoa trees, and constantly a beautiful old mosque with a tank full of those lovely pink lotus which the Hindoos, with good taste, consider sacred, is not to be despised; and it is a great relief, after that tiresome course full of carriages and people, which is the only watered road in the place.

[181] . . . It is very difficult to procure at any price the real old Indian muslin, but I have got one gown of it something like a bettermost cobweb, and an old creature with a long beard is working it all over with small sprigs at ten rupees for the whole gown. The two Dacca men are embroidering a gown in coloured silks, and I never saw such lovely work . . . [182] . . . Then we never see any money, so we are not restrained by attachment to a particular £ 10 note, or dislike of changing a sovereign. The Baboo buys all the things, doubles their price for his own profit, and Captain Byrne pays him; so the money somehow is all gone without our knowing how . . . Barrackpore is her (Fanny's) great passion. In another climate Barrackpore would be worth one hundred Calcuttas, but as we are shut up equally in both houses, and can have no shopping in the town, and no rural pursuits in the country, it appears to me there is no great preference to be given to either, except as it suits the convenience of other people; and as I suppose all our aides-de-camp have their little private amusements at [183] Calcutta,

it probably puts them out to come here. It is a more fatiguing life than Calcutta, because there we are alone all the daytime, except on Thursdays from ten to twelve, and the blessing of being alone in this country one cannot be sufficiently thankful for; whereas here the house is always full

(To a friend. Barrackpore, July 19). [186] . . . My drawings are all blistered, my books all mildewed, my gowns all spotted—in short, everything is going to rack and ruin, and as the milliners and shopkeepers will not open any of their packages this weather, we may, with bad luck, be reduced to going about very odd figures indeed—rather in the native line.

[187] . . . Another curious creature is what they call an elephant-fly, which occasionally comes into the [188] drawing-room, about the size of a bantam's egg, and so hard that stepping upon it don't hurt it, and so strong that if you put a plate over it, it scuttles across the room, plate and all. I cannot abide that animal, nor, indeed, many others.

There were a set of flying bugs (saving your presence) in my dressing-room three days ago, all over the table, and bouncing against me wherever I moved; and, though they do not bite, their smell is something shocking—in short, there is no end to the plague of animals. It charms me when I see one great adjutant kick another off the roof of Government House. They are nearly six feet high, and sometimes there are 150 of them on the roof, where they each have their own places, and if one takes the place of the other, the rightful owner simply kicks him down.

These little facts in natural history will do you great honour if you place them naturally in the course of conversation.

[189] . . . It was a rainy day, so all the servants were at home. The two tailors were sitting in one window, making a new gown for me, and Rosina²² by them chopping up her betel-nut Chance's servant was waiting at the end of the passage for his 'little excellency' to go out walking, and a Chinese was waiting with some rolls of satin that he had brought to show. All these were in livery, except the Chinese and another man, who had on a green and silver cap instead of a red and gold turban, and as I came out he flung himself [190] down on the ground, and began knocking his head against the floor, whining and talking in the most melancholy way, which, as I don't understand a

word of Hindustani, was of great use . . . [191] . . . Nobody can understand why it makes us laugh so ; but all his ('Gilbert Gurney') nonsense about Peons, palanquins, and punkahs, is in fact so perfectly true, I quite like him for it.

(To a friend. Government House, Sunday, July 22). We went to the Scotch Church²³, where there is supposed to be very good preaching, but it is clear to me that they want a pattern sermon sent out to Calcutta, just as new gowns and bonnets are sent ; and I think you must trouble Dr. Thorpe to make them up a morning sermon and Mr. Blunt an evening one, for we cannot manage it for ourselves. Mr.—, the Scotch clergyman²⁴, is an excellent man, and his prayer [192] after the sermon was a very beautiful one, though I like to know beforehand what I am going to pray for, but he said, in the real fervent tone that belonged to it, 'Bless our native land, from which we are wanderers and exiles, and bless, with Thy choicest blessings, those dearly loved friends whom we have left there,' which was just what I was watching for. But I think the fault of the Scotch service is that ignorance in the congregation of what they are to expect, and also the very small quantity of the Bible that is read. The whole service is so entirely the word of man and not the Word of God. There was some beautiful singing in this church. George did not go out again to-day, and Fanny and I took a drive in the evening.

(Monday, July 23). We had a Madras juggler quietly smuggled into—'s room this morning, and he and Fanny and I, with Wright and Jones at the side scenes, established ourselves there to see him. He was not like the noisy jugglers we had last week, and some of his tricks surpassed all belief. He did all the tricks the Indian jugglers in England used to do with balls and [193] balancing, and swallowing the sword, &c., and then he spit fire in large flames, and put a little rice into the top of a basket on a small tray and shook it, and *before our eyes* a tiny handful of rice turned into a large quantity of cowrie shells. Then he made a little boy, who is one of my servants, sit down, and he put a small black pebble into his hand and apparently did nothing but wave a little *baguette* round his head, and forty rupees (coins as big as half-crowns) came tumbling out of the boy's little hands. He made him pick them up again, and hold them as tight as he could, and in an instant the rupees all gone and a large live frog

jumped out. The little boy was so frightened that I gave him a book the next day for having gone through such alarms. We were so charmed with our juggler that we told him to come to-morrow night when George could see him.

(To a friend. Government House, July 23). [197] . . . We breakfast at nine, and dawdle about the hall for a quarter of an hour, reading the papers, and doing a little civility to the household ; then Fanny and I go to the drawing-room and work and write till twelve, when I go up to my own room, and read and write till two. Fanny stays downstairs . . . I do my shopping, too, at this hour ; the natives come with work, and silks, and anything they think they have a chance of selling, and sometimes one picks up a tempting article in the way of work. At two we all meet for luncheon, and George brings with him anybody who may happen to be doing business with him at the time . . . [198] . . . I draw to a great amount, and was making a lovely set of costumes, but my own pursuits have been cut in upon by other people. One person wants a picture of a sister she has lost touched up, and in fact renewed, as the damp has utterly destroyed it. Another has a picture of a brother in England, in a draped cloak, and with flowing hair, and the picture is only lent to her, and he is such a darling, only she has not seen him for some years, and if I could make a copy of it, &c. There are no professional artists in Calcutta, except one who paints a second-rate sort of sign-posts, and though I cannot make much of all these likenesses, yet it feels like a duty to keep anybody to a likeness of a friend at home, and it is one of the very few good-natured things it is possible to do here, so I have been very busy the last ten days making copies of these pictures.

To finish our day : at six we go out. George and I ride every day now ; Fanny about once in three times. At 7-30 we dress ; dine at eight, and at ten go off to bed.

[200] . . . We have bought our house at Simla preparatory to going up the country fifteen months hence, and we have let it for this year. George and I and Major Byrne did this quietly without telling anybody, as otherwise the price would have been doubled

(Thursday, July 27) [201] . . . I had a long consultation afterwards with the chief justice, who is a great hand at private theatricals, and George wanted to have some charades or a

farce got up to vary our Tuesday's parties. The chief justice would take the part of manager, and is dying to act. There are heaps of actors who have volunteered, but an actress [202] cannot be found. There is a company of French actors coming from the Mauritius, and I think we might have them occasionally at Government House ; but then again very few of the society speak French. The chief justice and one or two others are so set upon arranging a farce that perhaps they may make it out, but I cannot see how

(Barrackpore, Friday, July 28) . . . George and I went out riding in the afternoon by ourselves and went and listened to the band, which plays in the park every Friday, and did a bit of politeness to the Barrackporeans who assembled to hear it. We have been rather remiss about them lately

(To the Countess of Buckinghamshire. Government House, August 2. Finished August 9, 1836) [205] . . . The rains have turned out a total failure, there has not been a drop for the last ten days, and we are steaming up the slop we made at first. However, the evenings are cooler than in the hot season, and the skies wonderfully beautiful

[206] I have had a sort of altar built in the middle of it (Emily's garden at Barrackpore), in imitation of one I saw at the head of a ghaut, the vase thereof to be filled with flowers. It was finished the hot day we were at Barrackpore. The natives do those things beautifully, and make them smooth and shining, like marble, with a composition they call *chunam* . . . [207] Before I thought of this altar I had asked a Captain Fitzgerald, who is called a civil engineer, for a plan of *chunam* vase for fish and water-lilies, and he is such a very civil engineer that he has not only made a beautiful design, but is putting up two of the vases, one on each side of my altar

For a Calcutta amusement I have set up pigeons in my balcony. Major Byrne gave me [208] six beautiful pigeons, all manner of colours, and I have had part of my balcony netted over, and keep them here ; and as they all fight it is a constant diversion to keep the peace and to feed them all. It seems odd to require these diversions, but the sun now sets so late that we can barely be out an hour

[209] . . . There is no such thing as a small dog to be seen here. I took him (Chance) last night to sleep in my mosquito-

house, that he might have the advantage of the punkah. Could you make such a sacrifice for Dandy? But neither he nor anything else can breathe at night, just now, without a punkah. so I am obliged to help him

[210] Though people have very violent illnesses here, and those that are well, look about as fresh as an English *corpse*, yet I do not think the mortality is greater than in any other country, and the old-fashioned days of imprudence about health are quite as much gone by as the times of great extravagance. People save their money, and don't go out in the sun . . .

ALIPORE JAIL

[211] (To a friend. Government House, August 3, 1836). We went to see the Alipore Jail²⁵, where prisoners, who would be hanged in England, are shut up for life. They are (as I suppose all people are, who have nothing left to hope for) a most desperate set, and about two years ago murdered a Mr. Richardson, the magistrate who had the charge of Alipore Jail. They are all [212] fettered, of course, but they threw him down when he was visiting them, and murdered him with the little brass jars which all natives carry about with them to drink out of. His poor wife was sitting in the carriage at the door, and never knew what was going on till the body was found. Mr. Patten, his successor, wished George to see the jail, and so we all went together that we might be all brass-potted at once, if it was to be done—and there was an army of soldiers—Dr. Drummond to bring us to life—and the Chief Justice to try the murderers. At first we had not intended to walk round amongst them, but they looked very peaceable, and we were curious to see them. They were one thousand two hundred in number—all confined for capital crimes, and all sorts of castes and tribes—not at all ferocious-looking, and, in fact, here, where life is little valued, a great proportion of them are shut up for what would be merely manslaughter, or an assault with us. It was melancholy to see the very old men who had been in fetters for so many years, but worse to see some very young ones, with life before them, the whole of it to be passed in [213] this prison-yard. There were six boys—the oldest thirteen, the youngest only nine—who had been sent from up the country only that

morning, convicted of murder; in fact a quarrel with another boy—they were already fettered, and sitting in a group together—and there they were for life! The prisoners presented quantities of petitions, which Mr. Patten says they do every time he goes round the jail. Some of them beg so hard that some term may be named—if it is *only* one hundred years—that they may think they have a chance of getting out.

You may have read in Miss Roberts about the *Thugs*, a species of Burkers, but more cool-blooded. They travel for weeks with their victims, and at last contrive to strangle them and bury them; and this has been going on for centuries, and only discovered lately, since which two thousand Thugs have been taken, and either hanged or transported. There were none in the jail to-day, but Mr. Patten says he always keeps them apart from the others, and he had one there a little while ago who was six feet high, and whose hair hang down to his feet, and spread over three feet of ground besides; it [213] was twisted like ropes, and he said that he used to keep the knife and ropes with which he despatched his victims hid in his hair.

(Thursday, August 4). We had our usual levee, and George went to see the Asiatic College, where I called for him, and he drove to Mrs. Wilson's Orphan Asylum. The children have been working a table cover I gave them, and have done it beautifully, and I paid for it and brought it home.

(Friday, August 5). We went to Mrs. Leache's benefit at the Town Hall; the acting was really very good.²⁶ All amateur acting, except the female performers; but the heat! Even the most hardened Indians say they never felt anything like it. There was a great crowd; very small punkahs; and nothing but a hot steam coming it at the windows. 'This gives you a perfect idea of our September,' they say with an air of perspiring complacency. 'So much the greater shame for your August,' is all I can say in answer. Everybody has been, or is, all except us. Our English constitution still keeps up.

[215] (Sunday, August 7). Was so hot that nobody could go to morning church, and in the evening we went to the Fort Church, which was like a kettle of boiling water; but Mr.—simmered out an excellent sermon while we were stewing.

(Monday, August 8) Council day, and consequently I beat poor Mr. Shakespear a game of chess.

DWARKNAUTH TAGORE

Dwarkanauth Tagore, a very rich native, had asked us to go and see his villa.²⁷ He is a follower of Ram Mohun Roy ; speaks excellent English ; has built a regular English villa, with billiard-room, &c., and fitted it up with statues and pictures, and Copley Fieldings, and Prouts, and French china, &c. ; and he asked us to name a day on which to see it. George was delighted, and named Monday ; upon which all Calcutta got greatly excited, because the Governor-General was going to dine with a native. The fact of a native dining with a Governor-General is much more remarkable, and Dwarkanauth is one of the very few that would even sit by while we were eating. However, we only went to see the place, and went in particular [216] state, in order to please the poor, fussy people, with carriages-and-four and guards.---and Fanny in his phaeton, and Major—in his cab, and Captain—in his, and even the Doctor in his, and George and I in the Government coach, and quantities of servants ; in short, nothing could look less *affable*—or be more easy—when we got there. Dwarkanauth talks excellent English, and had got Mr. Parker, one of the cleverest people here, to do the honours ; and there were elephants on the lawn, and boats on the tank, and ices in the summer-house, and quantities of beautiful pictures and books, and rather a less burning evening than usual ; so it answered very well, and we came home, with all the noise we could make, to dinner. But we hear he gives remarkably good dinners to everybody else

[217] (Tuesday, August 9). More astonishment for them ! There is a French company of actors just landed from the Mauritius, and, to diversify our Tuesdays, I have sent for them, and saw M. de la Jarriette to-day, and engaged him ; and as we cannot make the Town-hall scenery fit our ball-room, we are going to have a theatre fitted up for ourselves.

(Wednesday, August 10). Saw Captain—, who undertakes to have the theatre ready, by Tuesday. The newspapers have taken up the theatricals as quite correct, and think it right that there should be amusement at Government House ; but there is a party against them, though the odd thing is, that some of the very strict ones, who will not come to our Tuesdays when

there is dancing, do not think the plays so bad. It does seem very odd that mothers of families should not see how absolutely *right* it is that the number of boys who are here (exposed to every possible temptation, and in a country where it is a fashion to seem dissipated and extravagant), should be, if possible, kept in good society, and under the [218] eye of people on whom their promotion depends. And if dancing here from nine to half-past eleven, without cards, without supper, without even wine, amuses them, and keeps them in the society of respectable people, it surely must be better than shutting the house, and saying it is *wrong* to be amused. It is very *difficult*, at least *I* think so; but the young cadets and writers do not, and I am sure they do not get too much of it. I enclose from the paper the amusements of the month. It is just the thing in every day's paper. We had a large dinner in the evening. I wish that were reckoned immoral, but the very strictest make no objection to dinners.

[220] (Friday, August 12). We had a sort of puppet-show, called a *Cutpootley*, in the evening, more like the Fantoccini, I believe, but I never saw them. It was very pretty; at least fifty little puppets on the stage at once, dancing nautches, riding elephants, &c.; and between the acts the [221] showmen mimicked old women and *English sailors*, greatly to the amusement of our servants.

(Saturday, August 13). Mr. Blunt arrived from China, where he went about three months ago, and took some commissions from us to the C. Elliots, which they have not yet had time to execute; but Mrs. Elliot has sent us two very pretty filagree card-cases of silver, and a delicious piece of satin for George, much too good to be the dressing-gown she calls it. Mr. Blunt, too, has brought two Siamese partridges for our menagerie, the only entirely new birds I have seen. They are very small, something like the breast of a peacock on the back, with rich brown crests and scarlet legs, and all other colours speckled here and there, somehow, or another.

George is going to build a school, at his own private expense, for native children, and went to look for a corner of the Park to put it in.

(Monday, August 15). We were in Calcutta by half-past seven.

The theatre is almost finished, and is as [222] pretty a little article as I ever saw, with orchestra, dressing-room, &c. A very hard-working morning. The lamps would not do, and the French people are very troublesome : and our band chose to give themselves airs ; and could not play vaudevilles ; and I found the benevolent—driven into a frenzy of a quiet description by them, so I took upon myself, for the first time, and scolded everybody all round, particularly the band-master, who has wanted it sometime ; and I found myself saying, quite seriously, 'I have not an idea what you mean, Mr.—, by the etiquette of first violin and second violin. The Governor-General must have whatever music he chooses to order, and it is your fault if the band can't play it. It is a great disgrace for you if, when Lord Auckland wishes for some vaudevilles, you cannot play them.' It was so like one of T. Hook's speeches, but it had immediate effect, and I fancy he is perfect master of '*Faut l'oublier*, and '*Ca m'est egal*' by this time.

I crept into the ball-room to overhear the actors rehearse, and it was rather refreshing to hear the little jolly songs of their farces. The *jeune premiere* is not to say pretty ; but she [223] carries off her ugliness very well, and seems to be a really good actress.

(Tuesday, August 16). A shocking catastrophe ! The *jeune premiere* has got one of the fevers all new arrivals have, by rehearsing in the heat yesterday ; and as M. de la Jarriette, the manager, says with a strong '*Comment doubler nos emplois dans un pays comme celui-ci, et comment jouer sans jeune premiere ?*' it is put off till her fever leaves her, and Captain—and Captain—have passed the morning in preparing our guests to-night to dance, instead of listening to a play they cannot understand. I suppose everybody had made up their mind to come, for it was the largest party we have got yet, and the hottest night. I thought the crowd might render the house untenable, so I went out on the verandah, and there was not the slightest difference between the heat of a ball-room and the natural atmosphere.

[224] (Sunday, August 21) . . . It poured so violently, that after the carriage came round we could not go to church ; but we had a nice cool drive in the evening, and ended at the Fort Church, and came home to a late dinner.

(From the Hon. F. H. Eden to a friend. Government House, August 22, 1836) [225] . . . Bengal produces nothing pretty; that's clear! But I have now established a private correspondence with China, which I expect to produce great things . . . Those clever creatures, the Chinese, only send their worst manufactures out of the country, but now and then a Chinese captain abstracts some article that gives a great idea of the treasures which might be procured there. They make silks with embossed flowers in them, so stiff and grand they would sit up all alone in a chair. To appear in one of those silks would make all the Calcutta ladies fall down in separate fainting fits; because, being in Asia, they think it [226] incumbent upon them to wear only what comes from Europe.

I never look at the thermometer, now, for fear the shock should be too much for me; but whenever I have reason to believe, from my own feelings, that it is not higher than 100°, I will come rustling down in a China silk, with the walk and bearing of a mandarin, and thereby give the Calcutta world the pleasure of a shock.

The tailors who sit stitching at our doors, make our bonnets; and we, who are not *above* China silks, find them a very easy article of dress to get; in fact, they will soon be the only articles we have to wear, for while this rainy season lasts, the milliners would rather die and be buried in their own tin boxes, than open one to give us out a gown. We heard a great deal before the season began, of the destruction it would bring to us, our birds, our dogs, and our clothes, but it surpasses all I could imagine. The dogs lay themselves flat down all day and think it too much trouble to walk across the room. We talk of buying some palankeens and hiring some Pariah dogs to carry Chance and the two grey-hounds.

[227] Two very meritorious little parrots, the size of sparrows, who always slept hanging by their claws with their heads downwards, have died this week—of apoplexy, I suppose. And a paroquet with a plum-coloured head, who has every merit a paroquet *can* (and more than most human beings *do*) possess, is dangerously ill, and has its own doctor attending it twice a day . . .

(From a letter to the Hon. and Rev. Robert Eden, August 31,

1836) [231] There is no occupation *but* reading for wretched imprisoned women in this country.

(To a friend, September 2, 1836) [233] . . . I left off on Tuesday, the 22nd of August, when we had our French play in the evening. We dined early and drove after dinner, and then dressed for the play. I never saw a prettier theatre than we had, with scenes, and a place for the orchestra, and a dressing-room on each side, and beautifully lighted up, because one of the great lustres of the ball-room happened to hang right in the middle of the stage. We had *L'Affairs d'Honneur* and *Vatel*, which last was acted quite as well as I ever saw it in Paris or London. Nothing could go off better, and it is the first attempt we have made at amusing others which has amused us. I take it more than half the audience did not understand French, but those that did, laughed a little more in consequence, to show their supe-[234]riority. It was really refreshing to hear those dear little cracked vaudeville airs—they are so merry and so *unlanguid*. The actors had a supper after the play, and, as Mars told me, sang '*des couplets charmants a l'honneur de milord.*' But the gaiety of the supper was checked by the actresses fainting away, owing to the heat and the fatigue of dressing

(Saturday, September 3). Captain—went to pass the day at the villa of Dwarkanauth Tagore, that native we went to see, who is the only man in the country who gives pleasant parties. He asked his guests [235] to bring either drawing materials or music with them, and his best pictures were put out for them to copy; and there were musical instruments, with only one professional man to keep them all going. Some gentlemen sang, some played the flute, violin, &c. &c. Captain—made an excellent copy of a Prout. There were ices and luxuries, and, when he came away, the ladies were arriving to join their husbands at dinner. In this country, where nobody can go out in the open air, there is some merit in finding a new way of passing a day in the house.

(Thursday, September 8). We had such a crowd this morning, amongst others two Germans, a man and his wife, who are just come down the Euphrates, she being the first woman who has ever taken that route. They say they were travelling, and were robbed of all their papers, money, and clothes, by two highly

accomplished swindlers who joined them. ('Pauline' still declares they were much too gentlemanlike to *mean really* to rob them, and she still expects to have her boxes, trinkets, &c. forwarded to her from the other side of Persia). Colonel Chesney found them in this condition, [236] and helped them with means to come on to Calcutta, where Mr.—means to set up as a doctor on the homoeopathic system. They have been through all sorts of adventures. She has travelled disguised as a man, and then as a Circassian woman, and was nearly shipwrecked, and in the meanwhile there are great suspicions that, though their hardships are true, their story is not, and that they are Russian spies coming to see how to take our India . . .

(To the Countess of Buckinghamshire—Government House, September 27, 1836) . . . You could feel what my room is at this instant—dark and punkah'd as it is—[237] . . . We *look* like so many yellow demons, and my individual appearance is even more finished than the others, for Friday night happened to be particularly hot, and the bearers who were pulling my punkah fell asleep—the first time it has happened, I must say. I was nearly stifled, and the up-shot was that some of the bloodvessels about my eyes gave way, and I look exactly as if I had been fighting, or rather *did* look, for they are mended to-day.

[141] (To a friend. Government House, October 7, 1836). Chance continues to be remarkably well, you will be happy to hear, or rather has become so, for he was ailing at one time; but since I have allowed him to sleep under my punkah at night, and sent him out for a swim every morning and evening, his dear little constitution has righted. . . . The servants now, seeing what a treasure he is, call him 'Chance Sahib,' and have got over [242] their Mussalmanic prejudices enough to take him up in their hands, though they scream like rabbits if he barks. Fanny will tell you about her bird, which is very amusing.

My pigeons are all grown so tame that they scuffle into my lap to be fed when I sit down on the floor to feed them. They have only one fault; they lay nothing but addled eggs. I should not dislike some addled young pigeons; they would be giddy, pleasant young creatures—only they won't come.

ARMENIAN LADY'S DEATH

(To the Hon. Mrs. Eden. Barrackpore, October 20, 1836)... A very beautiful Armenian woman²⁸ died yesterday, who has for several years been a subject of curiosity to Calcutta. The Armenians do not mix with much in society, but she came occasionally to our parties, covered with the most splendid [243] diamonds, and every day she drove on a particular part of the course in a beautiful carriage, with an oldish, ordinary-looking Armenian driving his gig, close by her. They never seemed to speak, but he never quitted the side of the carriage. Some said he was her father-in-law, or her uncle, watching that nobody spoke to her; some, that he was her lover, trying to speak to her himself. However, for five years this has gone on every day, and last week we passed them several times. Her death is in the paper to-day—of fever, of course, and I see was only twenty-four. I think the poor woman must have died of the bore of those drives.

We came up to Barrackpore last night, and are preparing this morning for a party to the Barrackporeans. There are not ladies enough belonging to the station to dance, but we have got a conjurer, who has been acting at Calcutta with great success, to come for the night. They say he is a very vulgar man; asks if any gentleman will lend him an 'at or 'andkerchief; but is a good conjurer; and as he charges £ 20 for the night, he ought to be....

[245] (To a friend. Calcutta, Thursday, November 3, 1836). Amongst our visitors to-day we had one of the Mysore princes, the eldest son of Tippoo²⁹, who was ushered in by Colonel—. He was eating pawn all the time, which is a measure of etiquette—a proof that he is an equal of the parties he visits. There is no sort of attention I should not like to pay his fallen grandeur, but I wish he would not eat pawn—it is the most horrid-smelling thing in the world. He said he thought I had not known him, when he passed George and me the day before, out riding. I [246] repelled the false assertion with becoming scorn, and then he said, 'I thought you would not know me, because now I do dress like my lord. My lord, he wear drab hat, so I have hat exackerly like my lord's.' This precise imitation of George's hat was a velvet drab-coloured concern, bound with

gold lace, and a great ruby stuck in front of it. He asked if George was likely to go on wearing a white hat, and I intimated, confidentially, that I knew he had a large case of black ones with him, upon which Tippoo said he should return to his black hat whenever my lord did; and he ended by saying, he came to ask leave to join us when he met us out riding. Such a shocking prospect. He knows very little English, and his ideas probably are fewer than his words

(Friday, November 4). We had our conjurer last night. He was really very amusing—cockneyish in his language, but some of his tricks were very surprising, and at all events it had the full [247] effect of pleasing the cantonment. The Danish Governor of Serampore (with the Governess) crossed the Hooghly on purpose to see him, and the old Governor nearly fell out of his chair with surprise and delight when Mr.—made him blow on the six of 'arts,' which immediately became the ace of spades; and as at Serampore they have not learned much English, and have nearly forgotten all their French, he expressed his gratification at the end of each trick by throwing himself back in his chair, with a roar of laughter, and saying '*C'est ça!*' You will be glad to know that the Governor commanding the division stuck his foot on a box containing my pocket-handkerchief, and though the foot was a large one, the box a wooden one, and the handkerchief French cambric, yet the box was full of peas, and my handkerchief was discovered under a hat at the other end of the room. The Brigadier professed he had not been so much amused since he came to India; and as for Major and Mrs.—, they had enough to think of for a month—I should say for more, considering how little thought does here. The rest of the company really thought it the [248] greatest treat they could have had: a popular government in short. But they have all called here this morning—out of the proper day—to express their happiness, and I am so tired I should like to cry. However, we are paid for it, I suppose.

(From the Hon. F. H. Eden to a friend. Barrackpore, November 7, 1836). [251] . . . The argala is too clever a bird to remain on this large, green, swampy table cloth we call Bengal, when it can fly off to the hills, and the hills only it is to be found; also, I believe each bird produces only two feathers of the kind you mention

[252] The shores of the river (Hooghly) between this (Barrackpore) and Calcutta have such a sameness (after sunset) we could not tell how much way we had made, but every now and then there was an outline of a temple, and the sound of the tom-toms and the screaming to the idols. Then some dark figures coming out of the jungle with lights, which they dropped in the water; if they floated past us, it was a good omen for them. Then a darker mass on the water, and that was a human body with vultures settled on it. Then, a large, bright flame on the shore, and that was a human body burning. Then a splash from a startled alligator. Then a cluster of moving stars would seem to surround the boat; these were fire-flies. Then, quite high up in the air, above the cocoa-nut trees, some supernatural looking [253] globes of fire, something like moons detached from the sky; these are lamps of cocoa-nut oil drawn up to the top of bamboos and kept burning in the jungles for some religious purpose. Then a little thatched hut stationary on the water; that is an up-country boat, which has probably been three months making its way to Calcutta, advancing in the day and anchoring in the night, and from these boats there is generally a great sound of heathen voices. The boatmen seem to me to be the only natives who have any animal spirits. . . .

DIWALI FESTIVAL

(From the Hon. Emily Eden to—. Thursday, November 10)
[254] . . . There was such a pretty festival on Tuesday, one of the eternal Hindu festivals; I do not know what about, but the servants all brought horrid clay, misshapen, gaudy-looking figures; [255] and I am sorry to say all mine thought it necessary to present me with some, because they thought I liked modelling, and my room is full of the most frightful-looking toys, which I dare not destroy, as they think them beautiful. In the evening our bearers, who are all Hindus, lit up one side of the house, and the native doctor illuminated one of the bungalows, and they danced, after their fashion, to a tiresome drum, and sang for about six hours, and had a great feast of rice and sweet-meats, for which we gave them money; and the Mussulman servants all sat round, and sang and told stories, though they cannot eat together, and it was one of the prettiest, gayest feasts

I have seen. The illuminations were so pretty. We had the carriage late, and Mrs.—drove with us through the cantonments. The Sepoys had illuminated there in all directions, and even scattered lamps on the ground all over the plain; it looked like a large Vauxhall

[256] (Calcutta, Monday, November 4). George is building a school in a corner of the park at Barrackpore upon Captain Cunningham's plan, and the schoolmaster is to be taken from the Hindu College, and to teach the little Barrackporeans English. The school promises to be a very pretty building

My Singapore silk has arrived—a beautiful sort of gold and silver brocade, just made for a fancy dress; and it is lucky to have anything, for now this ball is near at hand the ladies are giving £ 1 a yard for a common satin for slips. We have also got a pair of beautiful bracelets [257] Mrs. C. Elliot ordered for us at Macao, and I had imported a pair of earrings, but George has bought them of me—I suppose for his fancy dress!

(Friday, November 25). Our grand fancy ball went off last night with the greatest *eclat* There was a sort of platform arranged for us, to which the steward took us and all our silver-sticks and chowries and peacock's-feather men, who are glad to shirk their duties on ordinary occasions, but turn out with great pleasure for what they consider a [258] very improper *nautch*. And George has just given them new scarlet and gold dress for the cold weather, so they finished off our group very handsomely. Some of the native princes who were there, had some very magnificent jewels, and there were some genuine Chinese dresses made of the sort of embroidered silk which I have always believed in, from knowing that the Chinese were the cleverest people in the world, but never saw. We came away at 12.30 P.M., quite astonished to find ourselves up so late . . . [259] (Wednesday, November 30) . . . We were to go to Dwarkanauth Tagore's fireworks at night, so I would not ride, as the smallest possible quantity of fatigue is the grand aim of an Indian day, and I took a solitary drive by the river-side and detected one of our boats coming up the river, and in it a remarkably fat rosy-looking young man, who turned out to be Captain—returning from his three months' cruise, perfectly well. Dr. Drummond, who knew him when he first came out to India, says he thinks him now in much better health than he was then. I could not have

believed three months could have made such a difference in anyone. I drove down to the Ghaut and took him into the carriage, and he seemed really glad to be back again. He has brought us a great many pretty things—fans and card-cases and Chinese monsters, and [260] some chessmen for—, and even a present for—, who nursed him when he was ill.

George, after all, did not go to Dwarkanauth's party, which was a pity, though I regret it less because if he goes to one party he must go to more; and getting up before six, as he does, it would be bad for him; and he is so well and looking so well now, that any change would be for the worse. We went in great state—three carriages and the aides-de-camp in their gorgeous uniforms, which they have only worn twice since we came; and we sent on fourteen of our own servants, because, as you will at once perceive, it would have been quite beneath us to allow the servants of a native to give us any tea; and we might have been bit by a mad mosquito if we had not taken our own chowrymen, as nobody else can have any when the Governor-General's are there. Moreover, the servants care about fireworks, if they care for anything. I have seldom seen a handsomer fete. It was very much like one of Lord Hertford's fetes—beautiful fireworks; and then all the French actors and singers sat in one room, and dancing in another, and the [261] instant one amusement was over another began. There were a great many of Dwarkanauth's own relations present in very magnificent dresses, otherwise not many natives. We got away at 12.30 P.M., but the party lasted till 4.

[262] (To—. Barrackpore, December 6, 1836) . . . George and his household are all at Calcutta. He gave a dinner yesterday to General Allard, Ranjeet Singh's General, and Jacquemont's friend, who came out again last week to join his master. He called on us the morning we left Calcutta, with all his staff and the officers of the French ship which brought him out, and we all tried to put our best French forward . . . [263] . . . I never saw George so well; and he is really in danger of growing too fat; indeed, so much so, that he has taken this last week to get up very early for a morning ride without prejudice to his ride in the afternoon.

[264] . . . I am very fond of St. Cloud—George says because he is the only person who is the least confidential with me. He

never associates with any of his fellow-servants. All kitchens in India are distinct buildings, at some distance from the house, and in the hot weather I wanted St. Cloud not to cross the compound, but to send me a written bill of fare. He said no; he thought a few minutes' conversation with madame did him good; he liked to tell her of the 'betes et faineants' who composed his kitchen establishment.

(To the Countess of Buckinghamshire. Calcutta, December 10, 1836). [270] It grows too foggy and dark after six to stay out; which is a pity.

(To a friend. Monday, December 12) [272] . . . What I call native lamps are very small wooden saucers with a little pure flame of cocoanut oil in them. In the evening the native girls bring hundreds of them down to the water-side, and let them float down the river. If they burn well and float long, it proves that the *fiance* is faithful; and, however that may be, the little lamp burnt in his honour is very pretty . . . The aides-de-camp all turned into tents that were erected in the park, and left their bungalows to the visitors. General Allard and all his Frenchmen came. The Danish people crossed over from Serampore and Calcutta behaved handsomely in furnishing us with sixteen dancing ladies, besides plenty of gentlemen. There was a steamer to bring them up, and boats to land them, and a *sitting down* supper, which they think much of. . . [273] . . . We were much occupied in nursing Fanny's bird, which was a pretty creature that Major Byrne got for her from a New South Wales friend, and it talked and sang and whistled, and was very clever; but no foreign birds will live in the Bengal climate. We have lost such quantities in the menagerie; and notwithstanding all our nursing of poor Joey, he died on Thursday in a fit. It is a great pity, as he was such a clever bird, and quite a new discovery.

(Monday, December 19). Calcutta now [274] shows a large supply of children eight or nine years old; they are come from the Upper Provinces to be passed through Bengal at this wholesome season, and so sent home; but the sight of them gave me yearnings for my nephews and nieces.

(From the Hon. F. H. Eden to a friend. Government House, December 21, 1836) [277] . . . My dear, here is such a plan—such a sublime plan, burst upon me! It will eventually conduct me either to the bottom of a tiger's throat or the top of a rhino-

ceros' horn ; but the grand, wild, independent halo thrown around it in the meantime will make the path pleasant to such a *denouement*. They do say (it is hardly possible to believe them) that there *are* hills in Bengal, not more than 140 miles from here ; and the unsophisticated population of these hills is entirely composed of tigers, rhinoceroses, wild buffaloes, and, now and then, a herd of wild hogs. There, I'm going to live for three weeks in a tent. I shall travel the first fifty miles in a palankeen, and then I shall march : it takes a full week to travel a hundred miles in that manner . . . [279] ' . . . You had better take your English maid, for fear you should be ill, and your ayah as a companion for her ; and then, with your own sixteen-bearers, you will want only ten or twelve more to carry your things ; your *khetmagars* to wait at dinner ; your *peons* to pitch your tent ; your *jema-dhars* to look after them all, and your washerman [280] and tailor. Those, with all my servants, will do very well.' I ventured to suggest that I was not likely to want any clothes made for three weeks. 'Oh, but tailors are always of use. I remember the time a tiger fastened on my elephant's trunk, and so nearly clawed me out of the howdah, and my tailor saved the elephant's life by sewing up the wound.' I see myself sitting on an elephant while the tailor is stitching at the trunk !

(The Hon. E. Eden to a sister. Barrackpore, Saturday. December 24, 1836). [281] . . . That is not to be taken literally, for it does so happen that for the last few days I have not been eating beef and mutton, having had a series of headaches and pains in my bones, &c., whereby it has arisen that I have not gone in [282] to dinner ; and altogether I have done what here as well as elsewhere, they call 'the influenza.'

There seems to be some dispute as to the style of entertainment, because one ball is necessarily so exactly like another in a small society, and all out-of-door amusements, breakfasts, &c., are out of the question ; and we objected to another fancy ball, because of the expense to which all the very young gentlemen put themselves on those occasions : so I believe it is to be a full-dress ball, [283] with feathers and trains, which is quite a novelty in Calcutta. However troublesome these gaieties may be, they are pleasant, as proofs of our 'giving satisfaction ;' for as long as it was considered a bore to come to Government House, eternal fagging at society was doubly fatiguing. It seemed

never associates with any of his fellow-servants. All kitchens in India are distinct buildings, at some distance from the house, and in the hot weather I wanted St. Cloud not to cross the compound, but to send me a written bill of fare. He said no; he thought a few minutes' conversation with madame did him good; he liked to tell her of the 'betes et faineants' who composed his kitchen establishment.

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(Monday, December 19). Calcutta now [274] shows a large supply of children eight or nine years old; they are come from the Upper Provinces to be passed through Bengal at this wholesome season, and so sent home; but the sight of them gave me yearnings for my nephews and nieces.

(From the Hon. F. H. Eden to a friend. Government House, December 21, 1836) [277] . . . My dear, here is such a plan—such a sublime plan, burst upon me! It will eventually conduct me either to the bottom of a tiger's throat or the top of a rhino-

of his racers broke its leg exercising, and he gave it over to some surgeon to try experiments on, and there was this poor highbred thing that had lived in a hot stable, and been cockered up and taken care of like a child, standing on three legs under a tree with only a cloth over it, and looking in the greatest pain. It disgusted everybody so much, that the gentlemen began a subscription to buy it of him to shoot it, and he was at last reduced to have it killed by mere shame. So it is a pity he has won the cup. George and I have been all three mornings to the races; they occur only every other day. Fanny has only been once, as she has been very poorly altogether for three days; and though she is much better to-day, she has not the least chance of going to the ball that is given to us on Tuesday, which is a great bore. For various reasons it has been put off two or three times, [289] greatly to the general inconvenience of Calcutta, which poor hothouse of a place cannot produce any plants that will stand two nights' amusement. So there is a play on Monday; the whole of Calcutta rests on Tuesday and comes out fresh and yellow again on Wednesday; and in this dissipated race-fort-night it has been found difficult to find a day for our ball. I do not know in what way it is to differ from the balls in general, except that we are told to come in feathers and that our names are said to be emblazoned all over the Town Hall, as well as on the buttons of the stewards' coats, but all the rest is a mystery . . .

(Tuesday, January 17) [290] . . . However, in fact, there are only what they call [291] 'loose letters'—not in a moral sense; but we always hear per 'Semaphore' so many 'loose letters,' and so many 'box packets,' and the Post Office takes clearly twelve hours hammering away at unpacking those 'box packets.' . . .

BALL IN HONOUR OF EDENS

[292] (To a friend. Wednesday, January 18, 1837). Fanny was not well enough to go to the ball³¹ after all; it was really a pity she missed it; it was so well done. Our whole household went in grand costume, and I was *tastefully* attired in a Chinese white satin, *elegantly* embroidered in wreaths of flowers (not the least like flowers) by my Dacca workmen; head-dress, feathers and lappets. Everybody went in new dresses, which made the

ball look brilliant. We were met on the steps by twelve stewards, wearing silver medallions, two of which I begged and have sent (by Captain [293] Fulcher, of the 'Robert Small') to—and—. Mind he gives you up that little box. The staircases were beautifully ornamented with flags belonging to half the ships in the river, and the bands played 'God save the King,' which, indeed, we rather expect now whenever we blow our noses or sneeze; but 'King George' was not allowed to walk first this evening, because it was explained to him that he was only asked to meet *us*, all for our honour and glory. The Town Hall is an immense building, with two rows of pillars running from one end of the room to the other, and between each pillar there was a drapery of pink crape, to which hung a large wreath of evergreens, and in that wreath there was alternately an E and F of forget-me-nots, or roses or any sentimental flower of that kind. They had cleared away the theatre at one end of the room and replaced it by a Richard the Thirdish sort of tent, the draperies held up by trophies of our arms, wheat-sheaves in all directions, and E's and F's to match. It was a splendid tent, all red and white satin, and I should like the reversion of it when we go up the country. There were two arm-chairs [294] covered with white satin for us, and the poor degraded George had his chair put a step lower; and over our chairs were our arms and motto. Whereupon I observed to Mr. Shakespear⁶², who wanted to know what 'Si sit prudentia' meant, that 'sit' was put over my chair because I was going to sit down in it; 'prudentia,' over Fanny's because she stayed at home when she should have preferred coming to the ball; and 'si' was for George, who was sighing for a better place than he was seated in. We call that a joke at Calcutta, and it makes us laugh, though it would be rather stupid at home. I did not really sit down in my throne; I thought it would look pretending; but all the ladies, with unwonted civility, came to make their curtsies while George and I were standing there; and then the stewards carried us off to the other end of the room, where there was another large E and F, with two altars and heaps of flowers and little flames burning; pretty and allegorical; though I do not exactly know what it meant; but it looked very well. It was an immensely full ball. Supper was prepared in one room for 650, but 750 contrived to find places; and there was [295] a dais for us with a scarlet

drapery and our eternal names, and each of the stewards presided at a separate table. At the end Mr. Shakespear gave our healths, which were drunk with considerable noise, and then we all went back to the ball-room and stayed till two, which is a wonderful excess for this country and for us. The ball lasted till near four. It was really a magnificent fete, and the stewards showed the superior manners of more advanced age. At the bachelors' ball nobody took charge of anybody, but these steady married gentlemen were trotting about, seeing that everybody had partners, and supper, and seats; and six of them were always left to take care of me, and they were quite proud of themselves for understanding a ball so much better than the young gentlemen who gave the last. However little amusing a ball *per se* is to us who have outlived them, yet this was really very gratifying; I mean really and truly. It is certainly pleasanter to be liked than disliked by the people one *must* live with. There was every lady of the society there except three, who were ill and who sent notes of excuse and their husbands, or their sons to make their apologies; and so, as all our dinners and parties have met their reward, we shall go on in the same track; and that is the end of the great ball subject.

(Friday, Barrackpore) . . . The weather is very nice now early in the morning, so much so that I got up at half-past six and got into a tonjaun and was carried to the menagerie, which is now quite full, and thence to the garden . . .

(To the Countess of Buckinghamshire. Government House, January 27, 1837) [298] . . . There was a ship—the 'Gregson'—burnt three days ago. Just got out to sea beyond the Sandheads, and, though all the passengers were saved and are come back here again, every article on board was burnt . . . [300] . . . There is a native who sells us Chinese silks, and I suppose has made a good thing of us, for he made up as a surprise to me a coat for Chance, of a broche gold-coloured satin bound with silver, with a sort of breast-plate of mock stones set in gold . . .

[301] (To a friend. Government House, February 11, 1837) . . . A shocking catastrophe occurred last week at Barrackpore in the canine department, but there are hopes it may not end fatally. A jackal got hold of little Fairy,—'s pretty little greyhound, and worried her in a horrid manner . . . [302] . . . There are sometimes fifty jackals at a time round the house at Barrack-

pore ... [303] Dr. Drummond's little dog has been carried off twice and recovered. We have all sorts of little adventures of that kind. One of the rhinoceroses has taken to stray about the park, and ran after an old neighbour of ours when he was going home one evening, and he is not only very angry (naturally) that the rhinoceros should have run after him, but also that George should have laughed when he made his complaint, and not only that, but everybody else laughs when they think of this great heavy beast scuttling after old Mr.—. I quite agree with him in thinking it no laughing matter.

(February 12) A Mrs. Chester, from the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, and also from [304] Sidney and New South Wales, has deigned to tread the boards of the Chowringhee Theatre, and she wrote to me so many moving letters that at last we were obliged to go. She is by way of being a singer, so the first act was a concert and the second a farce. I forget now how *common people* are treated in England; here they never begin anything till we come, which is extremely gratifying, only it gives us the trouble of going to the very beginning of any sight, however tedious. George and I, with Miss—and some gentlemen, bravely sacrificed ourselves and sat through it all. Fanny and—came only to the farce. It was almost amusing from being so bad. It is a great pity they cannot import a tolerable actress, for the gentlemen amateurs are excellent actors ... [306] Mars has no letter, but is more quietly pleased with unpacking four baskets of preserves the Nawab of Moorshedabad has sent us, particularly some hot chillis preserved in honey—I should think the most horrid mixture under heaven; but he brought them in triumph to my room, as something exquisite

(To the Hon. and Rev. Robert Eden³³. February 14, 1837) [308] ... I sent three of my servants to Barrackpore with them, as their own are gone on, and my jemadar came back this morning and said they set off at four, and 'the Choota lady Sahib' (or 'la petite miladi', as St. Cloud translates it) 'send her love, and say she have all she want, and she look remarkable comfortable in her palkee;' and he ended with clasping his hands, and 'Now, please, may I have leave to go home and see my children; me up at Barrackpore all one whole day,' which the servants look upon as the extreme of human misery ... [309] ... George and I are going to take advantage of the roads being watered to get

away from the course, and we send on the riding horses and drive to them, and then ride into the lanes by by-roads. I have got a new horse, the last that came from the Cape; my first horse turned out too frisky in the cool weather. Webb says that during the number of years he has managed the Government House stables he has never seen a horse that could not be worked enough in this country, but Selim would take two men to ride him into good behaviour; so, as I have found him more than enough for one woman, I have changed, and this new horse is very quiet. George has one of his scientific parties to-night.

[310] (To a friend. Monday, February 20, 1837) ... She (Fanny) went this day week, and is now at Berhampore ... (Friday, February 24) ... Brigadier—came again this morning about that review at Dumdum, and as they all say it will be less fatigue to go up at break of day than even late in the afternoon ... (Dumdum, Monday, 27th) ... [311] ... A great many of the Dumdum ladies have called, but Captain—has very wisely informed them I should be tired if I saw them, which I am sure would have been the case.

[313] (Tuesday, 28th). George arrived at four yesterday, in great state, with the whole of the bodyguard, and the whole concern after him; and the guns fired and the trumpets sounded, and the people ran and the officers drew their swords; and when I called to Wright for my bonnet, she could not come ... [314] My jemadar, with his usual cleverness had provided himself with a great fan, or I must have disappeared into my own plate, and been carried off by mistake for melted jelly. Then there were fireworks the instant dinner was over, and a ball the moment the fireworks were extinguished

[315] (Barrackpore, Saturday, March 4). We have been here a whole year this day, so I must write to you, and I think I will send off my letter.

[317] (To a friend. Government House, February 23, 1837). Fanny and—set off last Monday week, February 13, and write in ecstasies about the camp life.

BURRA BAZAR

[318] ... I did rather an amusing thing last week. I went to to see the Burra Bazaar, a narrow sort of street, Cranbourne

Alley squeezed almost close and flat, and inhabited by jewellers, shawl merchants, turban binders, &c. I went with Mr.—, his daughter, and Mr.—in their little palanquin carriage, partly because it would have been thought incorrect if any of the Government House servants had been seen there (Lady William Bentinck went to see it in the same way), and also that the shopkeepers [319] would have charged four times as much for their goods to any of our family. It was very amusing to see my servants when Captain—said none of them were to go with me. They evidently felt that a mad patient was escaping from her keepers, and my jemadar ventured to request that he *ought* to go with me, which is very unusual with a native servant. We went off alone, however, and had to walk down the narrowest alleys, and then to go up to the housetops of such wretched-looking houses, where the owners were sitting smoking, or asleep, and out of their dirty-looking thatched tenements they produced such shawls, gold brocades that were thicker than the doors of their transparent houses, and the men that sold them looked as if they were cut out of the 'Arabian Nights.' The jewellers' shops are disappointing, except that they produce out of some odd corner of their dresses handfuls of diamonds and pearls; but they have nothing set nicely. I never go to any of these sights without wishing for Landseer, or Wilkie. There is something about natives so ultra-picturesque, they would make the fortunes of an artist.

We are going to make up a small party to [320] the Botanical Garden on Saturday. I have asked three young ladies and their *beaux* and two couples, and all our own gentlemen mean to go, and St. Cloud and his myrmidons will go down by water in the morning, and cook us a dinner somehow. The natives with four bricks and a little charcoal make excellent kitchens out of doors, and we shall have the band sent down too, and I dare say it will be very pleasant on the water at night, and the moon is the only good thing I know in India . . .

(To the Hon. and Rev. Robert Eden. Government House, Sunday, February 26, 1837) . . . I am only going to run off a line by candlelight, an unusual exertion in this country, but to-morrow at peep of day I am going up to Dumdum to prepare for a review, and the 'Fergusson' sails on Tuesday morning, and in that said 'Fergusson' there are two boxes addressed to

you which Captain Young of the aforesaid ship has taken under his care, in one of which are a turban and slippers for Lena. such as the children wear here [321] when they are smart, and which I bought the other day at the Burra Bazaar, at a stall where they are made, and some little caps which are regular native baby's caps

[322] (Government House, Monday, March 6). George and I walked to a new aviary, or rather pheasantry, that we have been making out of a *mock* ruin in the garden, and there, in the midst of our gold pheasants, which we have imported from China at vast expense to ourselves and vast trouble to—, was an immense snake, a sort of serpent, hopping and skipping about the trees in the aviary; quite harmless, the native gardener said, only it was fond of eating birds—*our* birds, our new birds. He caught it and crammed it into a Kedgeroe pot, where it was precisely a reel in a bottle. It is all very well, and India is a very nice country; but, from early and perhaps bad habits, I prefer a place where we can go and feed the poultry without finding a great flying serpent whisking and wriggling about.

[323] (Tuesday, 7th) . . . Yesterday we dined early to go to a benefit of a tiresome Madame—, who has actually persuaded us into going, by letters and petitions, &c. It was a sort of concert—songs out of various operas, remarkably ill sung by people dressed in *character*. Madame—is an exaggeration of the *Duchesse de Canigaro*, only fatter, and she was dressed as Tancredi; it almost made the concert amusing. Luckily it was all over by ten. We have got two more benefits to do, and then I think all further theatricals may be avoided for the hot season

[324] (Thursday, 9th) . . . Tuesday morning a huge box of lovely articles—shawls, kinkobs, turbans, &c.—was sent to me to look at. They belonged to a Mrs.—, a native woman of very high caste and very beautiful, who was married both by the Mussulman and Protestant rites to an English Colonel—, who took her to England last year, and he died on the passage home. She has never changed her native habits, cannot speak a word of English, and is quite helpless and ignorant. She came back in the ship that took her out under the care of her eldest boy, who has been brought up at home and cannot speak a word of Hindustani; so he and his mother cannot have much communi-

cation ... [325] ... Wednesday morning I went in Fanny's place to the school committee, which seemed very peaceable, and in the evening we went to see 'Masaniello,' which the French company have got up, and acted last week to an enthusiastic audience. I thought it an absolute miracle in our favour that we were at Barrackpore at the time ; but the subscribers, by way of consoling us for that disappointment, proposed to have it over again, contrary to the rules of the subscription, and wrote to beg we would not miss such a perfect opera. The 'prima donna' really surpassed herself in it. So kind ; but it is very hot. However, we went and were received with great applause ; I don't know why, [326] for I cannot recollect that we have done anything very good lately except stew ourselves to jellies at the theatre. The opera was really wonderfully well got up for such small means as they have, and I thought 'the—' did the dumb girl wonderfully, considering she does not understand a word of French, and therefore never knew what she was making signs to.

(To the Countess of Buckinghamshire. Government House, March 10, 1837) [327] ... To add to the provocation of being a whole year in such a concern the old stagers all accost me with a benevolent smile and an air of patronising fellowship. 'Well, I give you joy ; now you are out of your *griffinage* you know as much as we do.' ... [328] ... I had such a bad night last night—the sort of bad nights that can only be grown in this country, so complete and from such odd causes. I have changed the order of my rooms, and in moving my mosquito-house from my former bedroom, now my sitting-room, it got warped and the doors would not shut close ; so the mosquitoes, who never miss their opportunity, whisked in forthwith, and the more I drove them about with the chowry the more they buzzed, till, with them and the weather, I was in a fever ; and just at the hottest a regular north-easter set in—a sort of hurricane ... [329] A storm destroying my little property outside and those insects raging within, and the more I called to Wright, and Rosina, and Anna, and all the 'Qui Hi's' in the passage the more they slept. ... The result was that after luncheon I thought I would go to sleep, and took off my frill and my sash and let *all the hooks and eyes* loose, and told the servants to keep the passage quiet and not to come in with any notes ; and just as I had sunk into a

peaceable slumber several of them rushed in, announcing the Lord Sahib himself and the Lord [330] Padre; and then came George, looking very fussy and as if he knew he did not go twice a day to church, or that there was ever any dancing in Government House, and then the Bishop³⁴ and his chaplains and the Archdeacon; and I was not half awake, and Chance began to bark, and a little motherless mouse-deer I am bringing up by hand was asleep on the sofa But the Bishop was much too full of his own sufferings to mind it. He had been twenty days in a steamer coming down from Allahabad and was nearly baked, and he drove straight to Government House on landing . . . [331] . . . I mean to go on Friday night to the cathedral to hear his first sermon—a funeral sermon on the late Bishop Corrie.³⁵

MOONLIGHT DRIVES

We have set up a second late drive after dinner since last week when there has been a moon. After eight there is not a human being to be seen on the plain, either native or European, and between nine and ten most of [332] the latter are in bed and asleep. However, it has been discovered that we went out at that undue hour, and on Thursday morning half the ladies that came, began wondering at it and asked what made me think of it. I said it must have been inspiration; I could not trace any train of events which could have led to such an original idea, but it *had* been done before at home, and perhaps the moon and the idle horses, &c., &c. They still thought it odd and not the usual way of Calcutta, *but*, if it ready were pleasant, they thought they would try too the next moon. I thought that mean of them, so I observed, 'Oh! the moon! yes, that does very well, but I rather like the mussatchees³⁶ better.' There are always twelve mussatchees, or torch-bearers, who run before the Governor-General's carriage at night, so that quite settled the question. It showed that it was not purely an English idea, but a highly refined Indian bit of finery borrowed from Lord Wellesley's time at least; so they wondered still more, and now they are all going to do the same.

[333] (To a friend. Saturday, March 18, 1837). Some officer at Ghazee pore sent us yesterday two young bears, two fawns, and

a very young mouse-deer ; the united ages of the whole set could not make a month. The bears were the size of Chance and very like him. One fawn died, but the other and the mouse-deer I am trying to rear by means of a teapot and some milk. The little mouse-deer stands very comfortably in my hand ; when full grown they are about the height of Chance, with such slender limbs and beautiful black eyes

Did I ever mention that I sent—some more tortoises by the Duke of Devonshire's gardener, who went home in the 'Zenobia' ? He will leave them in Grosvenor Place. There are two different kinds, the spotted are very pretty, and their skulls are sometimes set as bracelets.

I went on Friday evening to the cathedral to [334] hear the Bishop preach a funeral sermon for the Bishop of Madras—that excellent Corrie who appears in 'Henry Martyn's Life' and in all other *good* Indian memoirs. He and his wife have both died at Madras within the last few months.

(Wednesday, 22nd) [335] . . . I had two people sent to me yesterday by two ladies who thought I should like to sketch them—one a Malay in a beautiful dress, the other a man who is employed to find out domestic thefts. Mrs.—had lost a trinket and sent for this man, and he performed all sorts of odd incantations amongst her servants, and then gave them rice to eat, and the thief is never able to swallow the rice³⁷ The man's hair has never been cut since he was born, and hangs in long grey ropes, all over him. He sat huddled up in a scanty drapery, rolling his immense eyes from side to side and muttering to himself . . . [336] . . . Captain—had turned off one of the servants for being absent three weeks without leave . . . I have now forewarned my jemadar that he must condition with all his petitioners that they are to stand up and speak out in a manly way, or I cannot see them. They have a way when they are in disgrace of spreading their turbans about them, that I think remarkably interesting, and it does just as well as if I understood every word of their apologies. This man yesterday, besides an interesting discomposed turban and a train of yellow servants with clasped hands, looking as if they were all going to be hanged, brought his old mother to cry for him. It is not very common to see a native female (not a servant), and this old creature was huddled up [337] up in her dirty veil, and

hideous as all the native women I have met with, but her feet and hands were most curious things. Very few English children of seven years old would have such small feet, and so narrow and beautifully shaped. There is no such thing as a large foot in this country, but such small ones as these I never beheld. I had a great mind to ask her for them, and she looked such an old dry thing that I think she might have unscrewed them and taken them off. They would have been invaluable to Chantry One reason why they are attached to Government House is, that it is one of the few houses in Calcutta where they are not *beaten*. It is quite horrible and disgusting to see how [338] people quietly let out that they are in the habit of beating these timid, weak creatures, and very few the natives seem to know that they can have redress from a magistrate; but I hope they are beginning to find it out.

(Barrackpore, Easter Sunday, 26th) . . . We have had two such beautiful storms, that sounded as if they ought to cool the air; but it was 'all sound and fury,' &c. There were hailstones as big as pigeon's eggs, and the thermometer at 90° while they were falling.

[339] . . . We had a good sermon on Good Friday, and another to-day, but the heat at the altar was beyond anything; there was no punkah there, and there are no glass windows to this church, so the hot air came pouring in as if we were in an oven, and I saw two or three people obliged to go away from the altar quite faint, and come back again as it came round to their turn.

George's new school has been open this last fortnight, and one of the little native boys already read a fable in one syllable. It is astonishing how quick they are when chose to learn. I have an idea of giving the monitors, when they have any, a muslin dress apiece

[340] (To the Hon. Mrs. Eden. Government House, March 27, 1837). An officer who is going home in the 'Robarts' has just called to take leave, and he says a letter will overtake the ship which dropped down the river yesterday, and I am sure if he does, a letter may. I envied the old fellow. He is going home after thirty two uninterrupted years of India, and is quite curious about Regent Street and the Zoological and all the old stories

LUCKY BARBER

My particular object in running off a line is to tell Robert that his *protege* of a barber, whom he recommended to Mars³⁸, has been this very day engaged to be hairdresser and barber to the King of Oude, at a salary, of four hundred [341] rupees (£ 40) per month, with presents to about the same amount and, if he becomes a favourite, the certainty of making his fortune. His predecessor, at the end of seven years, is now going home with thirteen or fourteen lacs of rupees. The chief objection to the place is, that the King takes particular delight in making all his Courtiers drunk, remaining tolerably sober himself to enjoy the fun. Perry (is not that his name?) had been with Gattie³⁹, the great hairdresser here, for three months, at one hundred and fifty rupees per month, when Mars heard from some Frenchman that the King of Oude's agent was looking for a coiffeur, and he went off with his *protege* and presented him. The agent approved of his appearance and only wished to be sure of his skill, particularly in the shaving department, upon which Mars suggested a trial, and he and Perry went this morning and shaved the agent, who was quite satisfied, and the letter is gone to Lucknow to-day for the King's ratification of the treaty. Perry's journey to Lucknow is to be paid, and if either party is dissatisfied he is to be sent back here, free of expense, but the probability is that he will stay there and make a great fortune. Such an odd piece of luck!

[342] (To—. Government House, Tuesday, March 28, 1837)
 George and I took a very hot ride, and he came home for his great dinner to the Bishop. Out of eighty-five asked eighty-three came, which is the largest number we have dined. St. Cloud's bill of fare was four sides of foolscap [343] paper, and it turned such a good dinner. George wanted me to send the bill of fare home to you, but I had unluckily torn it up. He is a great treasure of a cook, though eccentric (not to say mad) as a man

[344] (Saturday, April 1). Fanny and—arrived yesterday at twelve o'clock—twenty-four hours sooner than we expected them—but the steamer had met them farther on than we expected ...

(Wednesday, April 12). I went out in the carriage with George on Monday evening, but even the evenings now are too

hot to be the least refreshing, and it is better [345] to sit on the balcony *in a draught* after the sun goes down than to attempt a drive, only it seems so stupid not to go out for two or three months

It is the Mohurram festival, and we are going up to Barrackpore with hardly any servants, as they all ask for holidays this week. My jemadar brought his boy to show off in his festival dress—a black and white turban, with an aigrette of *spiky* black feathers tipped with silver, silver necklaces, a black and white kummerbund tied round his waist, and a row of silver bells over that, and his face whitened with flour, to look like a faqueer. The boy is naturally frightful, and this made him look like a negro Grimaldi, and I could hardly help laughing when the jemadar walked him jingling up and down the room with an air of paternal triumph, and then proposed I should draw his picture. 'His mother made a vow before she *bore* him that he [346] should have this beautiful dress when he was twelve years old, and she very pleased he so fine boy'

CHITPORE NAWAB

(Saturday, April 15). As we came up to Barrackpore on Thursday we met the Nawab of Chitpore with all his followers, dressed in green and carrying beautiful flags, and leading horses gorgeously *trapped* and all beating their breasts and lamenting for 'Honpiu.' I am very low about him myself; but cannot make out his story.

One of our young horses came down like a shot on the road, threw the postilion, who weighs nothing, a mile off, the wheelers went on over him (the horse, not the man), and the wheel went up against him.⁴⁰

[347] The servants, English and native, all hate Barrackpore, and Mars walked in yesterday morning to say that he thought it right to tell me that he could not and would not bear the heat of his room any longer, and that Wright⁴¹ was just the same about here. I told him I quite agreed with him, and that I also could not and would not bear it, but that I did not exactly see how we were to help ourselves. He said he did not see either and walked off again. However, I went downstairs with Cap-

tain—and suggested putting thatched mat all along the side of their rooms, which met with their approbation, and they do not mind the darkness. It certainly was a shame to stop Lord Wellesley when he was running up another good Government House at Barrackpore and to stop the finish of this provisional house. As it is, there are no glass windows in the lower storey, and I only wonder the servants can bear the heat as well as they do; and then, as there [348] are no doors whatever to the *interior* of our part of the house—nothing but open jalousies—the hot wind comes bustling upstairs and through all the jalousies and spoils our comfort

(Monday, April 17). Saturday night we drove out late to see the cantonments lit up for the Mohurram, but did not see much

There is an active Mrs.—, the new colonel's wife, who is getting up subscriptions to glaze the Barrackpore church, and then we shall do better.

[349] George and I came down to Calcutta at night very comfortably in the carriage. All the others settled it would be quite delicious to come up by moonlight in the boats, so they set off before us at eight o'clock. The steamer, which is a new one, refused to paddle before they were out of sight of the house, the tide was against them, and the result was that they did not arrive at Calcutta till three in the morning He tried the carriage, and the horse fell down; he tried the water, and the steamer failed; and now he has only two resources; either to go on an elephant and pay the fine which is levied on all private individuals riding an elephant through the streets, or else to look about Calcutta for a gigantic ayah, who will carry him backwards and forwards on her hip in the manner in which ayahs carry children.

[350] (Wednesday, April 19). I have such an interesting picture to copy just now—a picture by Zoffany of Madame Talleyrand when she was in this country as Mrs. Grand. It is so pretty, Captain—borrowed it of the owner to have a copy of it made for himself, and as there are hardly any artists, and none good at Calcutta, and he would have had to give 100 rupees for a bad sketch from it, I am copying it for him

Our boatmen sent word to-day that they had not thrown their Mohurram image into the river on Sunday, which is the proper Mohurram etiquette, in hopes we would go and see them; so

we drove that way to-day, and we were quite glad we went; they managed the sight so *courteously* and well. They were not sure we meant to go, so they posted relays of boatmen on the road to Government House to watch the carriage, and then, when they found we were coming, they sent out torch-bearers to run before the carriage in broad daylight. All the Government House servants live in streets according to their classes, and we found about 200 boatmen, all in their cleanest liveries, drawn up before their row of thatched huts, and in the middle of the street a temple, or *taj* as they call it, made of silver and red foil, with talc ornaments and flags waving round it, and in front they had put four arm-chairs with footstools covered with flags, that we might sit at our ease in an European fashion and admire it. However, we did not do that for fear the Bishop should hear of it and think we were Mahometans, but we admired it prodigiously as they walked round it with torches to show off the foil; and then they took us back to the carriage; and cost us £ 1 apiece, as everything does that we do, or don't do

(Saturday, April 22) [352] . . . He (Major—) has brought us some shawls, he says, and four curious pigeons for my pigeon-house.

(Volume II. To the Hon. and Rev. Robert Eden. Government House, April 12, 1837) [2] . . . I have not been well for five days; supposed to have caught cold by sitting in front of a *tattee*—the first day of the *tattees*, and the *bheesties* wetted it so well, that I caught my death by it. . . .

HERONS' FEATHERS

(The Hon. F. H. Eden to a friend. Barrackpore, April 14, 1837) . . . [2] . . . I am also sending you, at [3] last, those herons' feathers. They came to me, as you will see, on two round ostentatious cases. I grumbled over them for a week, because I think they look rather like crows' feathers faded away. However, when I was ejaculating over them, and showing them to Emily, sneering a great deal at clever—, and a great deal at you for thinking those could be what you wanted, his *jemadars* made a dart at them, expressed many Eastern signs of admiration and astonishment, and said that except Runjeet Singh nobody ever had such. From which I judge that you and he must be very

much alike in your ways. Lady William Bentinck had some, and wore them with a turban and a diamond ; the jemadars evidently thought it was a grand moment for her, and said, 'I suppose it only Lady Bentinck who wear these in England'. In the meantime I do not know their price, but I should think not above 500,000 rupees ; of course, no object to you . . .

(The Hon. E. Eden to a friend. Friday, April 31) [7] . . . I saw the French manager on Wednesday, and settled to have a play at our little theatre, which always stands primed for acting in the ball-room on the third storey.

(Wednesday, May 3). George went down to Calcutta on Monday morning, and did the great dinner there by himself, as Fanny is always glad of an excuse to stay at Barrackpore, and we have put off our play till next week . . . [8] (Saturday, May 6). George came back early on Thursday, time enough for me to take my first airing with him . . . The bachelors of Barrackpore gave a ball last night, and we lent them the Flagstaff Bungalow, thinking we should be at Calcutta, but, as we have been kept here, George thought it would be civil to go.

[9] (Monday) . . . The privates of the Cameronian Regiment acted a play last week (remarkably well, they say), and offered the proceeds to the European Orphan Asylum ; the children there are soldiers' orphans . . . [10] (Wednesday) . . . We had our French play in the evening—two [11] little vaudevilles uncommonly well acted, and the theatre is one of the prettiest I have seen. It makes a very good change from the constant balls, and it is a pity the French people are going away. It was all over at eleven.

(Thursday) . . . I told Major—to give the two little boys who wait on Fanny and me gold lace to their turbans and sashes, which is the great aim in life of the under-servants, and as these little boys always stand behind us at dinner, they have a claim to be as smart as the others. But when the liveries were made my little boy, who is the youngest and a good little child in general, had chosen to stay away for a week, thereby losing his lessons as well as staying at home without leave ; so I told the sircar not to let him have his smart dress, but to give it to Fanny's boy without delay, in order to make the *moral* more striking. When any of the servants are promoted, they always come to make their salaam to all of us, so Fanny's boy walked

into [12] my room, looking very fine, and as he went through the passage he taunted my little boy with it

[14] (Sunday). We went to church armed, with money to give to a charity sermon that had been advertised for the late fires ; and the Archdeacon began with a capital text about wind and fire, but it suddenly turned into a sermon for the Church Missionary Society, which has been quarrelling with other societies

[15] (Tuesday, May 16). We had a great dinner yesterday ; but they are much less dull and formal since that new arrangement of sitting in the Marble Hall, where nobody can sit in a circle, if they wish it ever so much.

. . . In three months our advanced guard of horses, goods, &c., will be setting off. They go six weeks before us, or two months, as we shall go by steamer to Allahabad.⁴²

[18] By your favour, Ladyship, the doorias say the goat afraid of the deer and the deer afraid [19] of the goat, and they both run away and the doorias can't catch them.

. . . A 'tomtom' is a drum, a 'dooria' is a man who looks after dogs and animals. Fanny is always called the choota lady, and I am the burra lady, when they talk of us, and the 'Ladyship' which they address to us is only a corruption of Lady Sahib, not an English ladyship.

[20] . . . There have been shocking fires at Calcutta, partly because the huts are so dry ; they catch fire on the slightest provocation, and the wind is so high it is impossible to stop the flames. There were about 80,000 homeless people last week, allowing four for each burnt hut, which is very few. They huddle together for a few days and then build their huts again, but it looks very melancholy in the meantime. . . .

[21] (To a friend. Barrackpore, May 19, 1837) . . . The—s dined with us on Wednesday ; Mr.—went to join Sir H. Fane on his visit to Ranjeet Singh, and is just returned. As he is not a 'Company's servant,' he of course was allowed to take any present Runjeet gave him ; and the agonies of the other ladies in Calcutta have been intense on hearing that he was bringing his wife a pair of massive bangles and two splendid shawls, besides other ornaments, from the King of Delhi.

I was quite disappointed yesterday when Mrs.—sent me her presents to look at, that we might attest their magnificence was not appalling. Two old patched shawls and two bracelets, such as our ayahs wear . . .

[23] (From the Hon. F. H. Eden to a friend. Barrackpore. May 22, 1937) . . . The only civility we can show our female guests is to beg them to have *tiffin* sent to their bungalows, because it must be so unpleasant to cross in the sun; and [24] generally they most heartily accept it; so from breakfast to dinner we see nothing of them. Then we do contrive to get out half an hour earlier here than at Calcutta; and there never was anything like the green of the park and the beauty of the river just now. The school is finished—really a beautiful building . . . The menagerie is flourishing too, though the young tiger showed a young fancy for a young child, and is shut up in consequence; and the little bear gave a little claw at a little officer, and is shut up too; and the large white monkey, which was shut up, got out, walked into the coachman's bungalow, and bit a little boy's ear; and the three sloths have been taking a lively turn, which is horrid and supernatural; and his 'Excellency' has got an odd twist upon the subject of the rhinoceroses, and connives at their fence not being mended, [25] so that they may roam about the park, whereby a respectable elderly gentleman, given to dining out at the cantonments, has been twice nearly frightened into fits. The story, now twice repeated, of the two beasts roaring as they pursue his buggy is very moving to hear; and his 'Excellency' smiles complacently and says, 'Yes they are fine beasts and not the least vicious.'

(From the Hon. E. Eden to the Countess of Buckinghamshire. Government House, May 24, 1837). [26] . . . I never eat any fruit but mangoes, though I see all the others working away at the peaches (which used to make us die of laughing last year) and declaring that it is wonderful how the Indian peaches are come on.

LIVE-BURIAL

[27] . . . I heard a shocking story at dinner yesterday. The Archdeacon was sent for two days ago, to see a boy, the son of a friend, who was dying; and yesterday they sent to tell him

that the boy had died at three in the morning, and asked him to perform the funeral, which is always here within twenty-four hours of the death. He went yesterday evening for that purpose. The boy was in his coffin, but, just as they were setting off, it was discovered that he was still alive. I have not heard how he is to-day, but I suspect those mistakes must sometimes occur in this country, from the hurry in which funerals are necessarily performed. I do not mean to allow myself to faint away on any account, for fear of accidents.

... [29] (To—; Sunday Evening, May 28) ... Government House is the admiration of our visitors; it is so well shut and cooled this year. The [30] thermometer is 87° in my room (outside it is 105°), and I have discovered an accidental draft in the Marble Hall, where the wind comes down one of the corridors, cooled by the tatties, and where Fanny and I have sat all this week without a punkah; the draft is so strong Major—said it was very unwholesome, and that Lady William never sat there, which I assured him must simply have been because she never had the luck to find out this curious draft; upon which he sent the doctor to say how prejudicial it must be; but the doctor found it so pleasant that he drew an arm-chair and thought it much the best place in the house.

... George's head servant, who claims the title of 'the nazir' and who has a treasure in his way, went to his own house at Dacca to try to get rid of a Bengal fever, which had [31] baffled Dr. Drummond. He had leave of absence for two months, and he has now been gone four, and, as he was always consumptive, it is obvious that the poor dear nazir is dead.

... I followed—to George's room after breakfast to settle this important point, and found him actually proposing to George to take my jemadar, that jewel of a man! who speaks English perfectly, and is my stay and support—matches my gowns and sashes, washes up my painting box, and takes care of everything I have, money included. I said yesterday before him that I was going to model something George wanted, and when I went to my room I found some clay prepared and a board and all my tools and even some print books; it is just the same about everything, and I am convinced that a *good* native servant is the best in existence. The bad are perhaps very bad.

[32] ... The nazir is the highest servant in the house, and paid accordingly ... [35] (Saturday, 3rd) ... The natives feel the weather even more than we do ; two coolies who were bringing milk here yesterday dropped down dead in the sun ...

[36] (To—. Barrackpore, Sunday, June 4, 1837) ... We played at lottery tickets as usual in the evening. The weather is worse than ever. The thermometer was 105°, Captain—said, in his bungalow after he opened the door for one minute to come out to luncheon ... [37] (Wednesday, 7th) ... We have returned to our cool seat in the Marble Hall here, and are much better. We had a great dinner in the evening. The dinners are much less formal since we have abandoned [38] the drawing-room, which was too small for fifty people. Now the gentlemen can sit down if they will, and though very few of them do, still the ladies cannot get into a circle, though they do their very best.

(Saturday, 10th) ... On Thursday we received visitors in that unaccountable cool place in the Hall, which I mentioned to you, where there is no punkah. The audacity of seeing them in a new place was almost too much for their Indian nerves and etiquette, but they were charmed with the climate. If the wind were to remit for five minutes, we should all be choked ; but, coming though two tattees, half a mile off, it is delightful ...

[39] (Sunday, 11th) ... We played at 'lottery,' as we always do when we are by way of being alone, and they thought it delightful and agreed to make a great resource of it at Canton. ... We would not go to morning church ; it is [40] so dreadfully hot. Several horses died last Sunday waiting for their owners, and I hardly think one would be left to-day. (Monday, 12th) ... They have been a great trial to everybody, and the way in which the natives have died of cholera the last fortnight is lamentable. We may freshen up again a little up the country, but we are certainly grown very yellow, or brown lately, and George is very grey. His hair is growing quite white. The climate has agreed with my hair, strange to say, and it has grown thick and dark ...

[42] (Wednesday, 14th). Lady—came this morning to show us some work she has received, done by Spanish nuns at Manilla, on pine-apple cloth ; I never saw such a curious sight, much too pretty for use ... [43] (Thursday, 15th) ... One of

the Mysore princes was here when Mr.—called, and Mr.—had luckily seen his brother at the Oriental Club in England, which delighted Ghola⁴³ much

[44] (To a friend. June 11, 1837) . . . Breakfast is a remarkably bad meal in this country. I wish you could see the bilious despondency with which, one after another, we all look at it; not but what there is a great choice of evils—tea and chocolate and eggs in all shapes; and meat, fish, and pine-apples, and mango fruits, and mango-fool, instead of gooseberry-fool. But it is all in vain; it is too much trouble to eat at that hour, and Sundry weak voices saying, [45] 'Peene ka Pawnay' are all that is heard, which, being interpreted, means, 'a glass of cold water,' and if that is not sufficiently iced, the dejection of the moment turns into slight irritation.

[47] (To the Countess of Buckinghamshire. Government House, June 13, 1837) . . . I thought last week whether it would not be advisable to send away all my seven hurkaras, because they had hunted all through Calcutta without being able to find a *white belt*.

[51] (To—. Barrackpore, Friday, June 17) . . . George and I were standing in his verandah, and saw the lightning strike the ground close by my new garden, and there was a crash like that of several regiments firing at once; so we skurried in and shut the windows. There was a powder magazine at Dumdum (the idea of living near Dumdum!) struck that afternoon, and poor Dumdum made such a noise that it would have been glad to be deaf . . . [52] Dr. Wallich, of the Botanical Garden (a great man in botanical history), has given me seven hundred plants, which would be exotics of great value if we were not acting in that capacity ourselves, and he is come here himself this afternoon to see that they are all put in the right places . . . It sometimes strikes me that we Europeans are mad people, sent out here because we are dangerous at home, and that our black keepers are told never to [53] lose sight of us, and the ingenious creatures never do.

[56] (To a friend. Barrackpore, Thursday, June 22, 1837) . . . All this was floating about me, and I had a considerable mind to cry about it, but then two little paroquets began screaming in a tamarind-tree, and there was a strong perfume of exotic flowers—Indian white blossoms that were dropping on the grass

—and then I saw eleven of those white eastern figures whom I had told to sit down, all squatting cross-legged most obediently, but with their black eyes fixed on me, and I scorned to waste any English tears on [57] such an eastern scene.

[59] (Friday, 23rd) . . . Fanny and I and Major Byrne went out on the elephants. We are trying some new howdahs for the march, and I think I am satisfied with the alterations that have been made in mine, though I could invent something better ; but the very best howdah on the very best elephant will, I think, reduce anybody to a shapeless and boneless lump in about six miles of travelling. I expect to walk my march. A palanquin looks like a coffin, the elephant shakes, and I am grown afraid of my horse. The carriages go with us, but there are few roads on which they can be used. I have had a long letter from Miss Fane, giving such a beautiful account of Simlah.

[60] (Saturday, 24th). We dragged one of the tanks yesterday, because the fish are all dying for want of water, and the native servants begged hard for some fish : all their food is so dear. It is always a pretty sight. There were at least 200 of them crowding round, and Mars and Giles and Webb (the coachman) trying, by the help of chokeydars (the Government House policemen), to keep some order in the distribution. The fish are enormous ; many of them weighed more than twenty pounds.

[64] (Tuesday, 27th). We are all in a horrid way about the ice, which oozed out yesterday ; and no signs of an American ship ; and the water we drink would make very good tea as far as warmth goes, but the Bishop had persuaded the ice manager to give him the last little scrapings of ice, on the plea of our dining there.

The Bishop showed us his house after dinner. He has got the best library in India, and I borrowed some good books from him.

[65] (To the Hon. and Rev. Robert Eden. Barrackpore, July 17, 1837) . . . Grindlay deserves to be made a peer for the cleverness with which he contrives that every ship shall bring something. In consequence I watch the semaphore at the fort, twiddling its great wooden arms about, with double interest, because though it may announce only a ship from Penang or Singapore, yet it may signalise an English ship, in which case we

are sure of something interesting ; and if I could find anything worth dear Grindlay's acceptance, I would send it to him.

[66] ... Yesterday, in the morning paper, they mentioned that an English ship was in sight at Diamond. That made a cheerful breakfast. The dawk, as the ignorant *creturs* call the post, comes in about half-past one at Barrackpore : so about that time I established myself and book in his Excellency's room while he was writing, and kept an eye on the door ; and when the nazir, George's head servant and a thorough picture of 'a gentle Hindu,' came in with a placid smile on his good-looking countenance, I guessed he had something better to give than a common official box ... And when anybody comes to an interesting bit of news, there is a scuffling about the house, or screams of 'Qui hi ?' and somebody comes and carries off the precious epistle, and takes it to the Lord Sahib, or the Lady Sahib, as occasion may be ...

[67] ... I think the native female schools will do good at last, but we attended the report last Wednesday that was made of them ; and there was a great deal in the report that I cannot believe. The native girls are married always at seven or eight years old, and after that are shut up and seen no more ; and this report mentioned little girls of six years old, who came to school in defiance of their fathers' orders, and who concealed their Testaments between their mats and beds, because their parents forbade them to have them, like little Christian martyrs and great examples. I asked the clergyman afterwards whether he thought a native child of that age, who has not the sense of an English child of three years old, was really disobeying her parents from religious motives, and whether it was right to teach them deceit under any [68] circumstances, and he said no ; he had been sorry to hear it. There was a sale afterwards for the benefit of the school, at which we spent with great difficulty one hundred and fifty rupees (about £ 15), and had to bring George his money home again, as we could find nothing to buy.

MONKEY MENACE AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE

(From the Hon. F. H. Eden to a friend. Government House. July 18, 1837) [69] ... My dear, the King of Oude is dead ! ... [70] Gazelle stamped about for the remainder of the night,

and my lory had lost twenty feathers, for the ayah countend them and would not be comforted. Ever since, the house has been haunted day and night by a monkey. There is no peace, no safety. The sentinels are baffled, for it comes in at the windows. [71] . . . Unless the monkey can be caught or killed, George must abdicate and go home ; life is not worth having on such terms.

(From the Hon. E. Eden to— . 'Enterprise' Steamer, Friday, August 6, 1837) . . . I took to the real Indian cure of going down to the Sandheads, and though I am only thirty miles from Calcutta, yet I declare I think I feel better—'a little peckish or so' and not so hot. This sort of fever has been in every house in Calcutta and Barrackpore.

[72] . . . The air is so hot and steamy and the tanks do not fill, so that the atmosphere is muddy and bad, and altogether it has been much like an influenza in London, only that people here have no strength to lose, and whatever they do lose they never regain. (Saturday, 7th) . . . We came to anchor at Kedgerree at half-past five yesterday, and the water was very smooth and the air delicious on deck, but the cabins were so hot at night, after the large rooms and the punkah at home, that I could not sleep a bit . . . [73] We went down to Saugur—actually into blue sea-water—in the morning, whereby I and all the native servants were remarkably sea-sick ; so then we turned back again and anchored at Kedgerree. Kedgerree is a pretty place—about two inches of bank, then a little jungle and an old ruin of a house that a former postmaster lived in, a little thatched bungalow which the present less well-paid man inhabits, a flag-staff which acts as a semaphore, and then a few native huts. Mrs. Rousseau, the postmistress, sent me a basket of fruit and vegetables. I wish she would come herself, as she must want to see another European woman. I suspect her husband must be the original Rousseau. It is just the place he would have chosen to live in—utterly out of the reach of human kind . . .

[74] (Wednesday, 9th). We went down beyond Saugur yesterday . . . Fanny has begun with this epidemic, but [75] slightly, she says. George finds that turtle-soup and port-wine are great preservatives.

(Calcutta, Sunday, 13th) . . . We have seen the last of our dear open carriage till we get to Benares. It is gone to be lined and painted, and is to embark, with many others of our goods

and half the servants, in a fortnight ; so George and I went in the great coach. As it is almost all glass, and all the glasses let down, it is, in fact, an open carriage, only it feels like the Lord Mayor's. Anything is better than the job-carriages here ; they jingle and shake like taxed carts.

(Monday, 14th). I should say we are all very well again, but we have got off our party to-morrow night in consideration of an immense ball for the King's birthday, which we give on Monday with supper for 900 people (bless me !)—our last large [76] Calcutta party, as half the servants will go towards Benares in about a fortnight. George, in his frisky way, went to the play to-night. There are no punkahs in the theatre, and not a breath of air . . . I borrowed several books from Mr. Macaulay for my expedition and read them all through, and feel better informed than usual this week . . .

CHINESE SHOE-MAKER AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE

[78] (To the Hon. and Rev. R. Eden. Barrackpore, August 18, 1837) . . . sent home—to England—bulky Chinese furniture . . . [79] . . . I know I shall be fined or imprisoned before I leave this, for snipping off by irresistible impulse the long plait of hair our Chinese shoemaker⁴⁴ wears. It touches the ground, and one snip would have it off . . .

We should not send home all our furniture so soon, but we shall be away from Calcutta a year and a half, and that is quite enough in this country to injure anything that is not daily looked after and aired and wiped and cleaned ; but they say that, left in Government House merely to the care of a few natives, the insects and the damp would have destroyed every item before our return . . .

[80] People are always changing their stations, and at every change they sell off everything, because there are no stages, waggons, or canals by which even a chair can be transported from one place to another, and it is not everybody who can afford a man's head on which to carry it.

(From the Hon. F. H. Eden to a friend. Government House, August 18, 1837) . . . Perhaps, after all, *you* are the 'Company.' [80] . . . Our first and best energies are devoted towards making a *cliquant* figure of his Excellency, in order that he may

shine in the eyes of the native princes ; and I take it he will make a pretty considerable figure seen through a long vista of embroidered punkahs, peacocks' feathers, silver sticks, spearmen. &c., and two interesting females caracoling on their elephants on each side of him.

I have at last made—listen to reason about my howdah, and it is a model of comfort. [82] . . . One of the native princes made his prime minister pound his family's heads in a mortar with a pestle . . . The other day the *bahoo* died here—a very high caste servant, through whose hands great sums of money pass. He might have been saved, but would not degrade himself by taking English nourishment, and, being a Hindu, was at last carried off by his attached friends before he was dead and laid by the side of the river where they poked mud into his mouth, and there was no choice for us but to let him be murdered in his own way,

[83] (From the Hon. E. Eden to the Countess of Buckinghamshire. Barrackpore, September 7, 1837). [85] . . . Three boat-loads actually gone. Chaplain and lady embarking to-day, our carriages and the band actually packing.

(From the Hon. F. H. Eden to a friend Government House, September 17, 1837) [87] . . . Horses, carriages, servants, howdahs, all our small comforts, are to be sent on to-morrow to Benares, where, I believe, our camp is to be formed ; for, as we are to be towed there by a steamer, they will be some weeks longer going . . . [88] The servants have all got their state livery given them to-day ; an immense amount is expended on scarlet and gold to show our sense and grandeur to the natives up the country. I had just begun to write, when I heard a great movement in the staircase leading to my rooms, and then the old *khansamah* walked in with a considerable body of followers. He has lived here for fifty years, and is a fine old man, with a long white beard, and rules us all. He was in a transport of vanity with his dress, which is perfectly beautiful, both turban and tunic. He talks English, and did the honours of himself in this way : 'I come with my *kitmutgars* and *chowkeydars* to make salaam to Ladysheep. My dress very beautiful ; I got gold lace here and there, and have a crown and stars on shoulders, which nobody else has. *Chowkeydars* one row gold lace more than *kitmutgars*, but all less than me.' I expressed my profound admiration, and then they all beat their foreheads and walked out. Ten minutes

after there was another movement, and the nazir, who is George's head man, walked in with his twenty hurkarus, who answer to our footmen. He reads and writes English, and [89] admired himself in the most polished language. 'I doing my best to keep up with him' and then he and all his followers salaamed. Then Emily's and my jemadars, with our hurkarus; Ariff was excessively grand indeed. Then came the *sirdar* with all his followers, the men who carry the palankeens and pull our punkahs; then the *musalchees*, who have the charge of lighting the house, and so on to five processions more, classes of people whose existence I had never heard of, all equally proud of their appearance. Last came the most degraded caste of all, the *mihturs*, or people who sweep out the rooms. None of the other servants would take anything from their hands, and, in compliment to that feeling, they all had different dresses of dark purple. This shocked me, so I made a point of admiring these dresses, more particularly as their head man, as if in mockery of himself, brought in Chance wearing a little gold coat. No high caste servant will touch a dog.

ADJUTANT SWALLOWS BABY

[90] . . . Dr. Drummond says that a few days ago—'s friend Dr. G.—found an adjutant which was so heavy it could not fly. In their horrid surgical way they killed it, and on opening it, they found it had swallowed a baby. In that most dawdling way these birds manage to suck down live cats, rats, and crows without any [91] apparent effort; but to swallow a baby is rather strange. In some countries the bird would have been tried for murder; here nobody but a doctor would dare to kill one.

[91] (From the Hon. E. Eden to the Countess of Buckinghamshire, Government House, October 3) . . . After having watched the career of the 'Seringapatam' with the most intense interest, congratulated ourselves on her early arrival at Madras, pitied ourselves on her long passage to Saugur; plagued the heart out of agents, who were going off for their Doorgak Pooja holiday⁴⁵; obtained an order from the Custom House (which is shut for the same reason) that our boxes might pass; and now the ship is come in, and not only is there no box for us, except a bog of seltzer-water, but she has not brought us a single English letter!

[93] (To the Hon. Mrs. Eden. Government House, Tuesday, October 17, 1837) ... [94] It is melancholy to see a week after the death of a head of a family everything advertised for sale. They won't keep, and there are no shops to send them to ...

(To— . Government House, October 16, 1837) [95] ... For his days of common Pariah audiences I should think a coloured muslin must be correct.

(From the Hon. F. H. Eden to a friend. Government House. October 17, 1837) ... [98] ... This Thursday we shall receive at least three hundred more (visitors), besides going to the play for the good of the house (the roof of which will not support the weight of punkahs; so I am sure it is not for the good of us) and attending the marriage of a daughter of 'a member in Council,' taking sentimental leave of two old aides-de-camp and expecting an interesting meeting with two new ones; hearing the details of the packing of seventy-two camel-trunks; wearing and tearing the powers of thought by settling what is to be sent up the country, what to England, and what to be kept here; making B—think it right and reasonable that Chance, and Gazelle, and [99] my tame lemur should go in the boat with us, when we have not room for half the servants he meant should sleep on the deck.

(From the Hon. E. Eden to— . Government House, 1837— Begun October 25, ended October 30). [101] ... The degree of destructiveness of this climate it is impossible to calculate, but there is something ingenious in the manner in which the climate and the insects contrive to divide the work. One cracks the bindings of the books, the other eats up the inside; the damp turns the satin gown itself [202] yellow, and the cockroaches eat up the net that trims it; the heat splits the ivory of a miniature, and the white maggots eat the paint; and so they go on helping each other and never missing anything. We have arrived at very nice weather, though, comparatively speaking, I cannot guess how it would be in England—I suppose very hot, for we are still living under the punkahs—but there are chilly bits in the day, in which old Indians go shivering about in great coats and try to look blue. Poor things! they only look yellow, but it pleases them to think they are cold.

... Their boat [103] and their sailors' dresses look so English

and well among all the odd-shaped budgerows and natives on the river

It is impossible to get a cabin on board the steamers and pilot schooners that take people to be *rolled about* at the Sandheads for the recovery of their healths. It is a melancholy country for wives at the best, and I strongly advise you never to let your girls marry an East Indian

[105] We are all full of fancy-ball preparations, which is an excellent topic.

* * * *

(From Hon. E. Eden to the Countess of Buckinghamshire. Camp Dholepore, January 4, 1840).

About Agra : The house is so very small and confined to Government House, that I can imagine, even were the climate the same, that one's 'sufferens' must be much greater; but they say that we are to sit at home behind a tattie for two months at least, without letting any daylight in, and that then we shall enjoy ourselves uncommonly. (II, pp. 125-126).

George says they are all agreed that a palanquin is even better than a tent, and that a house is the greatest luxury in the world (II, pp. 128-129).

I thought I should have fainted away when I saw Chance, who is too idle to sit up, lying lapping out of his glass held by the 'genteelest of men' and a well-born Mussulman; I snatched the glass, and scolded the dog, and salzamed the nazir, and ever since I have gone poking about the tent looking for the Kedgerree pot full of water the bearers bring, and if it is not there Chance must die of thirst. (II, p. 130).

* * *

SHOPPING IN CALCUTTA

(To—; CALCUTTA, Tuesday, March 17, 1840) [132] . . . It is a long time since I have had a novel that I could not leave off, and I have been reading this ever since breakfast—quite at the wrong time of day, only there is always the comfort at Calcutta, if one does anything ever so wrong, of saying it is too hot to do anything else.

[133] (Wednesday, 18th) . . . We cannot succeed in dressing ourselves at all. — wrote to two or three of the principal sale-

rooms to desire they might be kept open for us from five to six, and he and Fanny, Captain Hill and I went out shopping when it got cool. It was rather amusing to see a shop again, particularly as these contain all sorts of things; like American *stores*, but as far making ourselves smart, the thing is impossible.

(Friday, 20th). We went last night to the play, which we had bespoken. No punkahs and a long row [134] room with new windows; it is impossible to say what the heat was, but the acting was really excellent; I never saw better. We stayed only for one farce—'Naval Engagements'—and, notwithstanding the heat, laughed all the time. There is a nephew of Joseph Hume's, a lawyer, who acts very well, and Stocqueler,⁴⁶ the editor of one of the papers, is quite as good as Farren. I wish it were possible to have a cool theatre; a good farce is the only real amusement in this country.

(Wednesday, 25th). We had one of our visiting evenings last night, and they go off wonderfully. The clergymen and their families all come, sure not to be shocked by dancing; and I filled the great Marble Hall with sofas and ottomans and all the print books and my sketch-books; and the people sat in groups, not all of a row, and George and Sir Jasper got their whist, and it was all over by half-past ten, and they all walked off saying these early little soirees are quite the thing for the climate, and it is quite a pleasure to see Government House so gay again. Such gaiety! Oh my!

[135] (Friday, 27th) . . . Last night was the Town Hall ball. We made ourselves, with much trouble and infinite [136] expense, very smart at last. The ball was very pretty—everything covered with F's and E's and the staircases turned into bowers with *real* singing birds, who never ceased singing. They were a sort of nightingale who surpass any bird I ever heard. There were very few masks; nobody could keep them on; some handsome fancy dresses. Some of the ladies and gentlemen acted the 'Bear and the Bashaw' on a small temporary theatre⁴⁷, and acted very well. That helped on the evening wonderfully to *non-dancers*, and we stayed till one very contentedly.

(Monday, 29th). I have given up morning church during the hot season; even five minutes of the sun is enough to knock people up for a week, and then at Calcutta they always read the whole service with three hymns, instead of the short service with

no singing, which everywhere else in India is the custom. It keeps half the ladies away from the church, as very few can sit through it. We went to the Fort Church at night, and had an excellent sermon from the Archdeacon.

[137] (Tuesday, 31st). We had such a large dinner at the Nicoll's yesterday, but rather lively for one of those State dinners, and Sir Jasper⁴⁸ likes his whist; so George and I had that consolation in the evening. . . .

(Barrackpore, Thursday, April 2). I quite forgot to mention that in the ship 'Repulse,' which sailed last week, I sent off my four beautiful hill pheasants, addressed to Mr. — .

[139] (Tuesday, 14th) Chance is now turned into a poodle. He has been groaning and puffing and was really weighed down by his curls, and nothing would stop their growth; his paws were not visible, and everybody said he would die. So Captain Anson carried him off this morning to the best hair-dresser in Calcutta, Jimmud following in tears, because it was so unlucky to cut these long curls; and, after an elaborate toilet. Chance frisked in the image of a small black lion and as active as ever he was in his best days. The native servants are delighted now, because they take it as a compliment to the Company, whose great sprawling lion is carved and stamped everywhere.

[140] (Wednesday, 15th). We went by water to the Botanical Garden yesterday evening; sent some dinner and the band asked several to go with us, and it answered very well. We had light enough to let Lord Jocelyn say he had seen the Garden. Then dined under a banian-tree, and then sat on the grass by the river-side under such a beautiful moon, and sang glees and duets and all sorts of old fashioned songs till ten o'clock, and then we came home in the 'Soonamockie,' and it was a very good change from the usual evening . . .

(To the Countess of Buckinghamshire. Barrackpore, April 2. 1840). [142] . . . It (Government House) is altogether in a ramshackly state, and it will be rather an advantage for the next Governor-General not to try any repairs; the floors have given way, so that the tables against the walls look like writing-desks. with perhaps a thought too much of a slope; and if it tumbles down, he can build himself a house with good doors and windows. This house has no doors—nothing but jalousies—and 'I

jalouse,' as the Scotch novels say, that nothing but hot air comes through them.

(Calcutta, 10th) . . . Lord Jocelyn arrived here two days ago. It is wonderful how he has borne sixteen days of dak travelling: he says sometimes his palanquin was so hot he could not bear the touch of it, [143] and thought he could get out into the sun to avoid it, and that once or twice, from heat and headache, he thought he had gone mad and was carried along not knowing why. One of his bearers dropped down dead the last day from mere heat . . .

[144] (To the Hon. and Rev. Robert Eden, Calcutta, April 20, 1840) . . . George went yesterday on his way here to give the prizes at the Medical College, and he did. Five of the students received their diplomas to practise as surgeons, &c., and when he gave them [145] he shook hands with them and said that, as they were now members of a learned profession, he considered them as gentlemen, and hoped their future conduct, &c. &c. These make ten young Hindus who have qualified themselves to act as surgeons. The five who went out last year⁴⁹ are getting on wonderfully. The one who was sent to Agra began with five patients, and now has a hundred daily. Certainly education is progressing rapidly here, and must do great good in a worldly sense, and eventually in a higher way

(April 21) . . . The natives like fireworks, and they have taken a great interest in the Queen's marriage. [146] . . . I am making my life wretched with two little striped squirrels. The squirrels here are nearly white, with four black stripes down their backs, and striped tails. I have got two young ones, meaning to tame them, but they are evidently deficient in intellect—perfect ninnies, so unlike my dear flying squirrel at Simla . . .

HINDU COLLEGE EXAMINATION

[147] George went to the Hindu College to give prizes to the best essay writer, &c., and, as the papers said the Miss Edens were to accompany him, he made me go too. Goodness me! how hot it was, notwithstanding the storm. There was every respectable native in Calcutta, besides Sir E. Ryan and all the great

school people. It is always an interesting sight and the boys would beat in history and mathematics any sixth-form boy at Eton, and indeed in history most men ; they have such wonderful memories. They asked them to give an account of the first Syracusan war, of the Greek schools and their founders, when the Septennial Bill was passed, when the Limitation Peerage Bill was passed and why what Pope thought of Dryden, what school of philosophy Trajan belonged to—in short, dodged them about in this way—and they gave the most detailed and correct answers. Ten years ago I suppose no Hindu could or would speak a word of English. Lord Jocelyn enters into all these things with great interest.

(Friday, 24th) [148] . . . We have such a pretty new open carriage to-day, which I asked George for, when first we arrived and in the meantime the old one has been lined and varnished, and looks as good as the new one . . .

SUPERINTENDENT OF ROADS

(Sunday, 26th). We all dined at Mr.—'s yesterday ; there had been a great thunder-storm, and it was quite cool and pleasant, and the dinner was not so bad as most native cookery is ; the company always the same—members of Council and their wives, judges, &c.

The judges were in a horrid state, and so were we. There was a brute of a man, a superintendent of roads. His house was robbed, and he suspected some of the men who worked on the roads of the robbery ; so he had a sort of bamboo gibbet erected, to which he tied up [149] sixteen of these men by their hands, their feet not touching the ground, and then flogged them and lit straw under them and burnt them with irons, and kept them hanging fourteen hours, and some eighteen. One man was taken down dead, some insensible. It was proved that this all happened in Mr.—'s compound, and that he had his dinner-table brought out and dined within six yards of these wretched creatures. He made no defence, except that he did not touch them with his own hands ; but only gave directions to his overseer. Sir Henry Seton said that, in his charge to the jury, he only alluded to the possibility of calling it manslaughter because.

from the horror of capital punishment in this country, he thought it better to ensure the man's being transported for life; but, to his utter surprise, the jury brought in a verdict of 'not guilty'. Sir E. Ryan, who has been here many years, says it is invariably the case that the low Europeans who make up a jury here always agree to acquit any man who is tried for the murder of a native.

[150] (Tuesday, 28th) . . . I am happy to say Hughes was convicted of a misdemeanour yesterday, and will have two years' imprisonment. It is better than nothing. Mr.—, the lawyer, launched out against the jury in a way that astonished them.

[151] (Wednesday, 6th) . . . I am happy to say I succeeded to-day in getting a little one-armed boy into an excellent charity school there is here, where boys are boarded, lodged, and taken care of for six years.

(To a friend. Barrackpore. Sunday, May 10, 1840) [155] . . . I drove yesterday to Mrs. Wilson's school, about six miles off, and went quite by myself, that I might have a good talk with her, which seemed to strike her as an odd, independent measure. Don't you drive about alone quite safely? My two little girls looked so nice and happy, and ran out from the school instantly, and never left their hold of my gown all the time I was there, and did so want to come away with me, which is a proof native children are not so *indifferent* as people say. They have begun their Christian education so far as kneeling down with all the rest of the school, when Mrs. Wilson said the prayer before the school dispersed, and putting their little fat hands up. I am afraid my jemadar's Mussulman's feelings must have been dreadfully [156] outraged to see them, and also, as far as I could make out, the Hindustani prayer was all for the conversion of the 'wretched Mussulmans and Hindus, at least the English one was, Mrs. Wilson is always my idea of as perfect a character as there can be in this world, and so regularly *merry* with it. She lives in this jungle without any society but these 150 little black orphans. She has married off thirty of them at the usual early age of this country to native Christians, who have built little huts round her and act as gardeners or labourers; and she is now building a church for her little colony, trusting entirely to Providence for funds for herself, her school, and church, &c., and she always finds that she has just enough at the end of the year for all the good she does. The children are all so fond of her, and she

fetches out a little black tadpole and says, 'This is a dear little child; she came to me quite providentially—found near the river.' 'These little darlings survived the inundation at Saugur,' and so on. They are all dressed alike, in a long white muslin scarf with a red border, which is first wound round them, so as to make a sort of petticoat, and then the end is brought over the [157] head like a veil. For a scanty drapery I always think a 'sarce' the most becoming dress possible.⁵⁰ The girls work beautifully, and she laughed till the tears ran down her cheeks because Jehurun and Aneerun went and fetched a beautiful pair of slippers worked by one of the great girls, and, without saying a word to anyone, held them up and asked me to give them in their name to the Lord Sahib. Then Jehurun came lugging in an immense footstool, and, when Mrs. Wilson (asked) her what for, she said the Lady Sahib always put her feet on a morah. I am so glad to have seen the little things so happy.

(Calcutta, Monday, 11th) . . . I got a bad headache by setting off to Mrs. Wilson's before the sun was down . . . [158] (Wednesday, 13th) . . . All Calcutta there, though in general gentlemen think it wrong to attend sales and mix with the sircars who buy; but it was a fashion to go and see these things . . . (Thursday, 14th). I find I bought more at—'s sale than I thought I had. He had a silver bed-frame with little posts beautifully worked . . . [159] Here, if I only go to George's room, the sentry in the passage takes the key of my door, and one of the four khalapees,⁵¹ who are answerable for my room, sits in it till I come back again, and sleeps at the door at night . . .

[160] (Sunday, 17th) . . . I trust this China business will now be soon settled, and that everything will be in train for a peace before December, and just before we step into our ship in February we shall kiss and make friends with them. For my own individual part I shall merely kiss old Aumon, the Chinese shoemaker, who glides about Government House with his eyes half-a-mile apart, his long pigtail touching the ground and fanning himself with a great Japan fan. And in the worst of times he has stuck to us. When opium was seized, Aumon still made shoes that fitted. The troops embarked; his white satin slippers remained at two rupees the pair. The 'Queen' steamer went with the last directions to Admiral—yesterday; and [161] who know that Mrs. Aumon is not living near the coast? Still Aumon

fanned himself, and said, 'This good satin ; this right foot, this left.'

GERMAN MISSIONARY

.... (Friday, 22nd.). There is a German missionary come out here, and he has a poor little wife really shockingly deformed, and she limps about with a tittle crutch but she sings like a perfect angel, and, as it is a pity to sacrifice the pleasure of hearing her to all the foolish rules about visitors, I got Mr.—to bring them here on Tuesday. Foreigners are always admissible, and we asked them to dinner yesterday, and a few people to come in the evening and hear [162] them. In my life I never heard such singing as the dear little woman's ; her voice quite filled the great hall, and how anything so fresh and round comes out of that poor little crooked body I cannot guess. She was very good-natured about it, and set leaning on her little crutch, singing without accompaniment the wildest and most touching German and Swiss songs. It was really pleasant, but I cannot divine how I can ever hear enough of her.

QUEEN'S BIRTH-DAY BALL

(Monday, 25th). We are to have our great Queen's ball this evening ... I am going to introduce singing at supper, which will be a [163] novelty ; the healths always are such flat businesses ... The Rajah of Burdwan has come down to Calcutta on purpose for this ball.

(Wednesday, 27th). There never was so successful a ball. Dancing, supper, healths, songs, everything went off well ; there was scarcely an excuse except from two or three sick people, and Captain—had made a good selection of Armenians, natives, and Portuguese, so that their odd dresses only added to the thing ... [164].

CONVERSIONS

(Thursday, 28th) ... After luncheon, when I generally subside into a short slumber, and, indeed, when the whole of Calcutta does the same, Captain—came to say a clergyman wished to come upstairs and see me. Out of respect for the Church

I said yes, though I was very sleepy, [165] and, moreover, my tame squirrel was fast asleep in the tight part of my sleeve, so that I was obliged to sit with my arm akimbo all the time, which must have struck the clergyman, who was not cognisant of the squirrel, as ungraceful to say the least of it. He gave a curious account of conversions lately. He baptised 1,400 converts at Kutmagur in February, many of them Brahmins of the highest caste, and there are now 2,000 applicants for baptism in the same district, whom he will baptise in a few months if they continue firm. He attributes a great deal of this to one particular missionary, but also to education. It was quite clear that, when once the Hindus allowed their boys to be so thoroughly well instructed as they are at the Hindu College, they must see through the horrible absurdities of their own religion, and then, though a single Hindu who loses his caste can hardly withstand the persecution of his countrymen—in short, can hardly live—yet if any number change their religion, they become a refuge to each other, and make the conversion of more much easier. It is a great triumph to the Liberal party, who have supported and worked at these schools, always [166] declaring that education was the first step, and whenever there has been an attempt to *begin* with conversion the Hindus have invariably withdrawn their boys. The Mussulmans are so aware of this that they never send a child to an English school, and their conversion would be at all events such more difficult. There is nothing absurd or revolting in their religion; it is only incomplete . . .

(Barrackpore, Saturday, 30th) . . . The giraffe has been sick, and is well again; and George's elephant has suddenly dropped down dead, which is distressing, inasmuch as there is not such another smooth one in India. The weight of his fall brought his house down with him, which, I think, is rather a fine elephant end.

FIREWORKS AT GOVT. HOUSE

[167] (Calcutta, Thursday, 4th) . . . There! our fireworks are over; and, just as all the natives prophesied, George's luck made Tuesday and Wednesday the only two *still days* we have had this season . . . We marked out the whole outline of the house with lamps, and, by means of bamboos, the great dome was entirely

covered with them ; the four great gateways covered with coloured lights in devices, and Victorias and Alberts in all directions. They said the dome was visible for many miles, and that three miles off the house looked like a palace of gold. The fireworks are always very inferior to what we see at home. Vauxhall would die of laughing at the best Indian fireworks ; the climate produces so much more smoke than fire [168] from gunpowder. However, there was one volcano of 10,000 rockets that was magnificent, and the natives, who covered the plain, were delighted with it all. Captain—says a clerk in his office gave him the best account of it—one of the old, dried, yellow clerks peculiar to the country. He came in on pretence of mending pens, and said, 'Fine sight, sir, last night—remarkable. There were 2,000 of us clerks, black and white, on the roof of the Treasury ; and, upon my word, Government House was much the finest sight I ever saw in India—such an extent of fire ! But—you'll excuse *me*, sir—the fireworks ! I saw finer fireworks in the early part of the Marquis Wellesley's reign ; to be sure the Marquis was uncommon partial to fireworks, almost a native in that respect, and he had Sir Arthur Wellesley, and King George and Billy Pitt, and many other respectable characters in blaze in the middle of the plain ; but it was *reserved* for the Earl of Auckland to show us a fine illumination, and his Lordship has done it nobly.' Captain—says he evidently thought it a finer business than Cabul. It took 210 men to light the roof [169] alone, which was almost as good as Billy Pitt in a blaze.

(To the Countess of Buckinghamshire. Calcutta, May 28, 1840) . . . We had often observed in our drives to Ballygange (Ballygange is our Eltham [170] or Lewisham) a little native straw hut, a wigwamy looking thing, with a few cocoa-trees, and over the door a board with 'Peer Bux, miniature painter,' written on it, and George and I used to wonder what Peer Bux's notions of miniatures could be in that windowless hut. It was close by the bodyguard barracks, and since we came back one of the officers of the bodyguard went in and sat to Peer Bux, who made out a very good likeness of him—rather stiff, but beautifully finished—and now he has done another of Captain Hill, which, with a few suggestions of perspective, &c., is so good that I thought he might be allowed to make a copy of you on ivory ; so yesterday he carried you off, and I don't know how you feel,

but you are now residing in Peer Bux's wigwam, and he is making some slight alteration in your cap and sleeves and reducing you to three inches by two. Is it painful? If he should send you back with a deep brown complexion, black hair, and a quantity of bangles on your arms, you must excuse his native prejudices; but I shall be horribly disappointed if he does not make an excellent miniature from that picture, and I am very fond of it, sister, for your dear sake.

[171] We have given our Queen's birthday ball with the greatest success. The whole society met, all in their best dresses and best humour, and St. Cloud turned out a magnificent supper, and we had the singers to follow up the toasts, and altogether it pleased everybody, which is a mercy, considering it is not easy, particularly in the hot weather. Our fireworks for the wedding *come off* on Wednesday next, but whether they will *go off* is quite another thing. There is a violent storm about every other night this year, delightful to the gasping inhabitants, but not precisely the thing for either fireworks or illuminations; and, as it never gives more than half-an-hour's notice, there is no resource. I hope it may succeed for the sake of poor Colonel Powney, who manages the concern, and who has never recovered a total failure of a great rejoicing in the time of Lord W. Bentinck, when, after four months' preparation and an expense of £ 5,000 the damp turned all his fireworks into smoke. Lord W. Bentinck's family were smoked out of Government House, and the guests were wandering about on the plain all night, unable to find a road home. Ours is on a smaller scale, [172] but will be very pretty if the weather is agreeable, and a great many natives have already arrived from a great distance for the show. It is the only rejoicing they like . . .

(Wednesday, 3rd). This is the eventful day of the fireworks; there has been no storm the two last evenings, which may be good or bad, but it is hardly possible to count on three fine evenings running. However, the natives say that George's *kismet*, or luck, is sure to prevail, and that his star will give him good weather. They have the greatest admiration for luck, and I hope their faith may not be washed out to-night. The whole of Government House is to be illuminated, which is a novelty, and after twelve o'clock, should a storm come on, the whole thing is spoiled, as the preparations are too large to be removed.

These fetes are very little personal trouble ... [173] P.S.—This came in while I was writing to you, and would amuse you if you could see 'my son', a very astucious looking native who supplies me with silk and ribbons. I have recommended him to other ladies, and all natives say to people they look up to 'you are my father and mother.' But, except a note recommending particular silks to ladies who want them, we never give recommendations, as they make frightful use of any letter from Government House ...

[177] (To—. Calcutta, Monday, June 15, 1840) ... I had such an interesting arrival to-day of a piece of furniture, half table, half cabinet, which I ordered at Bareilly nearly a year ago, and just as one has forgotten all those old orders they are executed. However, this is a lovely article ...

[181] (Friday, July 3). My jemadar has been laying out his savings and all the presents he has had in a little bit of land, which is a great event in a Mussulman's life. It gives an income to the whole family, which, as they will not take interest, money never can; and George and I drove down some narrow lanes to see it, and certainly in the rains the lanes about Calcutta are very pretty, with the plantains, and cocoas, and wild creepers. [182] and wigwamy huts; and if I were sure I never should see them again, I should like them very much; but as it is, I think of Ruth when sick for home:—

She stood all tears, amidst the alien corn ...

[182] (To the Countess of Buckinghamshire. Calcutta, June 30, 1840) ... [183] ... His own Jimmund has been ill for a month, and the jemadar of that class of men volunteered his services to Chance. He has been forty years in Government House, and considers himself too great a man to wear a red turban and sash, but walks about in draperies of white muslin with a long flowing white beard, and it was rather too fine to see the old fat man and the old fat dog taking their evening walk on the plain—Chance so dreadfully bored—and he was so delighted when Jimmund came back yesterday ...

(From the Hon. F. H. Eden to a friend. Calcutta, August 5 & 6, 1840) ... [187] ... Yesterday at dinner I sat next to Colonel—; you know Colonel—of course. As far as I can make out, he has been for the last eighty-seven years and odd minutes at Siam, so you must have been constantly moving in the same

circle ; and, what is really interesting, he has seen a great deal of the father and mother of the 'Siamese Twins,' who are now showing themselves in America, and who send their father and mother £ 60 a year, and they intend soon to go home and retire upon their earnings.

RUSTOMJEE COWASJEE

[189] (From the Hon. Emily Eden to—, Thursday, August 20, 1840). Sir John Grant brought his Parsee friend Rustomjee Cowarjee⁵² to my room this morning, to ask me to christen a ship which Rustomjee has just built ; it is the largest which has ever been built in Calcutta. I am sure I shall not break the bottle properly ; I never saw the operation performed, and now the Parsees have adopted this fashion of christening they are very particular about it. It is not to be till September 10, so I fancy there will be a considerable degree of crashing heard about Government House in the interim. I think of having all the old soda-water bottles piled in my balcony, and of passing all my spare time in throwing them at the pillars of the verandah, and if I can kill a crow or an owl in passing so much the better. Think of the horrible crows (the crows of Calcutta are notoriously ill-conditioned and spiteful) taking up my poor little squirrel, who was disporting himself on the balcony, and dashing him down to the ground from the third storey ! Some of the servants saw it and ran to [190] pick up the bite, but the squirrel was not hurt, and ran into a drain under the house. He came out the next morning, and ran into the house and was caught . . .

[190] (Barrackpore, Friday, 21st & Sunday 23rd) . . . I have been so stung by a hornet—never was stung before, and had no idea it was so bad. However I killed the hornet ; there was some pleasure in that . . . The sting was shocking for two days ; I should like to kill another hornet.

EDENS WITHOUT DINNER

(Barrackpore, Friday, September 4) [191] . . . So we ordered half the dinner to be served, and, [192] to our great horror, the old khansamah came in wringing his hands and said the cooking boat had never arrived . . . All eatables are bought in the bazaar early, and cooked before the heat of the day begins, to preserve

them, and after ten o'clock there is nothing to be bought. Our dinner was already cooked and coming up well packed ; but there was not a morsel here

The old khansamah cried about it, and told Captain—he had served seven Governors-General, and this was the first who had ever gone with-[193]out his dinner. The moral is that for the future the dinner to come up by land . . . The natives, you know, will not touch what has been on an European table ; so that the remains of dinner are always thrown away, except where, as in our kitchen, there are Portuguese who eat it.

[195] . . . (To— . Calcutta, Wednesday, September 27). We had a very gay dance last night. I do not know what possessed the people : all the grandfathers and grandmothers danced as hard as [196] they could ; the great hall was quite full of people ; and yet at one time nearly everybody was dancing.

LAUNCHING OF RUSTOMJEE'S SHIP

[200] (To a friend. Calcutta, Monday, October 19, Tuesday 20th & Tuesday, November 10). This was the great launch day : luckily very cool, high water at two, everybody in time, all [201] with the smartest dresses, a collation for three hundred, the band playing, the river covered with boats, guns loaded, flags flying, nothing could be more successful, except that the ship positively refused to be launched. I think she must have been chilly and was afraid of the water. She was on a nice slope—nothing to stop her—hundreds of people working away with screws and levers and ropes ; but she would not stir, and the tide, which went upon the old foolish rule of waiting for no one, turned, and so we all came back as wise as we went.

(Wednesday, 11th). Manockjee Rustomjee (don't you think our friends have very distinguished names?) came this morning to say they wanted to try that obstinate ship once more, because, if she is not launched to-day, she must wait for some tide a month hence, and that he believed christening could be done by proxy. So—very good-naturedly offered to go again in the broad glare for me, and set off with Captains Mackintosh and Hill, and when they had got half way they heard a great shouting and firing and met various Parsees rushing distractedly to stop them ; [202] and it appears the dear ship all of a sudden slid

into the water of her own accord ; nobody near her to help. I like that ship ; she will take her own way so quietly. The ball at night was at Rustomjee's garden house⁵³, three miles off. The female Rustomjees were brought into society for the first time. They are dressed like Rosina, but covered with diamonds and pearls, and the old lady looked very jolly ; but they do not speak any English. There was an immense crowd, a great illumination with George's arms, and a 'Welcome to E.E. and F.E.' and so on, and, as they let us come away at eleven, it all did very well.

[202] (Barrackpore, Saturday, November 14) . . . We have the dearest monkey in the mena-[203]gerie here. He has no tail, and is in fact a very clever human being, only more active and graceful. He is not chained, and sits on a little railing, and there is a thing called an arctonox—something like a very small pig—that is also loose in front of the menagerie. The instant its back is turned the monkey steps along on its hind legs (it never goes on all fours), waving its arms, and pulls the pig's tail. If the pig turns round first, the monkey pretends to sit down in a demure attitude and to be leaning on one elbow, looking at the sky, and waits till the pig turns ; then he gives a pull and skips back with a regular hearty laugh to his railing. He tried the trick with Chance yesterday, who was extremely indignant.—wants the Court of Directors to make this monkey Provisional Governor-General, and I think it would be a good arrangement, as we could then go home at any moment with a safe conscience as to the government of India.

(To—, Calcutta, Tuesday, November 17, 1840) . . . [207] . . . A great chief from Moorshedabad⁵⁴ arrived on Sunday . . . He is only eleven years old and a very pretty boy . . . [208] his mother has come too, carefully concealed in her palanquin . . . He is by right the King of Bengal, and consequently of all of us, and is the only native whose visit George returns here. He went to see him this afternoon, and, as all the gentlemen went, F—and I went boldly out riding by ourselves ; just the sort of thing which astonishes the Calcuttites ; but we told Brown, the coachman, to ride carelessly and like a stranger within reach, and mentioned to the guards that we had rather they should not ride over us if we were kicked off. The course is so crowded, and the Indian horses so vicious, and the natives such bad coachmen, that there

is never a day without some accident, but it did not fall on us to-day.

(Wednesday, 18th November, 1840) [210] . . . Fanny and I went to-day *in state* to visit the Begum of Mysore, the widow of the original Tippoo. We called on her when she was in Calcutta before, but I think she is grown younger and livelier. She is past eight-six, but a very handsome old body, with magnificent eyes, and surrounded by her grandchildren and great-grandchildren, who did not veil themselves up nor look so shy as last time; she looked very happy. Her son, Prince Gholab,⁵⁵ interpreted for us, and we sent her some rings and bracelets and china in the morning. She asked what the guns had been firing for, and when I told her she said, 'Oh, then I suppose you English will now take the Punjab,' which showed how well the old lady knew us. Her youngest great-grandchild was in the room—only three months old, and its mother just thirteen. The baby was dressed in a long frock of gold kincob, with a sort of cocked hat of the same, and a quantity of black false hair sewed on to the hat or cap.

[215] (Friday, 5th December). They all went to some races yesterday morning, got up to show the little Nawab. They may get up races at six in the morning, but they cannot get me up to see them, so I excused myself. (Sunday, 7th). We gave a great dinner yesterday to the Nawab—sixty people—and George and I did a little extra duty by taking him in the afternoon to see the 'Cruizer,' the only Queen's ship that is in the river.

PRIVATE THEATRICALS

(Tuesday, 15th December, 1840) . . . [218] We are to have our private theatricals this week. Captain Fitzgerald has built such a very pretty theatre in the ball-room on the upper storey, which is never used, and is, in fact, only a gallery between George's room and mine. They were rehearsing for three hours last night, and apparently with great success; but they would not let anybody come within hearing. However, I did take a little peep on my way upstairs, and it looked uncommonly pretty.

(To—. Barrackpore, Monday, December 28, 1840) [219] . . . Since I wrote last we have had our private theatricals at Government House; most successful; I think *the* thing that has really pleased the Calcutta society. The theatre was very pretty

and complete, the scenes good, the acting very good. I have never seen people laugh so heartily as they all did that evening. and they [220] are all bent on having more ; and I suppose we must have, in the course of time, a French play there, as an excuse for giving the French artists a little money.

On Saturday (19th December, 1840) we went to see the first stone of a public library⁵⁶ laid by the Freemasons, and it was rather amusing and very ridiculous to see them in their dresses. Freemasonry is a great rage at Calcutta just now.

(To—. Barrackpore, Friday, February 6, 1841, continued. Calcutta, Tuesday, 10) [222] . . . There is always a crowd of petitioners at the gate when George goes out, and it has happened several times that, when a man cannot get the redress he wants, he throws himself down before the horses. The postillions are getting quite 'cute about it [223] now, though, if they could manage to inflict only a few hard bruises, it would be a good thing to give those people a slight idea of what it is to be run over, and they would not try it again . . .

The other day, when we had a great dinner, one of the sepoys on guard went mad, and would come into the dinning-room to state his grievances to the Governor-General, and he had drawn his bayonet and was stabbing away at everybody who tried to stop him, even at Captain—, who went out to him . . .

(Wednesday, 11th) . . . We had a French conjuror last night . . . He was rather amusing from mere impudence ; otherwise his tricks were very poor.

[226] (To a friend. Wednesday, March 3, 1841). I went this morning to an examination of the European female orphans ; the school is very well managed now by the mistress, but it is rather distressing to see European children examined after natives. Even—, who is against native education, says it is the most surprising difference possible. Little natives of seven years old will go through the longest sums and give definitions of English words, and are quite ready at little details of English history. and they are all panting with eagerness. These girls looked quite *put out*, and became quite silent after the governess had told them to *speak up* once or twice, and, though all of them knew how much five times fifteen was, the whole first class failed in guessing how much fifteen times five was. I own it is very difficult, but then I am a stupid European.

CHOLERA EPIDEMIC

[231] (Saturday, April 3). We had a great storm last night, which I hope will stop the cholera. It is not so bad here as at other places; the dak through Burdwan has been stopped for want of bearers; the last [232] gentleman who travelled through it, says he counted more than 200 bearers who had dropped down dead on the roadside, and near Dacca the bodies were counted by thousands that had been thrown into the river.

(Sunday, 4th). My poor tailor went away from his work quite well at five o'clock yesterday, and was dead before morning with cholera . . . It certainly is a fearful disorder, and all these poor people live in such small huts, in such swampy situations, one only wonders how any of them escape.

[233] (To—. Calcutta, Wednesday, April 28, 1841) . . . It is fearfully hot now, and—is out in it all tiger-hunting, but declares it is cool near the hills. They had only seen one tiger, which was a very ferocious one, pulled down three elephants, and carried off one of the poor mahouts. He passed with the man in his mouth within ten yards of—, who fired, and luckily hit the tiger in the loins, who dropped the man and sprang on the back of—'s elephant. He knocked him off into the river, when the others came up and killed him. The mahout's arm was very much torn, but he is likely to recover . . . [234] He told me that the Governor-General's agent there (Assam) had paid rewards for 3,600 tigers, which had been brought in last year; five rupees per head is paid for a tiger, and the heads and skins had most of them been burnt, as there are no means of disposing of them there. Such a pity; you might have liked a tiger-skin carpet . . . There is one native who has shot fifteen tigers every month with poisoned arrows . . .

I have had such a curious present to-day—a Chinese god—the household deity of Admiral Quang, who was killed at Chuenpee. It is all japanned red and gold—a nice fat idol in a beautiful chair and one of the handsomest curiosities I have seen—something quite new . . . Moreover I have had a present of a real live Argus pheasant, [235] as big as a peacock . . . It is the first that has arrived alive here, at least in our time, and it is wonderfully beautiful.

(Friday, May 8) There has been a great triumph to George's

Barrackpore school. Sir Edward and Mr.—, &c., have been examining candidates for the Medical College. There were fifteen vacancies and candidates from the Hindu College, the Scotch Assembly Schools, and all the great institutions which are taught by the best English masters. Six of George's boys, fired with a noble ardour, came up, and three of them carried off three of the vacancies, and one boy stood second on the list. Considering they are children of the poorest villagers, that the school has been built only four years and the master is a native, and that they are examined in ancient and modern history, geography, mathematics, and algebra, and in English composition, it really does them all, particularly the master, great credit. Sir Edward says that English pronunciation was quite marvellous. He will be a horrid loss to this country [236] and so will Mr.—; they take such unbounded pains with the natives, but they both go home this year.

(Wednesday, May 19). A Parsee friend has imported such a beautiful carved ivory boat for me. I never saw anything like it; it is like the finest lace, and the three little capins are fitted up with ivory tables and sofas, and Chinese drinking out of ivory tea-cups. Sweetly pretty! but I wish I knew what I am to pay for it.

DOST MOHOMED

(Saturday, 22nd, May 1841). Our deposed Dost Mahomed^d arrived this morning. George did not like to receive him in durbar, or with honours, as everything that is done will be exaggerated in Cabul, and may make mischief there. So it was settled he was to drive to Government House on his way to the house he is to live in, and to pay a common morning visit. So we got it up (Captain—and I) in a sort of half-and-half way; arranged [237] our morning drawing-room in the native style—a sofa at one end and a long line of chairs and sofas leading up to it, with two rows of servants with silver sticks behind the chairs—and I got—to order a few of the bodyguard to stand in the corner of the room. George sat on his sofa, with the secretaries and aides-de-camp on the rows of chairs all bolt upright and doing nothing, and I flatter myself that the Dost thinks that is the way in which he passes his day. He was told that he was to find George at his usual morning occupation. So if the Go-

vernor-General could take Cabul in that dawdling manner, there can be no bounds to what he would do, if he took to apply himself, and ever held a pen, or read a paper. Dost Mahomed came with two sons and some attendants under the charge of Captain—.

The Dost is a fine-looking man with very good manners ; I should think imperious in his own house, but very easy and frank. He talks Arabic, which—makes a shocking mess of, and drove—, who speaks it like English, to the verge of desperation. George offered him our coach to go home in as a sort of compliment, and Captain Nicolson said he would like [238] it, but that, as he had never been in *any* carriage till this morning, when he landed at Cossipore, he was no judge of those matters. I made a little peephole for myself in the billiard-room and did a slight sketch, which gives the 'general effect,' but the room was so dark I could not make an actual likeness

(Wednesday, 26th). Our ball went off beautifully ; much the best Queen's ball I have seen. In general there are such odd-looking people at it ; but, though it was a great crowd, it was much better society. Dost Mahomed came, and also an ex-king of Johanna, an odd-looking creature, with some savage-looking followers. All the Mysore princes came, and a great many other natives, covered with jewels. We never go in to these balls till everybody is assembled, and he was [239] very much struck at George's entry, which is always a pretty sight ; the rooms are so large, and lined with soldiers, and lowering the colours, and presenting arms, and the three bands playing one after the other, all struck his fancy, and the company looks so orderly, standing in a circle at first, like one of their own durbars. I do not think he saw the dancing, as George carried him off into the south hall, and several gentlemen went and assisted him in turns, and C—contrived to get the interpretation into his own hands ; so the conversation went on very well. He seems clever and very kingly in his ways. By way of relieving George, after a time, I asked him if he would play at chess ; I beat him the first game, which was odd, as he would only play the native game—would only allow the pawns to take one step—no castling, and the knight may not check the king—and, as this makes quite a different game, it was no wonder he beat me the second, which was a very long one ; these rules only came out as the game

went on, but he seems to be a very good player. He went away before supper.

We sat down above five hundred to supper . . . [240]. The ball went on till half-past two . . . [242] . . . The men who are pulling the punkahs have, I see, set up large fans, with which they fan themselves with the other hand.

Mr.—brought me such beautiful sketches of Darjeeling to look at this morning. It is a [243] consolation for those who are booked for many years at Calcutta to know that there is this town growing up within four hundred miles, with its hills and valleys, and snowy range, and waterfalls. It seems to be exactly like Simla, and stands as high, but one is twelve hundred miles off and the other four hundred.

(Barrackpore, Saturday, June 3, 1841) . . . Yesterday morning the Dost and his sons, &c., came up early in the 'Soonamookie.' It was the first time he had ever been towed by a steamer, and he was very much pleased with it, but more struck with the fitting up of the pinnacle than anything else. It has five or six very pretty cabins, and the furniture is all white and gold and very showy, which delighted him, and the oil-cloth on the floor was a new invention to him, and he thought it beautiful. It is very odd how often the commonest inventions strike them first. George took him out in the afternoon with his sons in another carriage, and the giraffe took his fancy prodigiously. He said if [244] he were to tell in his own country the things he had seen, they would call him a liar . . . We had a ball for him in the evening, and this morning he has been sitting to me for his picture; but I made only a very hurried sketch, as it was a tiresome operation for him. He is living at one of the bungalows, and is to send us over an Afghan dinner to-day, with a dinner for all the servants. I hope none of his bigoted followers will throw a little poison in, don't you? I mean to eat slowly. in hopes to perceive the first twinge before it is too late.

One of the Calcutta papers put in a number of falsehoods about the manner in which Captain—treated him; that he was treated as a close prisoner, and only *ordered* out by the 'Lord Sahib's hookum' (or command) when he went to see any sights with George, that spies were sent even into his zenana, &c. Captain—lives in a house a mile from his, and never goes to him; but when he is sent for. The Dost has no zenana here, greatly

to his own grief ; [245] but he says his wives at Loodiana would hear of it and resent it when he goes back ; and of course his going out with George is one of the distinctions he is most proud of, and that he always dwells upon, when he talks of the treatment he met with when he was a prisoner to the King of Bokhara. However, the paragraph was shown to him by some native, and put him in one of his greatest rages, and he cannot understand why the editor is not to have his head cut off. He found out that the authority was a sort of renegade Afghan, whom he had refused to entertain, and he sent for him and got a written retraction from him, which he insists on having published. The editor of the paper is in a sad puzzle about it, but ends by starting a grand proposition—that, at all events, they are right to have made the statements, even if false, because it has brought out the truth. Such a good principle to go upon !

(Sunday, 4th). George and I were sitting by the water-side yesterday evening, and the Dost saw us and came with his nephew and an interpreter and established himself by us, just as any English-[246]man would do at a country house, and sat talking there very amusingly till the dinner bell rang.

We ate our Afghan dinner, which was very good ; a kid roasted whole and stuffed with pistachio nuts was the chief item, and quantities of sweetmeats

I went to church this morning, but was obliged to come out, being nearly blind with the heat. I never will try morning church again in this season . . .

[247] (To—. Calcutta, Thursday, June 10, 1841) . . . Dost Mahomed was here again on Tuesday at a very small party, and, when George asked him how he bore the weather, he said he had, in the course of his life, been at Dadur, and that it was a common Mussulman proverb, 'Why, if God created Dadur, did he take the trouble to make hell too ?' a rational proverb as applied to India generally. The Dost was in great spirits and extremely struck with all he had seen. He said he could not understand it, that he felt giddy : that when he was on board the 'India', the great steamer, he thought he had understood what was explained to him, but that when his nephew asked him, when he went home, what he had seen, he said, 'You must go and see for yourself ; how can I ever [248] describe what these people do ? He was very anxious to know if there really were

in Europe a larger house than Government House ; and when George said something to him about our customs, which allowed of women coming into society, &c., he said, 'You are quite right; you make a Paradise ; now this looks like one.' He would have made a great sensation in a London room with his sons and suite standing round him, in their immense turbans and flame-coloured, or scarlet, or blue dresses embroidered in gold. Dreadfully hot, poor dears ! but I suppose they would not think muslin quite correct. Perhaps they are not more picturesque than the other natives, but they are quite different and look new ; they are very Jewish in countenance and colour.

NATIVES ILL-TREATED

[251] (Calcutta, Monday, 21st). I got back very safely on Saturday, considering that an officer in the cantonment tried to carry off to the guard-house Ukbar, our head coachman, because Ukbar, who lets out keranchees—a sort of hackney coach—asked to be paid for one that this officer had hired. He did not know that the man was [252] our coachman, but that is the sort of way in which most Europeans treat natives, and then say they are 'ungrateful rascals.'

George wonders every day how we are allowed to keep this country a week. I have often seen, when I have been sitting in the verandah at sunrise, a great bulldog run at natives, who, with their bare legs and feet, are particularly terrified at dogs. Dr.—told me that he saw a bheestie worried by this dog one morning, and that he drove it off, and soon after, he met a young man riding and this dog following. He did not know him, but he stopped and told him that he had driven the dog away from a native. 'Oh, did you?' he said ; 'why I keep this dog and another for the sake of hunting the niggers. I had a famous run this morning, after a black fellow on the course, and brought him down.' Dr.—told him he should go to the magistrate, which he did. George would willingly give 50 rupees to anybody who would catch this indigo planter at his morning hunt, and I have established through Captain—a communication with the superintendent of police, which I hope will procure the desired result ; but is it not enough to make anybody foam [253] with rage ? I wonder what natives must think of the Christian religion,

judging by its effects here? An indigo planter the other day murdered his wife, a girl of sixteen, in the most horrible manner—beat her to death—and, because she was half-caste, the other planters in the neighbourhood helped him to get away, and the magistrate took no notice of the murder till the papers got hold of it. Then the Government interfered, but the murderer had gone off to France. 'Indeed, indeed, I'm very, very sick.'

(From the Hon. F. H. Eden to a friend. July 1, 1841. On board the 'Cawasjee Family') [254] ... In sixteen days they sent this ship for us from Singapore.⁵⁹ Our cabins are excellent: but oh, my dear, if you, with your set-up yacht notions, were to see our crew!—Malays, Chinese, Lascars, Hindus, Mussulmans—half of them trepanned on board. Some were grooms, some gentlemen's servants, and when heavy squalls come on, as they constantly do in these seas, they hide themselves wherever they can, naturally enough; two were found sewn up in a sail last night, more hid in a copper. Many of these ships are lost in consequence of the merchants' system of [255] pressing men on board who have never seen a ship before ...

NATIVES HONOURED

(From the Hon. Emily Eden to—. Saturday, July 11, 1841) [257] ... Next a visit from the Baboo Setanaut Bhore, a good old fellow who has had the charge of all the Government presents made and received, who manages all durbars, &c., and George has given him a great place of near £ 2,000 a year at Moorshedabad, and I never saw anybody so pleased, or so grateful. Moreover, it gives him rank, and entitles him to sit down when he pays a visit; so before he came I stuck a very large armchair near the table, that he might have the full pleasure of it. All natives who speak English at all, love hard words, and he said, 'My Lady must not think it *sycophancy*, or too much gratitude, but all we poor natives do say the same thing—that we never had so good Governor. My uncle not believe when I say that the Governor-General gave me this place of his own thought, not to please some great man, but [258] because he pleased to think I do it well.' It is quite true, and the incredulous uncle is now convinced of it; though very few natives could possibly be brought to believe that any patronage could be given

without jobbing, and hardly without bribery. Our own baboo is very anxious to succeed Setanaut, but we are so near going away that it would be hard to deprive the next dynasty of the only man that knows the monied usages of the house; and, indeed, we only suppose he is anxious to go because he, with the other servants, are all growing fidgety about a change of masters, a thing they cannot abide . . .

And then there is the 'Tenasserim' steamer coming up the river, in which there is a silver betel-box for me—a curiosity from Ava—sent by Mrs. M—, who says it is to be had for 150 *rs.*—the mere cost of the silver—and I [259] may take it or return it. I know I shall want to take it, but then the £ 15 is not so pleasant. I hope it will turn out ugly.

TERRIBLE THUNDERSTORMS

(To the same. Wednesday, September 1, 1841) . . . I could not go down to our party, and it was partly accounted for at night by a most awful thunderstorm . . . All Calcutta got up and rushed about their houses, and got under their beds, and into their closets, and all the usual precautions. [260] . . . Giles and Bright thought the great figure of Britannia at the top of the house had been struck, and they came to see whether it had fallen into my passage; and Zoe⁶⁰ set up a howl; and all the stable-keepers say that their horses trembled dreadfully before the storm began, and many of them broke loose when it came. Altogether it was a bad storm, and the lightning struck an adjutant that was perched on one of our gateways and cut off its ugly head. The plain was quite under water this morning.

(Wednesday, 15th). I was so active this morning. The Dost and his family all set off to-day for the Upper Provinces, and I have done a sketch of him and his two sons—merely their heads—and wanted his nephew, who is a beautiful specimen of a Jewish Afghan, to fill up the sheet; so Mr. C—abstracted him out of the steamer early this morning and brought him to my room before breakfast, and the son, Hyder Khan, came with him merely for the pleasure of the visit. Mr. C.—speaks Persian so readily that they are much pleasanter with him than with—as an interpreter, and they were very amusing about [261] the liberty which Englishwomen have. They told Mr. C—it was the

only foolish thing they had seen in Englishmen, that they could not have believed it, if it had been told to them. 'In fact,' Hyder Khan said, 'it makes up for all the rest. You are the slaves of your women, and we are the masters of ours'. I said that if I could get into their *zenana* we should hear another version. 'Oh no,' he said, 'you could hear nothing, because our wives could not speak unless we gave leave; and if they did we should beat them. It is the first rule we make, that a wife is never to speak till she is spoken to; so she can never begin a quarrel.' They were quite curious to make out from Mr. C.—how it was that Englishmen began to get their own way at first. I said it must be their own cleverness. 'No,' the Jewish nephew said; 'they were very clever, and that is Allah made them so, it was all right; but still He made Englishmen very clever too, and how they who could invent ships, and guns, and steamers, &c., could not invent a way by which they could be masters of their own wives he could not understand.' My drawing is a very pretty one, and they are pleased with their own likenesses.

MRS. LEACH SNUBS MRS. D.

(To—. Wednesday, October 6 & Wednesday, 13th). [263] ... We all went to the play on Monday except Fanny, who thought it would be tiresome; but, for a wonder, it turned out very amusing. The great actress, Mrs. D—, acted the Lady of Lyons. What an interesting play it is! And she did it very well, though a little Miss C—, who came out only as the confidante of Mrs. D.—on half-pay, cut her out completely. She is one of the best comic-actresses I have seen, and had great success: the house was for the first time so full that there was not a spare chair. Mrs. D—is very handsome, and Miss C—very ugly, but they were both so applauded that Mrs. L.⁶¹—, who was born in the country, and has for eighteen years been the only professional actress in India, fell into hysterics, rushed into Mrs. D—'s room, and said she must have paid people to applaud her, and that she should never act on her stage. Mrs. D—, with considerable majesty, desired her leave the room. Mrs. L—said it was *her* room and *her* theatre. Mrs. D—signified that if these were Indian [264] manners she should return in the ship which brought her out, whereupon Mrs. L—rushed on the stage to

appeal to the public not to applaud her any more, but unluckily was forced off by a strong body of amateur actors before she could get before the curtain, which is a pity. I had a real play headache yesterday, which shows it must have been a real English play, and now we are only in a dreadful fright lest all the clerks and a few cadets should marry Mrs. D—and Miss C—, before we have seen 'Victorine' and several farces we have set our hearts on.

(Thursday, November 11). We went last night to see 'Macbeth'—a bold attempt, but we promised to go, and we were rather rewarded for the exertion, for it was remarkably well acted. Mrs. D—is a very good Lady Macbeth, and I must say Mr.—also acts very well. The music, too, of 'Macbeth' is always pretty, and, on the whole, there was no great magnanimity in having gone there. The house was over-full, and it must be a wonderful change to people who remember India ten years ago to see quantities of baboos, who could [265] not get seats, standing on their benches reading their Shakespeares, and then looking off at the stage, and then applauding on the backs of their books. At least one-third of the audience were natives, who were hardly admitted to the theatre when first we came, and certainly did not understand what they saw. The native generation who have been brought up at the Hindu College are perfectly mad about Shakespeare. What a triumph it is for him, dear creature! Plays that he wrote nearly 300 years ago acted to a race that were hardly known in his time, and who yet see *the truth* of his writing just as much as the courtiers of Queen Elizabeth did. I mean to mention it to him when I see him.

(October 10th, Friday) ... [269] ... My chief amusement has been packing ... People say that the natives are very apt to steal small things on these occasions, but I have never lost anything yet, and mean to trust them.

ARRIVAL OF LORD ELLENBOROUGH

(From the Hon. Emily Eden to—. Calcutta, Friday, December 31, 1841). [275] ... In the meanwhile Lord [276] Ellenborough is 'ploughing the ocean,' and must now be past the Cape, and we have not a morsel of ship to go home in, and do not know where we are to find one.

(Saturday, January 1, 1842) . . . I went yesterday evening with Captain M—to survey our house in the fort, as Fanny and I shall most likely take ourselves off there, when we hear Lord Ellenborough is in the river. It is a melancholy looking house, like all habitations in a fort, but cool and quiet, and, with a little clean furniture, will do very well; and I think the newcomers would rather have this house to themselves even at first. After the Fort House we went on to the Orphan Asylum. They had a holiday with a [277] picnic dinner at the Botanical Gardens last Wednesday, and I sent for my private share, a Twelfth-cake with a little prize pinned to each slice. The schoolmistress says they had never drawn Twelfth-cake before, and were quite delighted. A little French workbox was the great object of ambition.

[278] . . . (Monday, 10th January 1842) I have been so unwell the last fortnight that I thought I would try two or three days in the river; came on board the 'Soonamookie' at eight this morning, with Rosina and my jemadar and all my *surarree* to take care of me; and we have been floating in a slow manner all day; and the kitmutgar cooked an excellent luncheon, and, except that Zoe is rather unhappy, nothing can do better. This is a beautiful boat to live in; five excellent cabins, and fitted up with every possible comfort. She cannot sail a bit, but floating about is all that is necessary, and we have plenty of boats to tow her.

[279] (Saturday, 15th) . . . Rosina gave a farewell party to six ayahs of her acquaintance and several of my servants . . .

(From the Hon. Emily Eden to—. Calcutta, Sunday, January 29, 1842—continued Monday, Feb. 6th) [288] . . . I went to the Fort Church yesterday, where we had a new preacher, who gave us such a beautiful sermon; it was quite refreshing. But—has taken advantage of his coming to introduce the long service there, much to the detriment of the soldiers, who cannot possibly stand it in the hot weather; and it will drive away a large congregation, who had taken refuge there from the long service of the cathedral.

[290] (Friday, February 11). Our work of packing is progressing, but not so fast as it ought, considering that the 'Walmer Castle,' which left England only ten days before Lord Ellenborough, is actually in and up at Calcutta. He must not come

before his ten days are fairly over, for the 'Hungerford' cannot be ready before the 1st of March.

Captain—and I have been to the upholsterer's this morning to hurry on the furniture and to choose a secretaire for George's cabin, bookcases, &c. I had never been into any of these shops before, and had no idea of their magnificence. People send a great deal of furniture home as presents; it is so well carved, and then the climate prevents veneering; so everything is of solid mahogany. I believe Mr.—is also of solid mahogany; he looks like it, and it seems impossible to hurry him. [291] He made such solemn asseverations that spring cushions made extremely springy were so good for sea-sickness, that they rolled with the ship, that when he went *springing* home in one of his own sofas he was able to sleep like a top when everybody else was rolled out of bed, that I fondly believed him; and my couch is made of very elastic springs, and now I hear that they never will be quiet at sea, and that I shall be constantly bounded up to the ceiling and back again. It will be rather an interesting game of battledore and shuttlecock when a gale comes on, and I shall be flying about the cabin for hours together.

[293] (To the same. Calcutta, Tuesday, March 1, 1842). Such a bustle. Lord Ellenborough landed yesterday, and everybody had settled that he could not be here for ten days; and we have nothing ready.

The reception was very pretty. Fanny and I saw it out of the window; plenty of troops, &c., and George met him at the bottom of the great stairs; and they were really glad to meet. He was sworn in immediately. We did not meet him till dinner-time.

(Lord Auckland and his sisters, Miss Edens left Calcutta in the *Hungerford* on March 11, 1842). [296] . . . Lord Ellenborough arrived twelve days ago, and we are all living together and are excessively fond of each other. I declare I have been more amused for these same twelve days than I have been since I came to India. He startles people so very much by the extraordinary activity of his English notions; the climate will settle a great many of them, and in the meantime he really is so good-natured and hospitable we are quite touched by it.

. . . But the ship! It has 80,000 cockroaches on board; that I know as a fact. [297] . . . The lowest as well as the highest are

here, pouring in subscriptions for his (George's) statue⁶⁴. . . .
(Ends at page 297).

NOTES

1. EDEN, EMILY (1797-1869), novelist and traveller, seventh daughter of William Eden, first baron Auckland was born in Old Palace Yard, Westminster, on 3rd March 1797. In company with her sister, Frances Eden, she accompanied her brother George Eden, second baron Auckland, to India, and remained with him in that country during his term as governor-general from 1835 to 1842. After her return to England she published in 1844 'Portraits of the People and Princes of India', and in 1866 'Up the Country: letters written to her sister from the Upper Provinces of India by the Hon. Emily Eden'. Other editions of this work appeared in 1867 and in 1872. In these volumes the visits between Lord Auckland and Runjeet Singh are recorded with minute particulars. As a novelist she brought out two works, which had a considerable sale. 'The Semi-detached House', edited by Lady Theresa Lewis, 1859, and 'The Semi-attached Couple' by E.E., 1860. She also rendered 'Marion de l'Orme' into English blank verse. She was for many years a member of the best circles of society in London, and her house, Eden Lodge, Upper Gore, Kensington, was frequented by all the celebrities of the day. Her entertainments were morning reunions, her health not permitting her to preside at dinner parties or to keep late hours. More recently she purchased a residence, Fountain House, 5 Upper Hill Street, Richmond, Surrey, where she died, 5 Aug. 1869, and was buried in the family vault at Beckenham, near Bromley in Kent. Her eldest sister, Eleanor Agnes Eden, the first and only love of William Pitt, married, 1st June 1799, Robert, fourth earl of Buckinghamshire, and died at Eastcombe, near Stroud, Gloucestershire, 15 Oct. 1851. (From the British Dictionary of National Biography, 1950 edition, vol. 6, p. 356).

** ** **

Lord Auckland, who was appointed Governor-General of India, started on a five months' voyage in a sailing-ship to India towards the end of September 1835 accompanied by his two unmarried sisters—Emily and Fanny (Frances Eden), his nephew William Godolphin Osborne, their 6 servants, and Chance the dog. Miss Emily Eden has described in letters (*Letters from India, Up the Country, and Miss Eden's Letters*) their many adventures on board ship, her impressions of life in Calcutta and the interview with Runjeet Singh. Fanny's letters and journals, acquired by the India Office, remain unpublished, except for a fragment dealing with her tiger-shooting expedition to the Rajmahal Hills by Janet Dunbar in the *Golden Interlude* (London, 1955). Fanny's Journals contain innumerable sketches, some of which have been used by Dunbar for illustrating the *Golden Interlude*.

Miss Emily Eden's "*Portraits of the People and Princes of India* containing 24 plates of water-colours" was published in 1844. Three large volumes of her water-colour sketches were sold at Christie's in 1907 and were acquired for the Victoria Memorial Hall. In 1916 an exhibition of her paintings, chosen and arranged by F. Harrington, was held at Belvedere, Calcutta, the first sketch mentioned in the catalogue being that of Chance.

Emily's letters from which extracts have been reproduced by us were written mainly to (1) the Countess of Buckinghamshire (i.e., her eldest sister, Eleanor Agnes Eden, who married, 1st June 1799, Robert, the fourth Earl of Buckinghamshire), (2) Rev. the Hon. Robert Eden (3rd Baron Auckland, Bishop of Bath and Wells) and her friends, who are not named.

William (or Willy) Osborne was Emily's cousin, being the son of her sister, Elizabeth Charlotte Eden (born 1780) who married Lord Francis Godolphin. Emily was born in 1797 and William in 1800.

2. The experimental electric telegraph line between Calcutta and Diamond Harbour was laid by Dr. William O'Shaughnessy in May 1839. The commercial service between Calcutta and Kedgerie was opened in December, 1851, when the semaphore signalling was abolished. The semaphores were working from December 1827. Miss Eden's reference here is to the Semaphore communication.
3. Commander-in-Chief.
4. St. John's was the cathedral until the St. Paul's was consecrated in 1847.
5. Kitmatgar.
6. Kiernander's Mission Church established in 1770.
7. Rev. Thomas Dealtry, afterwards Bishop of Madras.
8. Mrs. Wilson was the widow of the late C.M.S. secretary, the Rev. Isaac Wilson. Her Orphan School was situated at Agarapara. (O'Malley's *Dist. Gazetteer of 24 Parganas*, p. 253).
9. Britzka, britzka, britska, britschka—an open four-wheeled carriage with one seat.
10. Miss Emily Eden had another visit to Mrs. Wilson's orphanage on May 9, 1840 (details in volume II, pp. 155-157, reproduced later).
11. Thomas Babington Macaulay (born 25th October 1800), came out to Calcutta, as the Law Member of the Supreme Council. He took leave of India on Saturday, January 13, 1838.
12. Dr. Simon Nicholson.
13. Mussalchee; evidently a printing mistake.
- *14. Keazuddin Nazir, head servant of Lord Auckland's establishment.
- *15. Dedar Khan Jamadar, Miss Emily Eden's servant.
16. Mollies, a printing mistake for "Mallies" (gardeners).

* Portrait available in Emily Eden's *Portraits People and Princes of India*.

17. La Martiniere (11, Loudon Street) was constructed by J.P. Parker from the design of J.H. Rattray and completed on the 31st December 1835 at a cost of £ 23,000.
18. Not to be mistaken with St. Paul's cathedral, Calcutta.
- *19. Available in Eden's Portraits.
20. Dr. Nathaniel Wallich.
21. Read *Sircar* as it is a misprint.
- *22. Rosina, the old Muslim Ayah of Miss Eden ; sketched in the group of five heads.
23. St. Andrew's (Scotch Kirk or the Kirk—*Lat Sahib ki Girja* to the natives) consecrated on 8th March 1818, standing next to the Writers' Buildings.
24. Possibly Rev. D. Meiklejohn.
25. The Alipore Jail was probably established during the days of Lord Cornwallis. A New Central Jail, on the banks of the Tolly's Nullah, close to the Kalighat bridge, was built in 1912 to transplant the old Presidency Jail from the Maidan, the site of which was reuired for the Victoria Memorial Hall. The old and New Central Jails at Alipore were amalgamated in 1913. (O'Malley's District Gazetteer of the 24 *Parganas*, pp. 191-192).
26. Mrs. Esther Leach was on the boards of the Chowringhee theatre from July 27, 1826. She died on November 18, 1840 by catching fire at Sans Souci on Nov. 2.
27. Dwarkanath's Belgachia villa at Dum Dum Road was sold out in Sept. 1848.
28. Catherine Arathoon, wife of Johannes Hyrapiet Arathoon, aged 24 years and 3 months as on 20th October 1836.
29. Tippoo's eldest son was Fateh Haider, who lived at Bara Mahal, opposite Tollygunge Club.
30. Fanny and William Osborne went tiger-shooting to the Rajmahal Hills in the company of "Cock Robin", "Jenny Wren" and others. Fanny's Journal of her Rajmahal excursion with her sketches was acquired by the India Office in 1955.
31. Ranabir Ray Choudhury's *Glimpses of Old Calcutta*, 1978, pp. 13-14, for *Englishman's* report of this ball.
32. Henry Shakespear, third ordinary member of the Governor-General's Council.
33. Eden, Rev. the Hon. Robert, (3rd Baron Auckland), Bishop of Bath and Wells.
34. Bishop Daniel Wilson, the first Metropolitan of India.
35. Daniel Corrie, Archdeacon of Calcutta, was consecrated the first Bishop of Madras, in 1835.
36. Read *Mussalchees* (Masalchees = torch-bearers).

* Portrait available in Emily Eden's *Portraits of People and Princes of India*.

37. The reference here is to the ordeal by rice.
38. A man-servant who had accompanied Lord Auckland from England to India.- He did not go back to England when the Edens left the country, as he got married in Calcutta.
39. Mountain, prince of European hair-dressers, lived in a three-storeyed house. (Ranabir Ray Choudhury, p. 7).
40. Writing to Charles Greville from Barrackpore, April 17, 1837, Miss Eden says : "You know what a horrid bad road (from Calcutta to Barrackpore) it is this side of the half-way house, and therefore will not be surprised to hear that one of the leaders, the horse that you always say is the handsomest of the new set, stepped on a loose stone and came down like a shot. The postillion, who weighs about 1½ lbs., as a small native should, was pitched out of sight into a neighbouring presidency ; I believe the leaders ran over the fallen horse, who tucked at them, and they of course kicked him. The spring of the carriage was broken, and the four Syces and the postillion and the guards, being all good Mahomedans, of course looked on contentedly, knowing that what must be—must be. Luckily W. Osborne for once had no other conveyance but our carriage, so he jumped out at the side, and we all tumbled out at opposite doors, and he *Hindustani'd* the Syces and cut the traces, and we were all put to rights (barring that one horse). and not the worse, thank you. . . ."
41. Miss Eden's European maid servant.
42. Lord Auckland visited the North-West Frontier Provinces and was there away from Calcutta for more than 18 months. His train was composed of 850 camels, 140 elephants, several hundred horses, in all 12,000. (*Miss Eden's Letters*, edited by Violet Dickinson, 1919, p. 293). On October 2, 1837 she wrote to Mrs. Lister : "Sixty-five elephants and 150 camels will carry our little daily personal comforts, assisted by 400 coolies and bullock-carts innumerable." (*Ibid.* p. 291).
43. Prince Gholam Mohammad who built the mosque at the crossing of Dharamtalla and Chowringhee roads.
44. Aunson's sketch is in Emily's *Portrait*. He is spelt as Aumon on p. 161.
45. *Read Doorgah for Doorgak.*
46. J.H. Stocqueler, founder-editor of the *Englishman*. His autobiography (*The Memoirs of a Journalist*, London, 1873) gives details of his appearance on the boards of the Chowringhee Theatre (pp. 91-92).
47. It is not clear whether the Four Anna Theatre at Ranny Moody Gully (British India Street) or the Thacker & Co.'s establishment converted as a theatre is referred to here, as Sans Souci, after the destruction of Chowringhee Theatre by fire in May 1839, was not opened on this date.
48. Sir Jasper Nicolls, Commander-in-Chief.

49. The first five students who passed out from the Medical College were : Oomachurn Sett, Dwarkanauth Gooptu, Rajkishen Deb, Nobinchunder Mitter and Shamachurn Dutt. They were awarded their certificates on February 2, 1839.
50. *Read Saree for Sarce*, as it is a misprint.
51. *Read Khalasees for Khalapees*.
52. *Read Cowasjee for Cowarjee*.
53. *At Cossipore*.
54. The 8-year old Fureedoon Jah, Syed Munsoor Ullee Khan Bahadur, succeeded his father Humayoon Jah (died 3rd October 1838), vide Proclamation issued by the Political Department dated 19th December 1838 in the *Calcutta Gazette*.
55. *Read Gholam* (Prince Gholam Mohammad).
56. The foundation stone of the Metcalfe Hall was laid on 19th December 1840 ; it was designed by C.K. Robison and built by Burn & Co. (*Eastern Star*, December 20, 1840). The date given by Miss Eden (27th December) has been corrected accordingly.
57. Dost Mahomed Khan was kept as a state prisoner at 57 Dimond Harbour Road when he was brought down to Calcutta. The house is better known as the "Kaman Pota Baree" from the two cannons in front of the gateway. This house was afterwards presented to the ex-king of Oudh by the Government, but somehow or other it passed through several hands before it came to its present owners (*Bengal Past & Present*, vol. II, Serial No. 4, April 4, 1908, p. 259).
58. Writing to the Countess of Buckinghamshire on June 1, 1841, Emily says : "We had Dost Mahomed and his sons and suite at the ball, the first time he had ever seen European ladies in their *shameless* dress ; but he did not see the dancing ; George took him into another room. He is a very kingly sort of person, and carries off his half-captive, half Lion position with great tact. By way of relieving George part of the evening, I asked him to play at chess, and we played game and game, which rather a triumph, considering the native chess is not like ours, and he kept inventing new rules as we went on. I somehow think if he were not a Dost it was not quite fair." (*Miss Eden's Letters*, edited by Violet Dickinson, London, 1919, p. 347).
59. Fanny accompanied her cousin William Osborne to Singapore for a change of air as she was sick for sometime.
60. Zoe, the pet dog of Emily, procured after the death of Chance.
61. Mrs. Leach was the owner of the Sans Souci, the site of which is now occupied by the front of St. Xavier's College.
62. The statue of George Eden, second Baron and first and only Earl of Auckland, Governor-General of India from 1836 to 1842, executed by Weeks, stood at the northern gate of the Eden Gardens, past the Burmese Pagoda. The pedestal contained the following panegyric : "To George, Earl of Auckland, Governor-General of India. This statue was erected by men, of whom some were the

instruments of his government, of whom many knew that government only by its benign effects, all of whom agreed in the affectionate desire to perpetuate the memory of the six years during which he ruled the destinies of British India—for this just reason that, throughout the whole course of those years, he laboured earnestly and unremittingly to make security from rapine and oppression, freedom of internal trade, the medical science of Europe, the justice which is blind to distinctions of race, and the moral and intellectual affluence which it opens, a common and perpetual inheritance to all the nations who inhabit this Empire. 1848”.

This statue was once within the Eden Gardens. (Cotton, H.E.A. *Calcutta Old and New*, 1907, p. 374).

CALCUTTA IN 1839*

*By a Bengalee*¹

[1] In the year 18—. I received my appointment as a Cadet of Infantry on the Bengal establishment. I was but sixteen years of age, and the thoughts of becoming my own master, and visiting foreign countries, at that time completely outweighed the pangs of separation from home and friends.

I will not, like many auto-biographers, confound the reader's imagination with descriptions of the omens, portents, and signs, that astonished [2] the earth at the period of my birth, nor recount my early sayings and school adventures, much more wonderful than those of my companions—but plunge at once *in medias res*, starting forth to the light a full-blown cadet, fitted out in Leadenhall Street with five times more traps than ever I found use for—and, “all the perils of the ocean past,” arriving at the Sandheads, the entrance to the river Hooghly.

Never, perhaps, did a more perfect specimen of a *griffin* or freshman enter India. Fortunately, however, I had occasionally, during the voyage, deigned to lend an ear to friendly advice from an old campaigner, who, compassionating my extreme youth and simplicity, interested himself on my account, and this I afterwards found to stand me in good stead.

At the Sandheads we received on board the pilot, who was to conduct us thenceforward to our destination. We entered the Hooghly with a fair wind. It was the beginning of August, and the rainy season. The low island of Saugor [3] loomed dimly on the starboard bow. We ran along merrily with wind and tide till our arrival at Kedgerree, off which place we anchored.

* From the *MEMOIRS OF A CADET* By a Bengalee (London : Saunders & Otley, Conduit Street), 1839 ; pages 1-338, 1/8th size, coloured frontispiece of Taj Mahal. The book is dedicated to Lieut.-Col. William White Moore, Hon. East India Company's service.

1. The author, “Bengalee”, has remained unidentified.

The shore here would be remarkably uninteresting under any other circumstances than its forming the advanced post of the land of promise after a long voyage. As it was, we hailed it with delight. The lighthouse might have been an edifice raised by some good genius, (no doubt it was,) and the little fruit-boat that came alongside, with its black and almost naked steersman and paddler, his ministering messenger.

Fruit, eggs, and milk, we bought, and O! the luxury after so long confinement to shipfare! This was one of the few golden hours of existence. The fruit was exquisite—the milk unfortunately was much smoked—and as to the eggs, they were mostly rotten. One of my fellow-cadets, who had been an extensive purchaser, remonstrated with the salesman, and well he might, for he had paid a Spanish dollar for two cocoa-nuts, and two bunches of plantain, [4] together, with his eggs, worth collectively about sixpence; but the sole satisfaction he obtained was, I believe, a not unusual answer to new-comers. "Very good egg, master, no get—rainy season, hen no lay good egg—same as get in Calcutta, master—dry weather come, hen lay good egg—then master get."

I shall not detain my readers long on this portion of the river; but I cannot wholly pass unnoticed the striking effect produced on a young mind by the beautiful scenery, especially after having had nothing but the ocean, in its various moods, to gaze upon for months. The rich and deep hues of the foliage on the banks of the river, during the rainy season, transcend the powers of my pen to describe. The shores are too thickly wooded in many places to admit of human habitations, yet the river teems with life. Ships of all sizes and nations are here to be seen, and innumerable small boats belonging to the country fly about like swarms of insects. As you advance higher, however, there are [5] sufficient signs of propinquity to a large city, in the form of European dwelling-houses, and native villages; and as each "successive reach of the river gradually develops itself, these symbols increase in number and closeness, till Fort William appears in that attitude of tranquil majesty which displays, in a form not to be misunderstood, the power terribly to destroy, if aroused to wrath.

On the third evening, after receiving the pilot, we came to anchor off Chandpaul Ghaut, our vessel being an extra India-

man of only five hundred tons burden, and consequently able to make its way in safety up to Calcutta.

Early the following morning we prepared to go ashore, i.e., the passengers who still remained on board ; for some had previously quitted in native boats, such as bolahs, dingies, or whatever species of craft presented itself.

Great was the clamour and verbal warfare that arose amongst the various candidates for our patronage ; to wit, the native boatmen, who [6] jostled each other out of the way in the most unceremonious manner. At last, as good luck and patience would have it, Mildon (a brother cadet) and myself succeeded in effecting a footing on board a dingy, or small boat, and made way for the shore. But here another occurrence, the very counterpart of the last, impeded our progress. Numerous palkees for hire are constantly stationed at the ghaut, or landing-place ; and the bearers of many of these ran so deeply into the water, as absolutely to dip the lower part of their conveyances into the stream. The competition was great, and therefore

“Their van the fleetest rushed”

to anticipate the *fare*. In this strife for victory I was almost, by force of arms, deposited in the 'tween-decks of a palkee two or three yards from the shore, whither I was speedily conveyed, and where my friend also arrived, after passing through the same ordeal.

A HOTEL IN CALCUTTA

[7] On the summit of the ghaut we perceived several groups of young gentlemen, both in civil and military guise. They were conversing, and anxiously watching, as it seemed to me, the movements on board our lately-arrived vessel. The mystery was soon explained, for a sircar, or native agent, had already attached himself to me, and was alongside, entreating my patronage ; and he informed me, “when Missy Bebee (young ladies) come new from Europe, then always plenty young gentlemen come to ghaut to see.” Under the guidance of this volunteer attendant we were conveyed to a very comfortable hotel, where we breakfasted, and for the present deposited the little baggage we had brought ashore.

We were highly pleased with our morning meal, and never could circumstances have wrought together more favourably for our full enjoyment of it. An excellent appetite I take as a lemma ; and then, dear reader, picture to yourself a snow-white table-cloth, on which [8] were drawn up, in beautiful array, ham, eggs (fresh this time), a superb kind of fish from the salt-water lakes, called bektee or cockup, fried, boiled rice, muffins, tea, coffee, &c. Plantains, radishes, small prints of butter in a handsome cut-glass vessel of cold water, and a banquet of beautiful flowers in the centre, gave a most cool and refreshing appearance to the *disjune*, as Lady Margaret Bellenden would have called it. A khidmutgar, or native waiter, stood behind each of our chairs, with chourree* in hand, to keep in awe the flies, and punkah waved pleasantly over our heads,—and all this lordly service for two cadets !

What an antithesis ! a breakfast in Calcutta after a four months' voyage, and ship-fare ! I do not here by any means wish to insinuate anything to the disparagement of our treatment on board the— ; *tout au contraire*, nothing could have surpassed it ; but a ship is only a [9] ship, when all has been said in its favour, that the head and tongue of man can devise and give utterance to.

Our meal being concluded, we prepared ourselves for a visit to the town-major, in order to report our arrival. This is a necessary step, and the earlier it is taken the better, it being the epoch from which the period of service is accounted, and pay granted. It is impossible for me to express the mortification I felt on seeing Milden equip himself in a scarlet Swiss jacket, with sword and sash *conform*. He had, in fact, been provided in Leadenhall Street with a cadet's uniform jacket, which he had kept altogether *perdu* during the voyage, and now started forth in dazzling blaze before my humiliated sight.

The sircar, who still remained in *the presence*, saw the merits of the case with that quickness of perception for which the natives of India are so remarkable, and whispered in my ear the soothing promise, that with my permission he [10] would produce a tailor who should "do for master in two days." The offer

* Flyflapper, a cow's tail, or otherwise.

I joyfully accepted, and thus the sly sircar secured for himself my *custom*, by administering to my vanity.

Misfortunes never come alone. Milden's palkee preceded mine, and I had to undergo the ordeal—yes, believe it who will. I had to undergo the ordeal of seeing him saluted by every passing soldier, arms carried by every sentry, and not one compliment did I get.

"No man cried, God save him!"

I say again, I saw all this—and lived!

After due registration in the office of the town-major, we proceeded next to the office of the barrack-master, who furnished us each with a room in the south barracks. These necessary preliminaries being settled, we trotted off to pay our respects to the governor-general. This object is accomplished by simply presenting oneself to the aide-de-camp in waiting at the Government-house, who enters the name and [11] address in the visiting-book. *et voila tout!* This little matter of etiquette is afterwards usually acknowledged by a card of invitation to dinner, or to the next ball and supper at the Government-house.

A new arrival soon becomes known amongst the various classes of native servants who are unemployed, and on the look-out for a situation: accordingly, on returning to my quarters, I was besieged by a host of candidates. I here found the assistance of my friend the sircar very beneficial: he was extremely officious, but was, I am convinced, sincere in his endeavours to serve me well, for he effectually protected me against all impositions except his own; and these were the more tolerable, as they appeared in the less offensive, because undissembled, shape of large profits. In after-times I have generally found that the native servants in India, in whom confidence is placed, will be trustworthy; but if they imagine distrust, they hold themselves fully justified in realising suspicion.

[12] Knowing from my veteran friend on shipboard, already alluded to, that I must necessarily employ a certain number of servants, and having received also from him a list of those indispensably requisite, I immediately applied myself to the task of engaging them.

I had been especially warned against those who speak broken English. These are, with few exceptions, all rogues in grain,

who hang about the presidency, and will remain with you until you quit Calcutta for the upper provinces, when they will attend you for a few days, and then suddenly depart, "but not alone." as Lord Byron says. Certain articles, more weighty in value than in carriage, invariably accompany these movements. Such little pleasantries as I have just narrated, are considered amongst themselves "*exceedingly good things*" if successful, which they oftentimes are, as the expense of time and money, occasioned by returning to search for and prosecute the parties, is a pretty tolerable guarantee for their safety in general.

[13] I paid no especial attention to the certificates of character which were presented to me in abundance. Many of these are transferred from one to another, either being sold by some servant who is provided with a place, or lent out on hire, till it has served its purpose, when it is restored to the owner. A descriptive roll of the person should invariably be incorporated with, or appended to, a certificate of character. The mere name is no protection against fraud—a native can change that as easily as I can my coat.

One certificate was presented to me of rather an unusual tenor. for the Bengalees are cunning enough generally, on receiving this description of document, to proceed with it to some native acquaintance who can read English, in order to ascertain the *quantum* of their own merits as therein exhibited. Nevertheless, the one in question ran thus :—

"I do hereby certify that the bearer hereof, Khoda Bux, has served me as mushalchee for three months, and is discharged for repeated [14] intoxication and insolence, and is, moreover, a very dirty fellow."

This precious testimonial, signed by a chaplain of the establishment, I read aloud amidst roars of laughter from the sircar and others who could understand it ; but Khoda Bux preserved the most undisturbed gravity, and when silence was restored, in respectful attitude he addressed me, "*Kya hookm sahib?*" interpreted thus by my sircar : what order will master give ? This was conveyed to him ; viz. to go about his business, which he did, and no doubt soon ascertained the true value of his certificate.

The result of this morning's labour was to me, a train, composed of eight vassals, one only of whom could speak English.

This was necessary, as I required an interpreter ; but I retained him long after I could freely converse in Hindostanee, as I found him intelligent and useful. His name was Sher Mahumed, a durzee, or tailor. Tailors are dignified by their fellow-servants under the dulcet appellative of *Khuleefu* : [15] *Anglice*, Caliph. All classes of servants have, in fact, some high-flown title which they accord to each other.

The officers of the Honourable Company's service have, generally speaking advantage over those of His Majesty's,* with respect to servants : the former are *compelled* to learn the native language, at least colloquially, before they can be placed in any trust whatsoever. This is imperative, as they are almost wholly attached to Sepoy regiments. But the officers of his majesty's immediate service have neither the compulsion nor inducement to study the "black language," as they call it, and must therefore content themselves with an inferior class of servants, qualified indeed to understand and repeat what may be said at the mess-table, an annoyance most devoutly to be avoided, and which has, ere now, produced unpleasant consequences. I by no means wish this remark to be considered as generally applicable; for I have met with many king's officers who have made themselves good linguists by study ; still it applies much more closely than it ought to do ; for, independent of all other considerations, it is a duty incumbent on all military officers to become acquainted with the language of the country wherein they serve, and more especially if likely to be there located for many years. Suppose, for instance, a case of detached duty, wherein a native spy or villager may come to the commander with information of the last importance : how desirable, how necessary to be able to understand him without the interposition of a menial, who has, in the first place, no right to be in the secret. and in the second, may by possibility betray both his trust and his master together by a false interpretation. How forlorn a state of dependence would this be !

I will trespass a short time longer on the reader's patience, while we are so deeply engaged [17] in the subject of native

* This was written during the lifetime of his late majesty William IV., and it appears preferable to let it stand as originally sketched.

servants in India, to observe, that when servants are required, in order to obtain good ones, it is fully as necessary (after a brief residence) for the employer to possess an approved character as the servant; nay, more so, for an excellent servant is often found, who has no certificate of character (a thing seldom read and less often attended to); but I affirm, fearless of contradiction from any one at all conversant in these matters, that it is all but a moral impossibility for a master to obtain the ministry of any but off-scourings and riff-raff, who has lost *his own character* amongst the native servants.

A servant who will remain in employment after receiving a blow, is little to be trusted. Some of the higher caste indeed will not brook it, and I am moreover convinced that there are some masters who, though in the habit of striking the generality of their dependents, do still refrain from indulging their passion on others of them, checked, if not awed, by that high car-[18]riage which inhabits personal aggression. At some stations a court is established, empowered to inflict a fine on any person who strikes a servant, on complaint being duly made and proved.

After completing my establishment of domestics, I ordered the palkee, for the purpose of calling at the house of agency, on which I had a letter of credit.

If parents or guardians who send out young men to India would adopt this method of providing for their proteges, instead of fitting them out, as they call it, in England, with the trash they too frequently do, they would do well. A sufficiency of clothing for the voyage, with a few little comforts, is almost all that is required to embark with. But to have the means of defraying the first necessary expenses in India on arrival there, without the necessity of embarrassing future emoluments, by contracting debt at the outset, is an inestimable blessing. Young men who commence their career with debt [19] rarely become disencumbered of it afterwards. For some years they *cannot* pay, and then they *will* not. The debt hangs as lead on the spirits, and the inducement to lay by money is not great, when, instead of accumulating for the use of the economist, it only goes to reduce by dribblets of galling burthen, already more than double its original amount by interest alone. The remote period of final enfranchisement from this thralldom offers so disheartening

a prospect, that present comforts and enjoyments are not often foregone, in order to attain so distant an object.

O ye parents and guardians, believe me when I tell you, that one letter, of even moderate credit, is worth a thousand of the very best advice.

The sircar pricked up his ears on learning that I possessed the means of drawing on so great a house, and his offers of service became accordingly more eager. "If master would give order," everything that I might require for housekeeping should be furnished by evening,—[20] camp bedstead, camp table, one chair, tea equipage, tea, coffee, &c. &c. Agreed to.

After visiting my agents, I met Milden at the inn for dinner, according to appointment. We then saw our baggage landed from the ship, and proceeded with it to our quarters about sunset. To my great astonishment, I found the floor of my room nearly covered with a variety of articles which the sircar had procured for my approval, and my new servants busy, selecting and choosing therefrom, each in his own department. My approval of all their tastes seemed to be presumed as a matter of course. I prudently allowed them to please themselves, on the assurance of the sircar, that they knew much better what was proper for master, than master did himself, or words that amounted to the same thing, though perhaps more hinted than expressed.

Not having discharged my palkee, as soon as my house was set in order, I tied on a sash, the only article of military furniture then belonging [21] to me, over my plain English dress, and sallied forth to put in execution a little plan I had devised. My errand was purely experimental, and the motive was to appropriate to myself as many salutes as might be offered to the badge I wore. With doors wide open and watchful as a lynx on both sides, I traversed the fort, nor was I unrewarded; for although the thoughtless private soldiers mostly allowed me to pass without capping, there were still some good-natured sergeants and corporals who much obliged me by saluting, being well enough *up to the thing*, no doubt. As to the Sepoys, they left me nothing to wish for. In those days they were too civil by half, and would acknowledge anything with a sash on in Fort William.

Having twice gone round the fort, and both reaped and gleaned my little harvest, I returned to barracks in great spirits, and drank a glass of grog with Milden. The evening gun and tattoo at nine o'clock, again warmed up anticipations of future military renown. At ten I retired to bed, [22] highly exalted in my own estimation by the occurrences of this busy and eventful day. The lamp and the servants were now put out for the night. Nothing stirred except sentries and mosquitos; and thus was I left alone to sleep with my glory.

SOUTH BARRACKS

I was aroused at six o'clock the next morning by a slight pressure of the foot, accompanied by a respectful "sahib" from my sirdar, or head attendant. He held in his hand my cotton socks, which I perceived he had a design to put me on whilst recumbent. This I gladly permitted, and then rose and equipped myself for the morning.

The morning had risen heavily, and the rain descended in torrents. I looked through the venetians, but nothing could I see save a dismal leaden atmosphere, through which no eye could pierce beyond a few feet. For a few days previously the rain had only been occasional, though the sky had continued overclouded, and the weather pleasant with cool breezes. Here was, however, a most hopeless-looking day indeed, and [23] no "Stout Gentleman" at hand on whose movements I might speculate *pour passer le temps*. I examined my room—I forget how many feet square I made it out to be; it was lofty, with two high venetian windows to the front, and opposite the door. In one corner was a space apportioned off for the convenience of bathing, furnished with earthen vessels of water, called kedgerees pots. A small dike, about five or six inches in height, separated this comfortable accommodation from the main body of the room, to prevent inundation. Over the door a semicircular arch opened into the entrance passage, for the better circulation of air. When I had sufficiently studied these particulars, I went to summon Milden to breakfast. N.B. No fish was procurable, in consequence of the rain.

This meal was duly disposed of, and as the rain seemed rather to have increased than diminished, we paraded up and down the

passage, each with cheroot in mouth, in order to guard that avenue against all hostile advance of the raw chill atmosphere.

[24] The passage which has been so often alluded to may be about nine feet wide, or perhaps more, and runs through the whole length of this range of barracks: it separates the front from the rear line of officers' rooms. The flat roof of the barracks is an excellent morning and evening promenade for such occupants as choose to avail themselves of it.

During our ambulation to and fro, we amused ourselves by watching the operations of the various servants stationed outside the doors of their respective masters. Some were busy with the breakfast apparatus, others were furbishing swords, cleaning regimental buttons, counting silver spoons, &c.; but by far the greater part were squatted down in happy converse, on solemn divan, and from these latter groups the significant words *khana* and *pysa* (food and money) continually predominated above all others.

We next betook ourselves to books till tiffin time, for we had this day arranged to commence [25] the system of dining in the evening *a la mode des Indes*. The monotonous plashing of the rain still continued dismally appalling. What was to be done, and how was the whole blessed length of afternoon to be got through? A ray of light broke in upon me. It was a thought worthy of Southey. "I will," said I, "make a catalogue of all my earthly possessions." It was a brilliant conception, and the execution of it bore me triumphantly through till the dinner was ready. I thus dealt with the rain as they are said to do in Spain, viz. I let it rain on.

I shall skip over the four or five following days which preceded the grand fete at the Government-house, merely remarking, that I ordered a full uniform dress for that occasion, which I had received a promise should be sent to me in sufficient time. My sircar had kept his engagement to furnish me with all minor equipments, which enabled me thenceforth to appear *en militaire*.

The day of the ball at length arrived and [26] journeyed on as days are wont to do. Four o'clock P.M. was the just making its bow, and my patience failing, when an anxiously-expected arrival was announced, viz. a full-dress uniform and appointments from Simpson and Wallace's. The *durzee* was sitting at work beside me. I desired him to call the sirdar, who was soon

found. Proceedings were immediately instituted. It took me a full hour to button my coat and make it sit tastefully, the sirdar standing before me holding a looking-glass the while. But the tying on of the sash was the most puzzling and intricate performance of all. Even this was at last achieved, and the sword girded on. Towering was my triumph! especially when the durzee remarked, with apparent exultation, at himself belonging to so great a man, "Now master look so respectable—like captain." I gave him a rupee on the spot for that very observation.

I was so much elated at the compliment of looking like a captain, previously paid by my [27] durzee, that I could not refrain from mentioning it in the morning to my acquaintance, Captain Cambridge, the A.D.C. (I forgot to state in its proper place that I had brought from England a letter of introduction to that gentleman, and waited upon him with it the third day after my arrival). He laughed, and said, I need not doubt of speedy promotion from the natives, if I were inclined to pay so handsomely for it. He even went so far as to say, he should not at all wonder to hear that I was a general before the week were out. There was much to displease me in this observation; it was said sneeringly: I treasured it nevertheless. But I anticipate.

Immediately after I had committed the act of egregious folly in giving away the rupee, Mildens entered. He was not going to the entertainment. "Ha, Mildens!" cried I, "wou are here *a la bonne heure*. How do I look? Quite the thing, eh? Rather tiptop or so?"

"Yes", replied he: "your new dress fits [28] capitally; I congratulate you on your martial appearance."

"So, you approve, do you? So do I too; but I must disrobe notwithstanding. Too long from five o'clock till nine to remain in harness,—I think you had better go. The marquis will think it odd if you are not there. Here, bearer, untie my sash," &c.

On approaching the Government-house that night, my feelings were indefinable. The one most developed was, I think, a wish that the sensation I was about to create on my entrance had already subsided, and myself quietly enjoying the diversions of the evening. As the Marquis of Hastings did not meet me at the door, I ushered myself into the ball-room; when, to speak

the truth fairly, my feelings of modest apprehension became speedily composed.

So brilliant an assemblage of suns, moons, planets, fixed and wandering stars of the greatest magnitude, all shining together, can be witnessed nowhere but in our capital of the East. [29] Instead of appearing a brilliant meteor, "the observed of all observers," as my durzee had told me I should, I suddenly found myself a star of no magnitude at all, invisible even to the naked eye—for no one saw me. It was indeed wonderful. My infantry subaltern's dress was annihilated in presence of the showy, and at the same time very handsome, uniforms of the Horse Artillery, Engineers, Light Dragoons, General Staff, &c. that were so thickly mingled, in the throng. It was all the better: I could *look*, at all events, and I *did* look.

London, on these occasions, may not vie with Calcutta in splendour. The court there cannot display that diversity of magnificent costume which, in the East, is seen brought together from all the civilized nations of the earth. The present fete was, I believe, the first given by our Most Noble entertainer after his return from the campaign with the grand army, and was in celebration of the Prince Regent's birth-day. All the officers, civil, naval, and military, were [30] invited, and for the most part attended. Shortly after making my *debut*, I went out to witness the arrival of a rajah—I believe the Rajah of Mysore. He came in a palkee of the richest materials, preceded by about a hundred torch-bearers, and followed by as many more. Each torch had numerous lights branching out like trees. The rajah himself was literally covered from head to foot with jewels—his turban, body-dress, and sandals, being one dazzling blaze of diamonds, &c. He appeared to be no more than fifteen years of age, and he was accompanied by one of the elders of his family. The young prince sat on the right of the marquis. I did not pay much attention to the dancing; there was by far more grateful food for curiosity in the observance of the customs and manners of this heterogeneous assemblage.

At the supper-table I sat opposite to two Armenian ladies, at whom I occasionally stole a furtive glance. They were of very fair complexion, and one of them was pretty. Their [31] head-dresses were a crown of leaf-gold, with long pendants behind, and the front was a mass of jewellery, as was also their whole

foreview as they sat at table. Each carried, I was told, to the value of a lakh of rupees (£ 10,000.) on her person. Our own countrywomen were also arrayed in very rich attire; but their principal charms lay not in their apparel. The whole entertainment was magnificent and well befitting the high station of the noble host, viz., that of majesty in all but the name. The party broke up reasonably early for so great an occasion, and I retired to my quiet and, I think I may comparatively say, humble apartment, and to bed, where I lay awake for some hours, ruminating on the, to me, novel and exciting events of the night.

On the following morning, whilst I was seriously studying Tulloh's Auction Catalogue for the current day, a buniya (cloth merchant) knocked at my door, and the durzee admitted him. "*Salam, Major Sahib,*" was the salutation of the buniya, with a deep Eastern reverence.

[32] "What does he say, durzee?" exclaimed I.

"He say, 'Good morning, Major Sahib'."

The aid-de-camp's sneering remark came to my mind. "Kick the rascal out," said I; "he wants to cajole me out of a rupee—kick him out!"

The durzee rose to obey.

"*Duwae Sahib,*" ejaculated the alarmed sinner, with hands joined, "*ghoolam ha hoosoor. Ap ka mooh genreil ka, is waste*"—

"What does he say, durzee?" again I exclaimed, interrupting

"He say, he beg pardon: master's countenance like general's, therefore he make mistake. He wish to make compliment, *our kooch nuheen*—nothing more."

The compliment, as he called it, was very equivocal, to say the best of it, and I was in the humour to put the worst construction upon it. I rose, therefore, in great wrath to perform the manual exercise myself (not with my foot). The buniya waited not, however, for the display, but [33] sped from the room and along the passage with great alacrity, uttering these memorable words, "*Ahe! ahe! Sahib buhoot nuya!*" I ignored his meaning: but a gentleman, who was standing by his own room-door opposite, kindly enough informed me, that the man had said I was a great green-horn. He evidently enjoyed the joke. I thanked

the truth fairly, my feelings of modest apprehension became speedily composed.

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remarkably pleasantly in Calcutta. All was new and interesting. Moreover, we had occasionally breakfasted and dined with some of the gentlemen of the civil service, to whom we had been casually introduced. The hospitality of British India is too well known to require emblazonment. In some points England might take excellent example from her Eastern sons and daughters. Shakespeare says,

"There's such divinity doth hedge a king."

But what do *I* say? Why I say, that in Eng-[36]land there is such a sanctity doth hedge an uncut pie or tart, that few are daring enough to violate it. Now in India, on the contrary, the dissecting knife may on all occasions be lawfully applied. (*Here ends Chapter I*).

TRAVELLING IN A BUDGEROW

[37] The budgerow, which had been provided by my factotum, the sircar, was manned by a Mohammedan crew of seventeen boatmen, including the manjhee, or steersman. These river nauticals are denominated dandees, or rowers, and are very amphibious personages, as will be shown hereafter.

A budgerow is a river-boat, especially adapted to the convenience of Europeans for their journeyings on the Ganges, or other rivers of India. This vessel is decked over with planks, and on the after part is erected what may be called a [38] poop, which occupies about two thirds of the whole length of the boat. The poop comprehends two rooms—the one in front being used as a sitting, and the after one as a bed room. The beam or breadth of the budgerow may be in the centre about ten or eleven feet, and the height of the poop nearly seven. The roof is flat, and is a place of constant resort morning and afternoon, when the boat is under way, it being customary to have chairs placed there at those times. When the weather is cool, and the vessel rapidly progressing, it is a very agreeable pastime to sit on the poop, and watch the trees, villages, and other objects ashore, as they seem gliding by in ever-changing panoramic review.

In addition to the budgerow, we were provided with a small boat, which was appropriated to kitchen duties; it was also particularly useful for despatching to the shore for fowls, eggs,

&c. on passing Mohammedan villages. From Hindoos these articles of consumption are not procurable, it being adverse to their religious [39] prejudices to possess them. With milk we were abundantly provided from two small Bengalee goats, which we carried along with us.

The little cook-boat was, moreover, useful when treating with fishermen for their ware, or for conveying us ashore when we chose to walk along the beach, gun in hand, while our more stately argosy held on its uninterrupted course.

I found that I am running quite ahead of my narrative, and describing our voyage even before we were fairly on board. I must, therefore, curb these impatient advances until I can bring up the rear.

At the period fixed for our departure, the early morning tide was fortunately favourable; we therefore embarked the evening previous to the day we purposed to quit Calcutta, in order to secure the services of that very useful auxiliary so soon as the morrow's dawn should streak the eastern sky. The sircar accompanied us to the budgerow, that he might make his final salaam, with due respect. He at the same time [40] begged that we would recommend him to any of our friends in the provinces who might be coming to Calcutta at some future period, which we promised to do.

Milden, as I insisted he should, took possession of the bedroom, he being the senior. My cot was placed in the front room, and being convertible into a couch, was used as such in the daytime. Our baggage, not in immediate use, was stowed away commodiously in the hold through a trap-door, where it rested on cross-beams, and was secure from any damage by water. Thus were we very snugly housed.

The fore-deck was appropriated to the crew. It is, indeed, their post when exercising the oars; a duty, however, seldom required in a voyage against the current, except for the purpose of crossing from one side of the river to the other.

To return. On the morrow, at the first glimpse of dawn, our ark was cast off, and committed to the central stream under main and [41] top sails. The breeze was fresh and fair, and when Milden and I arose, we were making rapid progress. The forest of masts off Calcutta had well nigh disappeared in the distance.

This mode of travelling on the rivers of India is truly delightful. It unites almost all the pleasurable qualities of both land and sea journeyings. The motion is so gentle, that it rarely offers any impediment to the amusement of drawing, or indeed any household occupation whatsoever; and the facility of landing to stroll along the beach, when the weather permits, is a luxury that ocean travellers can only dream of.

Every good has, however, its attendant evil; and, therefore, all these river vessels, with the exception of pinnaces, are insecure in stormy weather, for want of keels. They are round-bottomed, and draw very little water, rarely thirty inches, which enables them to overpass shallows; but for the same reason they are much too little to be upset by a sudden gust of wind, and many, indeed, are thus lost.

[42] Milden and I did not leave Calcutta alone. Another budgerow joined us, in which were two young officers, named Horsman and Speering, also proceeding to our station, who had proposed to join our flotilla. The party thus consisted of four ensigns destined to the station at Berhampore.

I think I never saw other two such prodigious *griffs* as Horsman and Speering. I felt myself quite the old *Qui hy* in their company, and showed them I thought so. The character of Milden I have not yet drawn. I was hardly at that time qualified fully to appreciate it, though I felt that he held great sway over me. He was remarkably steady, and his judgment seemed uniformly based on excellent moral principle. His good temper became afterwards proverbial, and could not possibly be swayed from its even course by fair means or by ridicule, which soon shrank abashed before his keener wit. Although these qualifications only became fully developed by time, he possessed sufficiently the elements [43] of them at the period of which I write. I felt very thankful for the possession of such a friend.

Our first day's progress was remarkably good. We passed Barrackpore, Serampore, Chandernagore, Chinsurah, and at last came to for the evening a little above Hooghly.

CALCUTTA IN 1839*

By the Rev. Howard Malcom

[1] A hot and disagreeable passage of seventeen days from Rangoon, in a small schooner, brought me to Calcutta, Sept. 20. 1836. The vessel, being loaded with timber and sticklac, had plenty of scorpions and centipedes. Twice, on taking a clean shirt out of my trunk, I found a centepede snugly stowed in it. Having several times caught scorpions on my mattress at night, we undertook a general search and on the under side of the cabin table discovered a nest of twenty or thirty. I had written here constantly for a week, with my knees pressed up hard against the edge to keep me steady, and felt truly thankful to have been unmolested. Several of the females had white leathery bags attached to them, about [2] the size of a grape, full of young ones, scarcely bigger than a pin's head.

* From the *TRAVELS IN SOUTH-EASTERN ASIA, Embracing Hindustan, Malaya, Siam, and China; with notices of Numerous Missionary Stations; and a full account of The Burman Empire* by the Rev. Howard Malcom, of Boston, U.S., in two volumes (London: Charles Tilt, Fleet Street), 1839. (Volume I, pp. xi+324 and vol. II, pp. viii+364). The account of Calcutta is taken from volume II, chapter I, pp. 1-51. The author's chapter headings (Voyage to Calcutta — Saugor Island — Hoogly River — Landing — Houses — Servants — Streets — Weddings — Doorga Pooja — General Assembly's school — Benevolent Institution — Orphan refuge — Central School — The Martiniere — Leper Hospital — Operations of Educational Committee — Colleges — Progress of the English Language — Use of Roman Alphabet — Native Periodicals — Hindu and Mahomedan Edifices — Ram Mohun Roy — Brohma Sobha — Population of Calcutta — Expenses of Living — Habits of Extravagance — Morals — Religion — Clergy — Places of Worship — Missionary Operations — Christian Villages — Hinduism shaken — Serampore — Aspect — Population — Marshman — College — Grave-yard — Operations of the Mission) omitted.

The constant increase of the sands at the mouth of the Hooghly, and the absence of any landmark, renders the approach always a matter of some anxiety. The floating light is stationed out of sight of land, and the tails of the reefs, even there, are dangerous. When the shores are at length discerned, their dead level and unbroken jungle, without any sign of population, and the great breadth of the river, gives the whole an aspect excessively dreary, well suiting to one's first emotions on beholding a land of idolatry.

Saugor Island, which is first coasted, is famed for being the spot where many infants and others are annually immolated. The Hooghly, called by the natives *Ba-gir-a-tee*, being considered the true mouth of the Ganges, and the junction of this sacred stream with the ocean being at Saugor, great sanctity is attached to the place. A few devotees are said to reside on the island, who contrive for a while to avoid the tigers, and are supported by the gifts of the boatmen, who cherish great faith in the security they are supposed to be able to confer. An annual festival is held here in January, which thousands of Hindus attend some even from five or six hundred miles. Missionaries often embrace this opportunity of preaching and distributing tracts. As a sample of these efforts, the following extract from the journal of the late Mr. Chamberlain will be interesting.¹

"GANGA SAUGOR.—Arrived here this morning. Astonished beyond measure at the sight! Boats crushed together, row upon row, for a vast extent in length, numberless in appearance, and people swarming everywhere! Multitudes! multitudes! Removed from the boats, they had pitched on a large [3] sand-bank and in the jungle; the oars of the boats being set up to support the tents, shops, &c. Words fail to give a true description of this scene. Here an immensely populous city has been raised in a very few days, full of streets, lanes, bazaars, &c., many sorts of trade going on, with all the hurry and bustle of the most flourishing city. We soon left the boats, and went among the people. Here we saw the works of idolatry and blind superstition. Crowds upon crowds of infatuated men, women, and children, high and low, young and old, rich and poor, bathing in the water, and worshipping Gunga, by bowing and making salams, and spreading their offerings of rice, flowers, &c. on the shore, for the goddess to take when the tides arrive. The mud and water

of this place are esteemed very holy, and are taken hundreds of miles upon the shoulders of men. They sprinkle themselves with the water, and daub themselves with the mud; and thus, they say, cleanses them from all sin; this is very great holiness. In former years it was usual for many to give themselves to the sharks and alligators, and thus to be destroyed. But the Company have now placed sepoy along the side, to prevent this. A European sergeant and fifty sepoy are here now for that purpose."

The veneration paid by Hindus to this river is almost incredible. Descending from a height of fifteen thousand feet above the level of the sea, and running a course of fifteen hundred miles, it receives, in every part, the most devoted homage. The touch of its water,—nay, the very sight of it, say the Shasters,—takes away all sin. Its very sediment is counted a remedy for all diseases. If it fails they are not undeceived; for they say the man's time has come, and there is no remedy for death. Drowning in it is an act of great merit. Thousands of sick persons endure long journeys, that they may die upon its banks. Its water is sworn upon, in courts of justice, as the Bible is in ours. From 50,000 to 200,000 persons assemble annually at certain places, of whom [4] many are crushed to death in pressing to bathe at the propitious moment. Still more die on the road, of poverty and fatigue. No man acquainted with the history of Hindustan can sail upon these bright, unconscious waters, without being filled with sorrowful contemplations.

That the scenery here has been described in such glowing colours, can only be accounted for by considering that the waters had been for months immured in a ship, and that, having previously seen no country but their own, everything *foreign* became deeply interesting. The boats which come off, of strange construction; the "dandies," with their dark bronze skin, fine Roman features, perfect teeth, and scanty costume; the Sircars, which board the ship with presents of fruit, dressed in graceful folds of snow-white muslin,—are indeed objects of interest, and form fruitful topics for journals and letters, to young travellers. As to the river itself, at least in the lower part of its course, none could be more dull and disagreeable.

As the ship ascends the river, (generally a slow and difficult process), objects of interest multiply. Fishermen's villages and

scattered huts appear on each side, embosomed in stately palms. Trees, of shapes unknown before, fields of sugar-cane, wide levels of paddy ground, and a universal greenness, keep up an interest, till on reaching Gloucester,^{1a} European houses begin to be seen, and the ear once more catches the sounds of machinery and commerce. The cold emotions of wonder, and the pain of reflecting that one has arrived in the regions of degradation and idolatry, now give place to a sense of exhilaration and homeness. On every side is evidence of the presence of those who stand with the highest among the civilized, the free, the scientific, and the religious nations of the earth. Hope portrays the future, benevolence stands ready to act, and discouragement is cheered by assurance of co-operation.

At length, in passing a bed in the river, called "Garden [5] Reach," a superb array of country-seats opens on the eastern bank. Luxury and refinement seem here to have made their home. Verdant and quiet lawns appear doubly attractive to a voyager, weary of ocean and sky. Buildings coated with plaster, and combining Grecian chasteness with oriental adaptation, lift their white columns amid noble trees and numerous tanks. Steamboats, budgerows, and dingies, ply about upon the smooth water. The lofty chimneys of gas works and factories rise in the distance, and everything bespeaks your approach to a great city.

We passed just at sunset. The multifarious vehicles, for which Calcutta is famous, stood before the doors, or rolled away through the trees, followed by turbaned servants in flowing muslin. Ladies and children, with nurses and bearers, lounged along the smooth paths; and it was difficult to realise that this beautiful climate should prove so insidious. The general observation, however, is, that death owes more victims to high living, indolence, exposure at night, fatigue in shooting excursions, &c., than to the positive effects of climate. Indeed some affirm India to be as salubrious as England; and the aspect of some who have been long in the country would seem to countenance the assertion.

A farther advance brings an indistinct view of the fort and the fine buildings of the Chouringy suburb, all presented in one great curve, which is soon relinquished for a more minute and inquisitive contemplation of "the Course." This is a broad road on the bank of the river, passing round the esplanade and fort, to which the English residents drive every evening at sunset. As

every clerk in the city keeps his buggy or palankeen carriage, the crowd of vehicles rivals that at Hyde Park. The sight is even more imposing. Most of the higher classes use stately landaus, or open barouches ; and the ladies are without bonnets. Crowds of gentlemen are on horseback. Indian side-runners give a princely air to the slow procession. The shipping of every [6] nation, the clear horizon, the noble fort, the city front, the pleasure-boats, the beautiful ghauts, &c., make it a scene which always pleases ; and the citizens repair thither from day to day, and from year to year, without weariness or satiety.

On passing Garden Reach, the river becomes covered with boats, of every conceivable form, from which a dozen different languages meet the ear. A multitude of vessels lie at anchor ; steam-engines pour from their towering chimneys volumes of smoke ; beautiful ghauts slope into the water ; palankeens, tonjons, buggies, coaches, phaetons, gares, caranches, and hack-aries, line the shore, and before us spreads out the great city, containing, with its suburbs, almost a million of souls.

All who die in or beside the river, and even those whose dead bodies are committed to it, being deemed certain of future bliss, multitudes are brought to die upon the banks, or are laid at low water on the mud, whence the return of the tide washes them away. These and the half-consumed relics from the funeral pile, in every variety of revolting aspect, are continually floating by. Government boats ply above the city to sink these bodies ; but many escape, and we daily saw them float by, while vultures stood upon them, contending for the horrid banquet.

There being no wharfs or docks, you are rowed to a ghaut in a dingey, and landed amid Hindus performing their ablutions and reciting their prayers. No sooner does your boat touch the shore, than a host of bearers contend for you with loud jabber, and those whom you resist least, actually bear you off in their arms through the mud, and you find yourself at once in one of those strange conveyances, a palankeen. Away you hie, flat on your back, at the rate of nearly five miles an hour, a chatty^{1b} boy bearing aloft a huge palm-leaf umbrella to keep off the sun, whom no assurances that you do not want him will drive away, but who expects only a pice or two for his pains. The bearers grunt at every step, like southern our negroes when [7] cleaving

wood : and though they do it as a sort of chorus, it keeps your unaccustomed feelings discomposed.

Arrived at the house, you find it secluded within a high brick wall, and guarded at the gate by a durwan, or porter, who lives there in a lodge, less to prevent ingress, than to see that servants and others carry nothing away improperly. The door is sheltered by a porch, called here a veranda, so constructed as to shelter carriages—a precaution equally necessary for the rains and the sun. The best houses are of two stories, the upper being occupied by the family, and the lower used for dining and store rooms. On every side are contrivances to mitigate heat and exclude dust. Venetian blinds inclose the veranda, extending from pillar to pillar, as low as a man's head. The remaining space is furnished with mats, (tatties,) which reach to the floor. When the sun is on that side, but at other times are rolled up. When these are kept wet, they diffuse a most agreeable coolness.

The moment you sit down, whether in a mansion, office, or shop, a servant commences pulling the punka, under which you may happen to be. The floor is of brick and mortar, covered with mats, the walls of the purest white, and the ceilings of great height. Both sexes, and all orders, dress in white cottons. The rooms are kept dark, and in the hottest part of the day shut up with glass. In short, everything betrays a struggle to keep cool.

Another great contest seems to be against ants. You perceive various articles of furniture placed upon little dishes of water or quick-lime, without which precaution everything is over-run. White ants are most formidable ; for from these it is impossible wholly to guard. They attack everything, even the beams in the houses. A chest of clothes, lying on the floor a day or two only, may be found entirely ruined. A mere pinhole appears in your precious quarto—you open it, and behold a mass of dust and fragments !

The number of servants, and their snowy drapery, huge tur-[8]bans, stubby mustachios, bare feet, and cringing servility, form another feature in the novel scene. Partly from the influence of caste, but more from indolent habits, low pay, and the indulgence of former masters, when fortunes were easily made, they are appointed to services so minutely divided as to render a great number necessary. The following list, given me by a lady long in India, not only illustrates this peculiarity, but

shows how large opportunities private Christians possess of doing good to natives even beneath their own roof. A genteel family, not wealthy, must have the following domestics :—

*Kansuma**—a head servant, butler, or steward ; *Kit-mut-gar*—table-servant. *Musalche*—cleans knives, washes plates, and carries the lantern ; *Babagee*—cook ; *Surdur*—head bearer, cleans furniture, &c. ; *Bearer*—cleans shoes, and does common errands, (if a palankeen is kept, there must be at least eight of them), pulls panka ; *Abdar*—cools and takes care of water ; *Meeta*—man sweeper ; *Metrane*—female sweeper ; *Ayah*—lady's maid or nurse ; *Durwan*—gate-keeper ; *Molley*, gardener ; *Durgey*—tailor ; *Dobey*—washerman ; *Guree-walla*—coachman ; *Syce*—groom, one to every horse, who always runs with him ; *Grass-cutter*—cuts and brings grass daily, one to each horse ; *Guy walla*—keeper of the cow or goats ; *Hurkaru*—errand-boy or messenger ; *Sircar*—accountant, or secretary ; *Chuprasse*—carries letters, and does the more trusty errands ; *Chokedar*—watchman ; *Cooley*—carries burdens, brings home marketing, &c. ; *Bheeste*—to bring water. Of gardeners, maids, table-servants, nurses, &c., there of course must often be several. It is generally necessary to have part of these Mussulmans, and part Hindus ; for one will not bring some dishes to the table, and the other will not touch a candlestick, &c. If a child makes a litter on the floor, the *ayah* will not clean it, but calls the *metrane*.

NATIVE TOWN

A walk into the native town, produces novel sights on every side. The houses, for the most part, are mud hovels, with mud walls, scarcely high enough to stand up in, and [9] covered with thatch. The streets are narrow, crooked, and dirty ; and on every neglected wall, cow dung mixed with chaff, and kneaded into thin cakes, is stuck up to dry fuel. The shops are often but six or eight feet square, and seldom twice this size, wholly open in front, without any counter, but the mat on the floor, part of

* *Read* Khansamah, Kitmatgar, Masalchee, Babarchi, Bearer, Abdar, Mehter, Metranee, Ayah, Durwan, Mali, Darzi, Dhobi, and Gariwala—P.T.N.

which is occupied by the vendor, sitting cross-legged, and the rest serves to exhibit his goods. Mechanics have a similar arrangement.

Barbers sit in the open street on a mat, and the patient, squatting on his hams, has not only his beard, but part of his head, shaved leaving the hair to grow only on his crown. In the tanks and ponds are dobeys, slapping their clothes with all their might upon a bench or a stone. Little braminny bulls, with their humped shoulders, walk among the crowd, thrusting their noses into the baskets of rice, gram, or peas, with little resistance, except they stay to repeat the mouthful.² Bullocks, loaded with panniers, pass slowly by. Palankeens come bustling along, the bearers shouting at the people to clear the way. Pedlers and hucksters utter their ceaseless cries. Religious mendicants with long hair, matted with cow-dung, and with faces and arms smeared with Ganges mud, walk about almost naked, with an air of the utmost impudence and pride, demanding rather than begging gifts. Often they carry a thick triangular plate of brass, and striking it at intervals with a heavy stick, send the shrill announcement of their approach far and near. Now and then comes rushing along the buggy of some English merchant, whose syce, running before, drives the pedestrians out of the way; or some villanous-looking caranche drags by, shut up close with red cloth, containing native ladies, who contrive thus to "take the air."

No Englishmen are seen on foot, except the very poorest, as [10] it is deemed ungentee; nor native women, except of the lowest castes. Costumes and complexions, of every variety, move about without attracting attention—Hindus, Mussulmans, Armenians, Greeks, Persians, Parsees, Arabs, Jews, Burmans, Chinese, &c. &c.; bheesties, with leather water-sacks, slung dripping on their backs, carry their precious burden to the rich man's yard, or hawk it along the street, announcing their approach by drumming on their brass measure. Snake-charmers, jugglers, and blind musicians, gather their little crowds. Processions are almost always abroad in honour of some idol, or in fulfilment of some promise; making all possible clamour with voices, drums, cymbals, and trumpets. Women carry their children astride on their hips. Wretched carriages, drawn by more wretched ponies, jingle along, bearing those who have long walks and moderate

means. Women crowd about the wells, carrying water on their hips in brass jars. Children run about stark-naked, or with a thin plate of silver or brass, not larger than a tea-cup, hung in front by a cord round the hips. Mud-holes, neglected tanks, decaying carcasses, and stagnant ditches, unite with fumes of garlic, rancid oil, and human filth, to load the air with villanous smells. The *tout-ensemble* of sights, sounds, and smells, is so utterly unlike anything in any other part of the world, that weeks elapse before the sensation of strangeness wears away.

My residence with Mr. Pearce on the circular road, which is a principal thoroughfare, afforded continual opportunity of observing native character and habits. A spectacle of frequent occurrence was the wedding procession of young children, affianced by their relations. Music and many torches dignify the procession. The girl is often carried in a palankeen, and [11] the bridegroom on horseback, held by a friend. Sometimes the little things are borne in a highly-ornamented litter, as in the engraving. It is always affecting to think that if the poor little boy die, his betrothed is condemned to perpetual widowhood. Many of these, as might be expected, become abandoned characters.

One is constantly struck with the excessive cruelty displayed toward oxen and horses by the natives; so strongly contrasting with the tenderness of Burman drivers. The cattle are small, lean, and scarred all over with the brands and fanciful figures of their owners. Poor in flesh, and weak, they are urged with a large stick, and by twisting the tail, in the most violent manner. The heavy blows were continually sounding in my ears, and, with the creaking of the wheels, which are never greased, keep up an odious din. The horses of their miserable carriages fare no better—the driver scarcely ever suffering his whip to repose.

I saw many funerals, but none in which any solemnity or pomp prevailed. The body, without a coffin, was carried on its own paltry bedstead by four men, covered merely with a sheet; a few followers kept up a wailing recitative, and beat upon small native drums. The body was thus conveyed to the place of burning, or thrown into the Ganges.

[12] Close to my residence was one of those numerous tanks resorted to in this city, not only for drinking water, but ablutions of all sorts. Every hour in the day some one was there bathing.

Those who came for water, would generally walk in, and letting their jar float awhile, bathe, and perhaps wash their cloth, then filling their vessel, bear it away with dripping clothes. Some dobeys, or washermen, resorted thither, whose severe process fully accounted for the fringes constantly made on the edge of my clothes. Without soap or fire, they depend on mere labour; standing knee-deep in the water, and gathering the end of a garment in their hand, they whirl it over their head, and bring it down with great force upon a stone or inclined plank, occasionally shaking it in the water. They spread out the articles on the hot sand, and a powerful sun enables them to present clothes of snowy whiteness.

DOOR-GA POO-JA

My stay in the city included several annual festivals, of which one was the *Door-ga Poo-ja*, which commenced on the fifteenth of October, and lasted till the nineteenth. The whole population unites in this celebration, and the government offices are closed. It is in honour of Bhagabatee, wife of Seeb, who is called Doorga, from her having destroyed a dreadful giant of that name, who had subdued most of the gods.

The first day is spent in waking up Doorga, and other gods, who are supposed to have slept since the festival of Shayan Ekadashee. The second day, vows are made, and offerings [13] of water, flowers, sweetmeats, &c., are presented. The third day is occupied with ceremonies to bring the soul of Doorga into the image. To effect this, the priest repeats prayers, offers incantations, and touches the eyes, cheeks, nose, breast, &c., of the image with his finger. The image now becomes an object of worship, and crowds offer it divine honours, presenting at the same time large quantities of fruits, clothing, and food: which, of course, are perquisites to the Brahmins. The fourth day streams with the blood of animal sacrifices. The worshippers dance before the idol, smeared with gore; drums beat; and shouts rend the air. The heads only of the victims are offered, the worshippers eating the carcasses, and rioting in strong drink. Such Hindus as worship Vishnu, not being permitted to shed blood, offer pumpkins, melons, sugarcane, &c., which are cut in two with the sacrificial knife, that the juice may flow forth.

All these days, the image is kept in the house, and the services performed in interior courts, so that the streets show little confusion or stir. The evenings are occupied with songs and dancing, often of an indecent character.

The last and great day brings the goddess abroad, carried in triumph upon the shoulders of men, to be thrown into the river. Crowds follow with shouts; bands of music accompany each group; and towards sunset the streets are literally full of these processions. I rode to the margin of the river, at that time, to witness this part of the festival; and during the stay of a single hour, scores of images were thrown in at that place. Above and below, the same scenes were enacted.

These exhibitions not only present Doorga, but several other images, often as large as life, very handsomely moulded, of wax, clay, or paper. Under an ornamented canopy stands the goddess, stretching out her ten arms, each of which has an occupation. One transfixes with a spear the giant Mahisha; others hold implements of war, flowers, sceptres, [14] &c. Beneath her feet is a lion tearing the said giant; and on each side are her sons, *Kartik* and *Ganesh*. The whole is borne on a frame or bier, requiring twenty or thirty bearers. The group is generally got up with much skill, and no little ornament, some of which is really tasteful and costly. Vast sums are expended at this festival by all ranks, amounting, in some cases, even to twenty or thirty thousand rupees! Almost every respectable family makes one of these objects, and lavishes on it considerable expense. The offerings, the music, the feast, and still more, the gifts to Brahmins, make up a heavy cost. I could not help observing, that the men employed to cast the fabric into the river, no sooner got a little way from the shore, in the boat, than they began to rifle the goddess of her muslins, plumes, and gilded ornaments, so that often nothing but a mere wreck was thrown overboard.

Calcutta being the focus of religious intelligence for all the East, and the seat of numerous missionary operations, I was not sorry that no vessel offered for my next port of destination, for two months. It gave me an opportunity of visiting the charitable, literary, and religious institutions, attending the various churches, and several anniversaries; mingling with ministerial society, committees, and conferences, and gathering no small

amount of information from the best sources. I shall, however, only note here such as will interest the general reader.

SCOTTISH CHURCH COLLEGE : One of my first visits was to the Scottish General Assembly, founded by Rev. Mr. Duff, and now under the care of Rev. Messrs. Mackay and Ewart. It occupies a large brick building, inclosing a quadrangular court, formerly the residence of a wealthy Baboo, and standing in the midst of the native town.³ It has existed about six years, and now numbers about six hundred and thirty-four pupils ; boys, mostly under fourteen years. They are all [15] Bengalees and Hindus, generally of the higher castes and many of them Brahmins. Many have been in the school from the commencement. They purchase their own school-books, and receive no support from the school ; but the tuition is gratis. There are five ushers, besides twelve or fifteen of the more advanced scholars, who act as assistant teachers. The instruction is wholly in the English language. I examined several classes in ancient and modern history, mathematics, astronomy, and Christianity ; and have never met classes showing a more thorough knowledge of the books they had studied. Nearly all of the two upper classes are convinced of the truth of the gospel, and went over the leading evidences in a manner that, I am sure, few professors of religion in our country can do. Some six or seven pupils have given evidence of a work of grace in their heart ; a few of which have made a profession of religion.

A few weeks after, I had the pleasure of attending the public annual examination of this school, held in the town hall, a truly noble building. I never witnessed a better examination. The pupils were often led away from the direct subject, by gentlemen present, and in every case showed a good insight into the subject they had studied. Several excellent essays were read in English, wholly composed by the scholars, two of which were of special cleverness ; one in favour of caste, the other against it. The former received some tokens of applause from the Europeans, for the talent it displayed ; but not a native clapped. On the conclusion of that against caste, the whole mass of pupils burst out into thundering applause ! This incident is worthy of note, as showing the waning influence of Brahma.

BENEVOLENT INSTITUTION : The Benevolent Institution, instituted thirty years ago by the Serampore Missionaries, has

continued without interruption; imparting the English language, and English literature, on the Lancasterian plan, to an average of three hundred pupils. Several times that number have left the school with [16] more or less education, many of whom are now honourably employed as teachers, writers, and clerks. There are now a hundred and eighty in the boys' and thirty in the girls' department. The establishment of other schools has diminished its number. It was intended entirely for the benefit of the children of nominal Christians, chiefly Catholic, who were growing up in ignorance and vice; but some pagan youth are now admitted. The Rev. Mr. Penny has devoted himself to this service for many years; and recently his salary has been paid by government. The boys live with their parents, and receive no support from the school.

The **BOARDING AND DAY SCHOOLS** at Chitpore, one of the northern suburbs of Calcutta, were established by the Baptist missionaries, in 1829. They are under the care of Rev. J. D. Ellis, and contained boys and girls, till the latter were removed to Seebpore. The boarding school is for the children of native Christians, and contains forty-five interesting boys, none under seven years. They are entirely supported, at an average expense of about four rupees a month; including food, clothes, books, salaries of assistant teachers, building, medicine, &c. Nine of the boys have become pious, and been received into the church, and three others are to be baptised soon.

The day school, on separate premises, is for heathen boys, and contains three hundred pupils, from eight to eighteen years of age. They study the English language, and all the branches of a good high-school. They provide their own books and stationery, so that the salaries of the native ushers, amounting in the aggregate to seventy-five rupees a month, and the rent of the buildings, constitute all the expense. This school is decidedly the best I found in Calcutta, excepting, perhaps, that of the General Assembly just mentioned, to which it is not inferior. The arrangement of the school-house and grounds, the general government, the deportment of the pupils, and the degrees of proficiency, are most satisfactory. None have become open Christians; but most of the senior [17] boys theoretically reject idolatry, and declare ours to be the only true faith. I was astonished at the readiness with which they went over the evidence of

Christianity, from miracles, prophecy, history, internal structure, &c. I started many of the plausible objections of heathen and infidels, and found they had truly mastered both the text-books and the subject.

BISHOP'S COLLEGE, founded by Bp. Middleton, stands a few miles below Calcutta, on the river Hoogly. The college edifice is of great size, and substantially built in the Gothic style, and the professors' houses, pleasure-grounds, &c., are every way suitable. A distinguished civilian politely took me there in his carriage, and the president kindly showed us every part. The fine library, beautiful chapel, and admirable arrangements, with the high character of the instructors, seem to invite students; but there have as yet been more than ten or twelve at a time. This is possibly owing in part to the exclusively Episcopal character of the college. The salary of the principal is one thousand pounds per annum, and of the second teacher, seven hundred pounds.

The INDIAN FEMALE ORPHAN REFUGE*, and CENTRAL SCHOOL, were founded by Mrs. Wilson (then Miss Cook), about twelve years ago. The two departments under the above names occupied the same building, till the present season, when the Refuge was removed to new and more suitable premises, six miles north of the city. The increased and improved accommodations will enable this excellent lady to enhance the value of her admirable charity. Here native orphans, and other destitute or abandoned children, are received at any age, however young, and remain till marriageable, supported in all respects. A considerable number of them were redeemed from actual starvation, during the dreadful desolation of a hurricane on the Hoogly river, a few years since. All are taught to read and speak English, beside the elementary studies and needle-work. They are found to be acute, and generally learn to read and understand the New Testament in [18] one year. Some six or eight are Mussulman children; the rest are Hindus, who, of course, lose whatever caste they may have; though this now, in Calcutta, is productive of comparatively little inconvenience to the poor. The present number in the Refuge is one hundred

* See Notes (pp. 814-816) for a fuller account from Massie—P.T.N.

and eight, and the whole cost per annum, for each child, is found to be about twenty-five rupees. Mrs. Wilson (now a widow) resides in the institution, and devotes herself most steadfastly to the arduous work. Possessing the unlimited confidence of the philanthropists of Calcutta, she has been able to meet the expenses of her new and extensive buildings, and is not likely to want funds for sustaining the school.

The Central School has, on an average, two hundred and fifty girls, who attend in the day-time only, and receive no support. The first impressions, on entering the vast room where they are taught, are very touching. Seated on mats, in groups of eight or ten, around the sides of the room, are thirty classes; each with a native teacher in the midst. The thin cotton shawls, covering not only the whole person, but the head, are lent them every morning to wear in school, and kept beautifully white. In their noses or ears hang rings of large diameter; and many of them had the little spot at the root of the nose^d, indicative of the god they serve, tattooed. Some had on the arms or ankles numerous bracelets or bangles, of ivory, wood, or silver; and many wore rings on the toes; all according to the immemorial usage of Bengalee women.

All were intent on their lessons; and when it was considered that those lessons comprised the blessed truths of revelation, the scene could not but affect a Christian's heart with [19] gratitude and hope. The pious ladies devote themselves to the management of this school, and attend all day. A native preacher conducts daily worship, and preaches once a week. The native women, being paid one pice per day for each scholar, are thus induced, though heathen, to exert themselves to keep their classes full.

The two institutions last named show what may be done by ladies. What abundant opportunities are presented, in several parts of the world, for them to come forth, and be co-workers in the missionary enterprise!

The MARTINIERE, founded by a magnificent legacy of General Martin, was opened March 1835, and has already eighty pupils, of which fifty are wholly supported. It is intended solely for the children of Europeans, and has a principal and two professors. The building which cost 200,000 rupees, is truly noble, and stands on the southern edge of the city, amid extensive

grounds. Many more pupils can be accommodated ; and there is no doubt the number will soon be full. The children are not required to be orphans, or very poor, but are admitted from that class of society which, though respectable, find it impossible to give their children a good education, and are glad to be relieved from their support.

The LEPER HOSPITAL, founded by the exertions of Dr Carey, is located on the road to Barrackpore, a little north of the city. Instead of a large building, it is an inclosed village, with neat grounds and out-houses. Any leper may resort there, and receive maintenance in full, with such medical treatment as the case may encourage. It generally contains several hundred ; but many prefer to subsist by begging in the streets.

Beside these institutions, there are several others. such as orphan asylums, a floating chapel, &c., of a character similar to those of our own country, and which therefore do not need any description.

COMMITTEE OF EDUCATION

In 1813, parliament required the East India Company to [20] devote £ 10,000 or a lac of rupees, annually, for the education and improvement of the natives ; but nothing was done for fifteen or sixteen years. The funds, with other appropriations, which had accumulated to nearly 300,000 rupees *per annum*, were then placed under the control of a "Committee of Education," who proceeded to work in earnest. The Hindu, Mahometan, and Sanscrit Colleges in Calcutta, were taken under the patronage of the committee, and schools and colleges at Benares, Delhi, Hoogly, Agra, Moorshedabad, Baugulpore, Saugor, Maulmain, and Allahabad, were soon founded. In 1835, a new impulse and direction was given to these operations, and there were established the Medical College of Calcutta, and schools at Pooree, Gowhatte, Dacca, Patna, Ghazepore, and Merut. The following are now in course of being established—Rajshahi, Jubbulpore, Hoshungabad, Furruckabad, Bareilly, and Ajmere. The whole number of pupils at present is three thousand three hundred and ninety-eight⁵, of whom one thousand eight-hundred and ninety-one study English, two hundred and eighteen Arabic, four hundred and seventy-three Sanscrit, and three hundred and

seventy-six Persian. Most of the rest are confined to the local vernacular. Of the students, one thousand eight-hundred and eighty-one are Hindus, five hundred and ninety-six Mussulmans, seventy-seven Christians, and the rest are Burmans, Chinese, &c. A summary view of those in Calcutta will give a general idea of the whole.

The HINDU COLLEGE, (called by Hindus the *Vidyalyaya*,) established in 1816, by wealthy natives, contains four hundred and fifty pupils. About sixty are on scholarships, the rest pay from five to seven rupees per month for tuition. It has two departments; one for imparting education in English, and English literature, open to all classes and castes; [21] the other for the cultivation of Sanscrit literature, and open only to persons of the Brahminical order, who are not admitted under twelve years of age. In the English department, instruction is given in reading, writing, arithmetic, composition, mathematics, history, natural philosophy, geography, &c. The institution has a valuable library in English which serves to give efficacy and expansion to the system of instruction. The fact that natives are willing to pay so much for tuition, and support themselves, shows the prevailing anxiety to acquire our language. Scholars are received into the English department as young as six years.

The SUNSCRIT COLLEGE has about one hundred thirty-five pupils; part of whom study English, with the other branches. They are instructed in Hindu literature, law, and theology. The fewness of scholars seeking instruction in this worthless stuff is a good sign. Even of these, fifty-seven are *paid* monthly stipends of from six to eight rupees. The rest are not charged for tuition. The term of attendance is twelve years; viz. three for grammar, two for general literature, one for rhetoric, one for logic, one for theology, one for mathematics, and three for law. All the forms and distinctions of caste are observed at this school.

The Mahometan College (generally called the *MADRESSA*,) is for the instruction of that class of natives in their own literature and faith. Formerly, the students were allowed stipends of seven or eight rupees per month; but, as those who hold these fall off, they are not renewed to others, so that the number is annually diminishing. It has two departments, Oriental and English; the former containing ninety-one students, and the lat-

ter one hundred and thirty. The studies are reading, writing, spelling, grammar, arithmetic, geography, history, natural philosophy, and the Mahometan laws and religion.

The HOOGLY (or Mahomet Muhsin's) COLLEGE, situated about twenty-five miles above Calcutta, has grown out of the [22] Hoogly School, which flourished several years, teaching chiefly the English language, to about one hundred and thirty pupils. Large endowments from the above-named Baboo have lately become available, and yield an annual revenue of no less than a lac of rupees. It was re-opened on an enlarged system in August, 1836, and already enrolls more than fifteen hundred students, who have entered the western department; that is, to prosecute English and English literature exclusively; and three hundred who have entered the oriental department. About one hundred of the latter study English in connection with Eastern languages, and two hundred study Arabic and Persian exclusively.

The MEDICAL COLLEGE was instituted by a general order of the supreme government, in which it was directed that the Native Medical Institution, then existing under Dr. Tytler, and the medical classes at the Sunscrit and Mahometan Colleges, should be abolished, and a new institution formed. Medical science is here on the most enlightened principles, and in the *English language*. Instruction commenced in June, 1835, with forty-nine students; selected from numerous applicants. All were required to be able to speak, read, and write English with ease and accuracy. The institution is a great favourite with Britons in Calcutta, and promises very important benefits to Bengal, besides raising up suitable doctors for the native regiments. None but native students are admitted: but these may be of any creed or caste; and for fifty of them, a competent support is provided. They are received between the ages of fourteen and twenty, and such as are allowed stipends are required to remain five or six years.

For each of these institutions a good English library and philosophical apparatus have been ordered from London, toward which object a wealthy Baboo has given twenty thousand rupees. Persons of all ages, religious opinions, and castes, are admitted as pupils in all the government institutions except the Hindu, Mahometan, and Sunscrit Colleges at Calcutta, and [23] the Sun-

scriit College at Benares. The effect of these last-named institutions is regarded by many as wholly tending to support the national systems of religion and literature, and, therefore, so far as the external well-being of the pupils is concerned, decidedly injurious.

The circumstances of the country make these colleges, not what a cursory reader would infer from the name, but *schools*; or, at the best, academies. Education has not long enough prevailed to have produced a race of young men prepared by elementary studies to pursue the higher branches. The pupils of these "colleges" are taught to read, write, and cipher, as well as grammar, geography, logic, mathematics, &c., from the rudiments upwards.

Until 1835, the policy of the committee was to encourage the study of Persian, Sanscrit, and Arabic literature, as the best means of elevating the general intelligence of the natives. Hence the endowment of schools and colleges, expressly for these studies, and *paying* the students liberal monthly stipends. A great number were thus induced to study these dead languages, who felt no interest in them, and made no valuable proficiency. While modern science was enlightening all Europe, these students were learning Ptolemy's astronomy, Aristotle's philosophy, and Galen's medical institutes, and reading the shockingly lascivious stories of *Mricchakata*, and the *Nol Damayanti*. Bishop Heber examined some of these students at Banares, and says⁶, "The astronomical lecturer produced a terrestrial globe, divided according to their system, and elevated to the meridian of Banares. Mount Meru he identified with the north pole, and under the south pole he supposed the tortoise 'Chukwa' to stand; on which the earth rests. He then showed me how the sun went round the earth once in every day, and how, by a different motion, he visited the signs of the zodiac." As Hindu literature has been highly extolled by some, I will add a [24] specimen from Ram Mohun Roy's account of it.⁷ "'*Khad* signifies to eat; *Khaduti*, he, she, or it eats; query, does *Khaduti*, as a whole, convey the meaning he, she, or it eats, or are separate parts of this meaning conveyed by distinctions of the word?' As if, in the English language, it were asked. How much meaning is there in the *eat*, and how much in the *s*? And is the whole meaning conveyed by these two portions of the word distinctly, or by them

taken jointly?" "In medicine and chemistry they are just sufficiently advanced to talk of substances being moist, dry, hot, &c., in the third or fourth degree ; to dissuade from physicking, or letting blood, on a Tuesday, or under a particular aspect of the heavens ; and to be eager in the pursuit of the philosopher's stone, and the elixir of immortality⁸."

The Rev. Mr. Wilson, in a sermon on behalf of the Scotch Missionary Society, and dedicated to the Right Hon. Sir Robert Grant, governor of Bombay, preached in Bombay, November, 1835, touches this matter briefly ; and I quote some of his remarks, because of the high authority on which they come. Speaking of the appropriation of the lac of rupees, he remarks, "We, the representatives of the British nation in India, instead of applying this grant wholly to the diffusion of a knowledge of the literature and science of the West, as, we must suppose, was intended, employed most of it in the support of colleges for teaching *pensioned* students the elements of the Sanscrit and Arabic languages, and inculcating through them the immoral precepts of the Vedas and Purannas, the aphorisms of dreamy and obsolete legislators, and the prescriptions of quack doctors and alchemists ; or in printing Oriental books to fill the shelves of the learned and curious, but illiberal and unphilanthropic confederacy, of English and French antiquarians."

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

This policy of the committee led also to the expenditure of [25] enormous sums in procuring translations of elevated scientific works into those languages, and printing original Arabic, Persian, and Sanscrit works hitherto unknown to Europe. Of the books printed by the committee up to 1832, there were of Sanscrit thirteen thousand volumes, of Arabic five thousand, Persian two thousand five hundred, Hindu two thousand. A large proportion of these are quarto volumes, of seven hundred to eight hundred pages, and printed in editions of five hundred copies. Of course, were they ever so valuable, they could not be generally diffused over an empire of two millions of inhabitants. Not a single work was printed in the prevailing and spoken languages of India ! The books thus brought forth as treasures of Oriental literature, were indeed such to some philologists of Europe ; but

false philosophy, fabulous histories, and impure romances, could do no good to Hindus, even supposing the mass of the people could have read them.

The policy of the committee, as at present constituted is, to cultivate Western, rather than Eastern literature, and to diffuse modern science and arts, by extending a knowledge of the English language, and by multiplying valuable works in the vulgar tongues. In accomplishing this important change, perhaps, no man has been more instrumental than C. E. Trevelyan, Esq., of the Bengal civil service, to whom India is, in many other respects, greatly indebted.

The stipends which were paid to pupils in the Arabic, Sanscrit, and Persian languages, are now refused to new applicants, and expire as vacancies occur. This change not only adds to the available funds of the committee, but leaves the dead languages to be cultivated, just so far as their intrinsic worth shall induce the native. In all the new institutions, pupils are admitted without distinction of caste.

The prospect now is, that English, with its vast stores of knowledge in every department, will become the classical [26] language of the country⁹. The holders of office, and influential natives generally, of the next generation, will be enlightened beyond what could have ever been hoped for, under the old system. Some of those who give themselves to literary pursuits, will no doubt acquire such a mastery of certain sciences, as to become able to bring forth works of great utility in their mother tongue. By such works, and not by translations made by foreigners, light may spread to all the people, and this vast continent be brought forth into a worthy place among the nations.

Missionaries long since saw this subject as the education committee now see it, and thousands of natives, in Calcutta alone, have been taught in their schools to read English. There are probably now in that city not less than four thousand youths receiving an English education. In the Hindu College, established in 1816, and conducted wholly with reference to English, there are four hundred and seven students, of whom three hundred and fifty-six pay from five to seven rupees a month for tuition, while the Sanscrit College, where fifty-seven students receive a stipend of from six to eight rupees per month, and the rest are taught gratuitously, there are but one hundred and thirty-

five pupils. In the Arabic College are two hundred students, one hundred and thirty-four of whom study English, and most of the remainder receive stipends. The Hoogly College has grown out of the Hoogly School, in which the English language was always a primary object. Having received endowments from a native gentleman, yielding annually 100,000 rupees, it has recently been thrown open to receive more pupils; and already fifteen [27] hundred students have entered the "western department," that is, to study English, and English literature exclusively. About three hundred have entered to study English, in connexion with Oriental literature; and two hundred to study Arabic and Persian exclusively.

CALCUTTA SCHOOL-BOOK SOCIETY

A further evidence of the present demand for English, is seen in the operations of the Calcutta School-book Society. This institution prints elementary books, in all the languages required by schools in the presidency, at the cheapest possible rate; and from its depository, most schools are supplied, in whole or in part. The following summary of sales is from the last annual report. viz:—

English	..	..	31,649	books
Anglo-Asiatic (i.e. in the Roman Character)			4,525	..
Bengalee	..	..	5,754	..
Hindui	..	..	4,171	..
Hindustani	..	..	3,384	..
Persian	..	..	1,454	..
Oriya	..	..	834	..
Arabic	..	..	36	..
Sunsrit	..	..	16	..

With this impulse in favour of the English language, and European literature, has sprung up, chiefly through the same instrumentality, another, equally strong, in favour of using the Roman letters for Indian languages. I regard this as scarcely less important than the other, and have briefly handled the point in some remarks on "The mode of conducting missions," in Part IV.

That the elements of society are not stagnant in Calcutta, and that light is breaking in upon the public mind, is evinced, among other proofs, by the present state of the native newspaper press. Formerly there was no such thing in the city; now there are seven or eight. Among them are "The Durpin," published in Bengalee, and English, by nominal Christians, but somewhat neuter; the "Chundrika," strongly in favour of the entire idolatrous system, the "Cowmoodee," [28] temperate and conciliatory, and rejecting the grosser Hindu superstitions, but decidedly polytheistic. The "Reformer," in the English language entirely, and the first newspaper conducted in English by natives, advocates the Vedant system, but is temperate. The "Inquirer," also in the English language, is the organ of the education party among the natives. The "Gyananeshun," wholly in the Bengali language, resolutely attacks the Brahminical order, and all the monstrous rites and ceremonies of the Hindus. There is another, published in the Persian language, which is conducted with considerable talent, but chiefly occupied with matter not generally interesting to Hindus or English. All these are in addition to the various newspapers, journals, and other periodicals published by Britons, of which there are not few, and several of them decidedly pure and religious in their character. For English readers there are several newspapers and magazines, and two medical journals. The Asiatic Society, founded in 1784, continues its elevated career, and annually renders important contributions to general, as well as Oriental science and literature. The "Calcutta Christian Observer" is an admirable monthly, sustained by all persuasions, and replete with information not only on missionary, but scientific and literary subjects.

The Hindu and Mussulman religious edifices in Calcutta are few and mean; strongly contrasting with those in some other parts of the country, and with the stupendous pagodas and splendid *zayats*¹⁰ of the Burmans. The mosques resemble Oriental mausoleums, seldom larger than a native's hut, and often not bigger than a dog-house. The dome is almost always semi-spherical, and generally the plaster, which covers the brick walls, is wrought into minute ornaments of arabesque tracery; not always tasteful, or even chaste. Tombs, both for Europeans and rich natives, are often so built, that natives might dwell in them very comfortably, and remind one of some passages in Scripture,

where lunatics and others [29] are said to live in tombs. They resemble handsome summer-houses, and afford all the shelter a Hindu desires, and much more than he often enjoys.

BROHMA SOBHA

The conspicuousness of the late Ram Mohun Roy, and the eclat given for a time to the reformation which was supposed to be effecting, called me to his meeting with feelings of no ordinary interest. The Rev. Mr. Lacroix, to whom the language is perfectly familiar, kindly took me to the *Brohma Sobha*, as the congregation is called, and interpreted for me the substance of the various exercises. We found the place to be a commodious hall, in a respectable Hindu dwelling house. There was no idol, or idolatrous representation of any kind. On a small stage, raised about eighteen inches from the floor, handsomely carpeted, sat cross-legged two respectable-looking pundits. One side of the room was spread with clean cloths for the native attendants, who sat after the manner of the country; and on the other were chairs for the accommodation of strangers. In the centre, and opposite to the rostrum, lay some native musical instruments, and a violin. The room was well lighted, and the punkas of course waved overhead.

One of the pundits opened the services by reading Sanscrit from a loose palm-leaf held in his hand, stopping at every two or three words to expound and enforce. The subject was *knowledge*—what it was, and what it was not, &c. Abstract ethical questions were discussed, not unlike the fashion of the old scholastics; but no moral deductions were made, nor anything said to improve the hearers. The whole discourse must have been unintelligible to most of them.

The other then read a discourse in Bengalee, consisting chiefly of explanations of their religious system, and encomiums on it. He particularly dwelt on its liberality; boasting that they quarrelled with no name or persuasion, and assuring us, that it was of no consequence whether we worshipped idols, Mahomet, Jesus Christ, or the Virgin [30] Mary, that it was not possible to come to any certain knowledge respecting religious things; and that if any man believed his way to be right, that way was right for him. These discourses extended to about an hour, and the rest

of the time, about another hour, was occupied with music. At the close of the preaching, professed musicians advanced to the instruments, and, seating themselves on the mats, put them in tune, with the usual amount of discord. Two of them then sang several hymns, with instruments accompanying it. The themes were, the unity of the Divine Essence, and the various attributes of majesty and power. No one joined the strain, nor were there any books to enable them to do so. Nothing could be less reverent or devotional than the manner of the musicians. They looked about them with all possible self-complacency, making unmeaning gestures, bowing and blinking to each other, and vociferating with such a nasal twang, that it was a relief when they had finished. I thought it was literally such music as the poet speaks of—intended “to soothe savage breasts;” for certainly no other could well endure it.

On their retiring, a very different singer took the place, and proceeded for half an hour, with great power of execution, and not a little taste. His voice was uncommonly fine. He accompanied himself skilfully on the native guitar. The violin had been well played from the beginning, and the music was now truly excellent, furnishing, I was informed, a fair specimen of the best Bengal art. The singer, as well as the violinist, is distinguished at the nautch entertainments of the city. The subject was still the attributes of God. The Bengalee language has, for this purpose, a noble advantage over ours, in numerous expressions derived from the Sanscrit, which utter in a *single word* what may be called the negative attributes, and which we cannot express with brevity; much as “He that needs no refuge;” “He that is never perplexed;” “He that can never grow weary;” &c. [31] The singer used these epithets with great majesty; using animated gestures, and with a countenance finely varying with the theme. At the close of this exercise the assembly broke up.

No female was present, nor do any ever attend. Most of the congregation came in only in time to hear the music, and stood near the staircase, not without disorder. The number of the regular attendants was not over twenty. I am informed thirty is the largest number ever present. The spectators were somewhat more numerous.

Few of the professed adherents are so confident of their rectitude, as to detach themselves wholly from the common religious

customs, though more negligent in these matters than their neighbours. The very pundits officiate, not because converts to these opinions (for such they do not profess to be), but because regularly *paid* for their services. One of them, in his discourse this evening, expressly told us that there was no impropriety in worshipping idols—a doctrine which R. Roy would not admit. The musicians also are paid, and perform here for the same reasons that they do at a nautch, so that the whole concert is sustained by the money of a few friends, and descendants of R. Roy.

Such is the boasted reformation of Ram Mohun Roy! Not another congregation of his followers is found in all India! Of his labours as a reformer this is the sum—Fifty or a hundred persons rendered negligent of the national religion, or gathered here because they were so before, without being a whit the better in their private life or public influence; in some cases, adding the sins of Europeans to those of their countrymen; without being disentangled from the horrid system of the Shasters; without being ready, or without the moral courage, to restore to their own wives and daughters the rights of human nature. With all the superiority to prejudice and custom, boasted by Ram Mohun Roy, he did nothing for the elevation of the sex.

[32] A striking instance of this occurred, not very long since, in the case of D. T.,* one of his most intelligent followers. This gentleman is a partner in a European house, in the habit of mixing with European gentlemen, and evidently much more enlightened than most of his countrymen. Yet was he so much under the influence of Hindu public opinion, as to marry his daughter to a Ku-len Brahmin, for the purpose of elevating the family above the reproach occasioned by one of his ancestors, with many others, having been compelled to eat beef, by a Mahometan enemy, named Per Ali. The young lady is well educated, reads and writes English, and is remarkably intelligent. The Brahmin is as ignorant as the rest of his class, and will probably marry others, as avarice or caprice may move him. Brahmins of this caste may marry *any number* of wives, but are not bound to live with them. They not unfrequently leave a wife after a

* D.T. stands for Dwarknauth Tagore, if seems. (P.T.N.)

few weeks, and never see her again. She is thus doomed to hopeless widowhood, merely to gratify the ambition of her family. Thus completely is Ram Mohun Roy's principal disciple under the influence of a thralldom which that great man professed to despise. A good school would have done more than all that has been accomplished by the Brohma Sobha. We should expect pupils who had become so far released from Hindu prejudice, to advance to a complete emancipation. But this people show no tendency to advance; they have long stood still; and everything already wears an aspect of decrepitude and decay. What a monument of the entire inefficacy of unassisted reason, to ameliorate the religious condition of any people! Already may the undertaking of this truly great man be pronounced a failure; and soon all traces of it will be lost from earth.

R. Roy established a weekly newspaper, called the "Reformer," which was intended chiefly to excite among those Hindus who understand English a desire for improvement in their civil condition. It is yet continued, edited by an [33] intelligent native, though incorporated now with a Calcutta paper, conducted by a European. It has often contained well-written papers against Churruck Pooja, Ku-len marriages, and the other abominations of the Hindu system, and is, doubtless, as at present conducted, a valuable journal.

R. Roy was not a Unitarian Christian, but a Unitarian Hindu. He believed that there was such a person as Jesus Christ, and that he was the best moral teacher the world ever saw; but regarded his death as having no efficacy of atonement. His capacious mind, and extensive knowledge of the Shasters, impelled him to abhor the abominations of the Veda, and the monstrosities of its thirty-three millions of gods. But he found in the Vedanta Sar (an exposition of the four Vedas) a sort of Unitarianism, which he endeavoured on all occasions to disseminate. The doctrine might as well be called pantheism; for it maintains the old Pythagorean doctrine, that God is the soul of the world, and that every animal, plant, or stone, is therefore part of Deity. It makes perfect religion to consist in knowledge alone, or the realising in every thing the Supreme Being; and excludes ceremonies of all kinds.

There was formerly a Unitarian Christian congregation in

Calcutta, established under the care of Rev. W. Adams, (previously a missionary,) who met for a short time at a private house. The first Sunday they had sixty or seventy persons present, the second fifty; and soon only five attended. Mr. Adams, thus disconcerted, became the editor of a paper, and subsequently accepted an appointment under government, to visit various parts of India, and to report on the state of education in the interior. In this last capacity, he has acquired honourable distinction, and increasing usefulness. His reports are exciting great attention, and show not only unwearied industry, but superior talents.

POPULATION OF CALCUTTA

The population of Calcutta is ascertained by a census just taken, to be 229,000 within the ditch; and 500,000 are supposed to reside in the immediate suburbs. Within a circuit of [34] twenty miles, the population is generally set down at *two millions*. Of the number within the city, about 130,000 are Hindus, 60,000 Mussulmans, 3000 English, and 3000 Portuguese, or Indo-Britons; the rest are French, Chinese, Armenians, Jews, Moguls, Parsees, Arabs, Mugs, Madrassees, &c. The whole number of houses is 66,000; of which nearly 15,000 are brick; the rest are of mud and mats. Officers stationed at the principal avenues into the city, found that about 100,000 persons enter daily from the surrounding villages; chiefly sircars, clerks, servants, fruiterers, &c.

The means now in operation, for the education and religious instruction of this vast population, have in part been mentioned. That they are so great, is matter of devout thanks-giving and encouragement; but their distressing inadequacy to the wants of such a multitude is obvious.

Society in Calcutta, like that of other places, where a large portion of the gentry live on stated salaries, has a tendency to extravagance. Most families live fully up to their income, and many, especially junior officers, go deeply in debt. The expenses of living are, in their chief points, as follows.—Servants' wages, from four to six rupees, without food or lodging; rent of a small plain house, fifty to eighty rupees a month; rice, three and a half rupees a maund; fowls, two to three annas each; ducks,

five to six annas apiece ; washing, three rupees per hundred pieces ; board and lodging of one person per month, in a plain way, fifty rupees.

A few years since, the state of morals was generally bad, both in the city and Mofussil. Scarcely any officers or civil servants were pious, and the marriage tie seemed held in contempt. Gross immoralities are now more rare, and where they exist, less shamelessly exposed. A considerable number of distinguished individuals, both in the civil and military service, are not only avowedly, but earnestly pious. The strong and constant resistance lately made by the government of India to the spread of the gospel, is within the memory of every [35] reader. This resistance was enforced and stimulated by almost every European resident, especially among the higher classes. They really believed, that to permit missionary operations, was to hazard the possession of the country ; and that violent commotions on the part of the people would follow any attempt to overturn their religion. Now, the missionary, in every part of India, meets kind and respectful treatment from Europeans, and in many places liberal contributions are made toward their schools. It is found that the natives can hear their religion pronounced false, and even hold animated debates on the subject, without dreaming of revolt. No convulsions have ever resulted from evangelical labour, nor have any chiefs taken offence, on this account, against the government.

There is still room for great improvement, especially in regard to the observance of the Sabbath. Merchants, tradesmen, and mechanics generally, keep their people at work on that day as usual. Buildings go on, ship-yards resound with the hammer and axe, goods are borne through the streets, bazaars are open, the gentry take their usual drive, and Sunday is as little discoverable by appearances as in Paris. The general reason given is, that the religion of the labourers is not infringed. But it should not be forgotten that the commandment is—"Thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor the stranger that is within thy gates."

The state of religion, as we commonly understand that phrase, is very low. I attended most of the principal Protestant places of worship, and by actual enumeration found the largest audience not to exceed two hundred and fifty persons. Several of them

were not more than one third that number. The church in the fort, being attended by troops, according to regulation, is full. The monthly concert of prayer is held unitedly by all the churches except one. At one of these meetings which I attended, only sixty persons were present, and in the other about eighty. During the week, [36] there are few prayer-meetings; and those which I attended seldom had more than from six to ten persons present. I could not hear of a single Sunday School in the city. The announcement of the anniversaries of the Tract and Bible Societies awakened and most pleasing expectations; but at neither of them were there more than seventy-five persons present, beside the ministers.

BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS are numerous, and generally supported with great liberality. Besides those which have been named, are the Bible Association, the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Association. the Diocesan Committee for promoting Christian Knowledge, the Auxiliary Missionary Society, the Bethel Union, the Seaman's Friend Society, the Military Orphan Society, the Military Widows' Fund, Lord Clive's Fund, the King's Military Fund, the Marine Pension Fund, the Civil Fund, the Mariners' and General Widows' Fund, the Presidency General Hospital, the Native Hospital, the Hospital for Native Lunatics, the Government Establishment for Vaccination, the Charitable Fund for the Relief of Distressed Europeans, the European Female Orphan Society.

Calcutta has sixteen Episcopal clergymen, viz, six Company's chaplains, two chaplains to institutions, two professors in Bishop's College, and six Missionaries. There are also one Scotch Kirk chaplain, one pastor, and three missionaries of the Independent persuasion, two Scotch Presbyterians, and six Baptist missionaries, and several others; making, in all, with the bishop, mariners' minister, &c., about thirty-five Christian ministers, beside those of the Armenian, Greek, and Catholic churches.

There are in the city eleven Christian places of worship, generally large, where services are held every Sunday in English. Of these, five are Episcopal, two Baptist, one Scotch, one Independent, and a floating chapel, for seamen. There are also three Roman Catholic churches, one Armenian, [37] and one Greek. At Howrah, Kidderpore, and other adjacent villages, preaching

in English is also regularly maintained. Each of the Baptist churches has handsome brick meeting-houses. Mr. Yates is pastor in Circular Road ; Mr. Robinson was, till recently, settled over Lallbazar, and Mr. Pearce over the Bengaleese. A vast printing-office and type foundry, gradually enlarged to its present dimensions at a cost of nearly £ 20,000, with three excellent dwelling-houses, have been erected, without pecuniary aid from England, and chiefly through the profits on the printing-office. This establishment not only prints largely in English for government and individuals, but in all the written Oriental languages, and casts type in most of them. Six presses, on an average, are constantly employed in printing the Scriptures. Mr. Yates, beside officiating as English pastor, has acquired great celebrity for skill in Bengalee and Hindustanee, and for his admirable revision of those versions. He seems raised up to complete the labours of Carey in these important translations. Many recollect with pleasure his visit to this country.

Besides the places of worship for foreigners, there are, in and around the city, various preaching bungalows and chapels for the natives. Of these, four are maintained by Episcopalians, four by Baptists, five by Independents, and one by the Scotch Kirk. Some of these are daily occupied, and, in general, with encouraging attendance.

I was several times present on these occasions, in different parts of the city, and was deeply interested with the decorum and eagerness of attention shown by the auditors. As a specimen of these occasions, I will describe one which I attended with the Rev. Mr. La Croix, a German missionary, who has acquired such a command of the Bengalee, as to be as much at home in it as in his mother tongue. He devotes himself wholly to preaching and other evangelical labours, and unites great bodily vigour to untiring energy, and ardent interest in his work.

[38] On arriving at the place, no one had assembled ; but no sooner were we seated, than some passers-by began to collect, and the number gradually increased, during the services, to seventy or eighty. Some sat down, but the greater part remained standing, and scarcely advanced beyond the door. For a while, the preacher went on expounding and arguing, without interruption, but at length some well-dressed persons proposed objec-

tions, and but for the skill of the missionary, the sermon would have degenerated into a dispute. The objections showed not only acuteness, but often considerable knowledge of the Christian Scriptures. Some countenances evinced deep anxiety. Sometimes there was a general murmur of applause, when strong arguments were advanced, or satisfactory expositions given. At the close of the meeting, many accepted tracts, selecting such as they had not seen before. One of the most venerable hearers, and a chief speaker, approached us as we came away, and pronounced upon us, in his own manner, but very solemnly, a cordial benediction; declaring, at the same time, that what we advanced was all good; that, no doubt, Christianity was the best religion, but too many difficulties were yet in the way, to permit him and his countrymen to embrace it. I am sure no Christian could be present on these occasions without being satisfied of the importance of maintaining these efforts, and cheered to exertions for their extension.

I attended worship, on several occasions, at Rev. W. H. Pearce's native chapel; and was highly gratified, not only with the number present, and their deportment, but especially with the psalmody. All united, with great animation, in this delightful part of Christian worship. Two of their tunes I was enabled to obtain in writing, and insert them here, confident that they will possess interest; only regretting that I was not able to secure, in the same way, some of the equally pleasing airs of the Karens at Tavoy.

(Musical notation of the Bengalee air sung by native Christians in Calcutta, harmonized in three parts, at the request of the author, by Lowell Mason, Esq., on pages 39-43—omitted).

[43] . . . In some places, numerous individuals have openly renounced caste, and become nominal Christians, but without indicating or professing a change of heart. These form a class at once encouraging and troublesome—encouraging, because they have broken from a fatal thralldom, and placed themselves and their children in the way of religious instruction—troublesome, because, while they come, in some degree, under the control of the missionary, they are not reclaimed even to a strict morality, and are naturally regarded by the heathens as exemplifying our religion.

In a few cases, the native Christians have been gathered into villages, together with others, who, for various reasons, have renounced idolatry. One of these is near Serampore, superintended by the missionaries there; another is at Luk-yan-tipore, thirty-five miles south of Calcutta; another at Kharee, fifteen miles further south. The two latter are under the superintendence of Rev. Geo. Pearce, of Seeb-pore, and contain one hundred and seventy families. It is but eight years since any of these people professed Christianity; and the baptised now amount to about fifty. Rev. Mr. De Monte, an East Indian, and three native preachers, have the immediate charge, [44] Mr. P. visiting them once a month. The most promising children are taken to the Seeb-pore and Howrah boarding schools, where about ninety of both sexes, who of course are all nominal Christians. Persons who join these villages under a nominal profession of Christianity, are received and treated as catechumens. They are required to promise obedience to certain rules respecting fornication, theft, fighting, attendance on public worship, abstaining from heathen rites, observance of the Sabbath, &c. Themselves and their children are thus brought immediately under the eye of a Christian teacher and the means of grace. None are baptised, but on a satisfactory evidence of conversion to God.

Besides the stations in connexion with the Baptist missionaries, there are similar villages patronised by other sects, viz. Ram Makal Choke, and Gangaree, under Mr. Piffard, of the London Missionary Society; Nursider Choke, under Mr. Robinson; Jhanjara, under Mr. Jones; Ban-i-pore, under Mr. Driberg; and Budg-Budg, under Mr. Sandys; the three latter in connexion with the church of England. The whole number of converts at these stations I could not learn, but am assured that it exceeds two thousand. The degree of knowledge and piety must be small, among converts possessing so few and recent means of spiritual improvement, exposed to so many snares, trained from infancy to every vice, and belonging, for the most part, to the lowest classes. Still there is an evident superiority, on the side of even the nominal Christians.

SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY

Christianity is certainly gaining a footing among the natives of Bengal; though the rate of advancement is slow. There is

the fullest evidence that the Hindu system has received, in this presidency, a great check. Few of the numerous individuals, who have received education in the missionary and government schools, retain confidence in the system of their fathers. This class of persons is now rapidly multiplying, and the standard of their education becoming more elevated. A [45] smattering of geography and astronomy, is itself sufficient to break the power of the prevailing belief in the mind of the pupil. The preaching of missionaries, the distribution of Bibles and tracts, and the natural inquiries elicited by the presence of so many intelligent foreigners professing Christianity, have tended to diffuse still more widely the knowledge and claims of true religion. Multitudes are convinced that their system is wrong, who are yet retained in the ranks of idolatry or Mahometism by a fear, lest possibly the faith of their fathers may be best for them, and a want of principle, sufficient to encounter opposition and suffering. But their stated observances are coldly rendered; their children are not brought up with the old enthusiasm for the national faith; and a thousand acts and expressions apprise those children of their parents' true sentiments. These, together with the numerous youths who are receiving education from Europeans, already form a considerable body of the rising generation Loosed, in a good degree, from the intellectual bondage which has gripped preceding generations, and prepared, in various other ways, to hear preaching with profit, they form an increasing class, to which the friends of truth may look with hope.

Brahmins are not venerated as heretofore. Though thousands still find a luxurious competency in the offerings of the people, thousands more are compelled to pursue callings which throw them into society divested of their aristocratic exclusiveness and spiritual influence. I have often seen the sacred thread over the shoulders of common sepoys, market-men, mechanics, and door-keepers. Enjoying many advantages, and given to polygamy, they multiply faster than the herd, who are pinched for subsistence, and often suffer from actual famine. Such increase must, of itself, tend to the reduction of their supposed sacredness of character.

SERAMPORE MISSIONARIES

The name of Serampore is so intimately associated with the history of modern missions, especially those of Baptist [46] denomination, that I of course spent some time there. A pleasant ride of fifteen miles brought me to Barrackpore, a military station on the river side opposite to Serampore, and the seat of the governor-general's country residence. The road is bordered with fine trees the whole distance, and the country, as far as the eye can reach, is in high cultivation. Many labourers were ploughing—an operation which stirs up but a couple of inches of soil, and would call forth the surprise and contempt of a New-England farmer. The plough costs but two shillings, and the miniature oxen which draw it, but £ 1, the pair. The latter are generally marked all over with lines and circles, burnt upon their skin. The view of Serampore from the river is exceedingly attractive. The same architecture which prevails at Calcutta, gives the houses the appearance of elegant marble villas; and the huge college, with its superb columns, confers dignity on the whole scene. The river is here about eight hundred or a thousand yards wide, placid, and full of boats.

The population of Serampore is fifteen thousand. About one hundred of the houses are designed for Europeans, but nearly half of them are empty. I was kindly received by the venerable survivor of that noble triumvirate, which will never be forgotten while missions retain an advocate. Though in his sixty-ninth year, Dr. Marshman's eye is not dim, nor his step slow. He leads the singing at family worship, with a clear and full voice; preaches with energy; walks rapidly several miles every morning, and devotes as many hours every day to study, as at any former period. His school for boys and Mrs. M.'s for girls, are continued, though less lucrative than hitherto, from the number of similar ones now established in the country.

Every walk through the town and its environs, presents objects which awaken tender and serious thought. There is the Ghaut, where, thirty-six years ago, Marshman and his family landed, friendless and discouraged by the opposition of [47] the Company's government. There, twenty-four years ago, landed Harriet Newell and Ann H. Judson, whose feet now tread the starry plain. And up those steps, for many years, missionaries

of all names and parties have ascended, to receive a fraternal welcome to India.

Close by are part of the foundations of the houses of Carey and Ward, long since overturned by the encroachments of the river. Further down is the printing-office, whence so many thousands of thousands of portions of the word of God, in languages spoken by *more than half the pagan world*, have been produced. Still further is the college, a superb and vast edifice, the principal hall of which is said to be the largest in India. It is a chaste and noble building, constructed of the most durable materials throughout. The staircases are of ornamental cast iron, imported from England at great expense. Its library is exceedingly valuable, and contains the immense collection of dried botanic specimens by Dr. Carey. Connected with the institution are about one hundred pupils, but for the most part young, and studying only preparatory branches. At this time, there are but two regular students in the college proper. The building was erected when there were no similar institutions in India, and shows the capacious plans and noble spirit of its founders. But the starting up of so many schools of similar character, and other causes, have prevented the expected accession of students. There is reason to hope that the active operation of the numerous elementary schools in the vicinity will, ere long, create a race of scholars prepared to proceed in the elevated course of studies intended to be here pursued.

In the rear of the college are two professors' houses, in one of which Carey spent his last years. The room in which he died called up indescribable sensations, I trust wrought improvement upon my spirit. Behind is the extensive botanic garden where that wonderful man, by way of relaxation, gathered a vast collection of trees, flowers, fruits, and vegetables [48] from every part of India, and from whence he diffused a taste for natural science, which is now yielding in valuable results.

A handsome church was built in the town, by the Danish government, many years ago; but no chaplain has ever been appointed, and the missionaries have always officiated there. They have, besides this, a commodious chapel of their own, where worship is performed on week days and Sunday evenings, and a considerable church of natives. A mile and a half from town is another.

A little to the north of the town, in a calm and retired spot, is the mission grave-yard, surrounded with palm groves. It contains about an acre, enclosed with a good brick wall; and along its nice gravel walk are mahogany trees, set at proper distances. The monument for Ward is a circular pavilion, beautiful and chaste, with a suitable inscription on one side read from within. Carey's is a plain cenotaph, built many years ago, for some of his family, and now bearing additional inscriptions for himself and his widow. His own epitaph, by his express direction, is merely this :

WILLIAM CAREY,

Born 17th of August, 1761.

Died 9th of June, 1834.

*"A wretched, poor, and hopeless worm,
On thy kind arms I fall."*

Mrs. Carey, his third wife, died about a year after her husband. Mr. Ward's widow survived him ten years. Carey's son is now a missionary in the upper provinces. Ward left two daughters, both of whom are pious, and have been married several years.

This mission was commenced in 1793. Its history is too well known to leave me the necessity of describing it, or dwelling on its fruits. It was the commencement of those grand operations, which we trust the church will never relin-[49]quish till the earth be filled with the knowledge of the Lord. With the exception of what had been done in the Tamul and Malayalim languages, the whole of India was then entirely destitute of the Scriptures in their vernacular tongues. Few in number, and sustained by their own resources, the missionaries have given the world the whole Bible in Sanscrit, Chinese, Bengalee, Hindu, Mahratta, Oriya, Sikh, Pushtu or Afghan, Cashmere, and Assamese; and the New Testament in the Gujeratee, Kunkun, Multanee, Bikaner, Bhugulcund, Maruaar, Nepaul, Harotee, Kanoja, Mugudh, Oojuy-i-ne, Jumbo, Bhutneer, Munipore, Bruj, Kemaoon, Shreenagur, and Palpa; beside portions of the New Testament in various other languages. Some of these versions have been repeatedly revised, and successive editions printed.

There are now eighteen mission stations, and twenty-two churches, connected with Serampore ; at which are labouring five Europeans, and twenty-two Indo-Britons, with twenty-five native preachers and catechists. Of the eleven members which constituted the first church in India, Mr. Marshman and his wife alone remain.

The late transfer of the printing office, and paper-mill, to Mr. John C. Marshman, has been matter of much discussion, and seems not clearly understood. The explanation given me on the spot amounted to this : Some years before Dr. Carey's death, the concern was deemed bankrupt. The printing-office, paper-mill, and other property, valued at about 126,000 rupees, was made over, in fee simple, to Mr. J. C. M. in consideration of his assuming all the debts. To whom these debts are due, and for what, and what portion has been paid, were not mentioned, and I felt unauthorised to ask. It is much to be regretted that this transfer was not made public, till so long after its execution, and till Carey was no more. No one could so satisfactorily have explained the matter to the public. The controversy is now useless, as a question of property. The lots and buildings are reduced to a value [50] almost nominal. Since the place ceased to be an asylum for debtors, who fled hither from the British territories, it has constantly decayed. At this moment Mr. J. C. M. is about to remove the printing-office to a new building of his own, not on the Society's land, and the old office is almost a ruin. One dwelling-house, now in good order, and valuable, is nearly the sum of all the English Society's acknowledged property.

One thing is certain—that there have seldom appeared men so disinterested as Carey, Marshman, and Ward. Carey received, for upwards of thirty years, more than £ 100. a month, as professor in the college of Fort William, and Bengalee translator to Government. Ward earned equally large sums in the printing-office, as did Mr. and Mrs. Marshman by their school. Yet, as Dr. M. assured me, they ate at a common table, and drew from the common fund only the paltry sum of twelve rupees per month each ! The rest went for the support of out-stations, casting types, and translating and printing of the sacred Scriptures. The expense of the Chinese version alone, for pundits, types, &c., exceeded £ 20,000.

The agreement made at an early period, by the Serampore brethren, one with another, and published to the world, is worthy of all praise; especially the following extract. "Let us give ourselves up unreservedly to this glorious cause. Let us never think that our time, our gifts, our strength, our families, or even the clothes we wear, are our own. Let us sanctify them all to God and his cause. O that He may sanctify us for his work! Let us for ever shut out the idea, or laying up a covey for ourselves or our children. If we give up the resolution which was formed on the subject of private trade, when we first united at Serampore, the mission is from that hour a lost cause. A worldly spirit, quarrels, and every evil work, will succeed, the moment it is admitted that each brother may do something in his own account. Woe to that man who shall ever make the smallest movement toward such a measure! Let us constantly watch against a worldly spirit, and cultivate a Christian indifference towards [51] every indulgence. Rather let us bear hardness as good soldiers of Jesus Christ, and endeavour to learn in every state to be content."

Never were there more laborious men than the Serampore missionaries, and never shall we see stronger temptations to amass wealth, relinquished for the cause of Christ. The arrangement for drawing twenty-four shillings a month for personal expenses was discontinued in 1817, and each drew what he needed; but neither of them laid up property for himself. Carey died without leaving his widow anything. Ward left only £ 1000, the proceeds of his *private* property, put to interest on his first leaving England. Marshman is known to be poor; and his style of living, now at least, is more frugal than that of almost any other missionary I saw in Hindustan. Many of his measures are generally disapproved, but his diligence and true greatness must stand confessed. It cannot be said the glory of Serampore is departed. Though it has now become a mere unit among missions, its history will ever be one of the brightest pages in the records of modern benevolence. The benefits it has produced are lasting as the world. It has been swallowed up in more diffused endeavours, like the morning star giving place to day,—swallowed up in brighter light.

NOTES by Malcom

1. The life of this brother, by the Rev. Mr. Yates, of Calcutta, is every way worthy of perusal, and ought to be reprinted in America. It is a large octavo, and might be somewhat curtailed; but the abridgment, by the American Sabbath School Union, though suitable for their purposes, is too meagre for general circulation.
- 1a. *Read Gloster* (Fort Gloster)—P.T.N.
- 1b. *Read Chattah* (umbrella).
2. These are individuals turned loose when young, as offerings to an idol, which are thenceforth, regarded as sacred. Though no one looks after them, their privileged mode of life keeps them in good order; and mixing so much among crowds, from which they meet no ill-treatment, makes them perfectly gentle.
3. A new building, capable of accommodating one thousand pupils, has since been erected in Cornwallis Square.
4. This custom of marking the forehead illustrates, very forcibly, the expression of Deut. xxxii. 5; "*Their spot is not the spot of his children.*" Some have one spot just above the root of the nose—yellow, brown, or red, as the sect may be. Some have two spots, some a perpendicular line, others two or three lines; some a horizontal line, or two, or three. Thus every one carries on his front a profession of his faith, and openly announces to all men his creed.
5. The number of pupils has now (January, 1839) increased to nearly 7000; but those studying Arabic, Sanscrit, and Persian, are fewer than in 1835.
6. Travels in India.
7. Letter to Lord Amherst, Governor-general of India.
8. Heber.
9. When we consider the vast spread of the British empire in India, the diffusion of the English language over the whole continent of North America, and many of the West India Islands, the establishment of British laws and language in all South Africa and Australia, and the growing colonies on the west coast of Africa, it is not unreasonable to anticipate the prevalence of our language, at no distant day, among millions in all quarters of the globe.
10. A Burman caravanserai, or public house, where travellers repose, and meetings are held. (Glossary, p. 364).

MRS. WILSON'S ORPHANAGE

James William Massie in his *Continental India* (London, 1840, Thomas Ward & Co., two volumes) volume II (pp. 462-465) has given the following account of Mrs. Wilson's school:—

"[462] The British and Foreign School Society commissioned Miss Cook as their agent to Calcutta, who entered upon her work with energy and resolution, and found among the residents the most generous sym-

pathy and co-operation. The Marchioness of Hastings patronized the work, Lady Amherst lent her measure of influence, Lady Bentinck aided generously in promoting the design, and the Misses Eden, sisters of Lord Auckland, give all the weight of the governor-general's connexion to the same cause. General schools, central schools, and orphan asylums for Hindoo females, have successively risen and prospered in and around Calcutta. The system has been diffused over India, on the banks of the Ganges, in the higher and western provinces; at Burdwan, Cawnpore, Benares, Gorruckpore, Allahabad and Futtehpore; and in various places under the Madras and Bombay presidencies. Thousands of Hindoo females are now under instruction, and make as decided progress as any of the other sex. The [463] introduction of science, or the higher branches of education, has not been attempted; but in most instances English classes have been established, or separate education in English has been imparted to the scholars: a most wise and beneficent arrangement, whereby the young women may be enlightened, as well as qualified to fill situations in the households of Europeans with advantage and satisfaction. Prejudice and long-established custom were likely to operate on the minds of the wealthier and higher class of Hindoos, both to restrain their liberality, and withhold their daughters. Yet reforms always move upward, and though the poorer members of the community be more accessible to benevolence, and generally the earliest recipients of popular benefits, individuals among the more opulent and aristocratic ranks often become efficient coadjutors. Though few, there have been some Hindoos of distinction who have perceived the value of female education, and especially such as have been brought into familiar and friendly intercourse with English families, and have mingled in the society of European ladies. With timidity, perhaps, and hesitation, yet with inward pleasure, they have not only witnessed, but countenanced, the attempts made to instruct the female children of poor Hindoos. There are many rich natives, in whom fashion and flattery exercise paramount influence; especially what is fashionable among the Company's higher servants, and on which the supreme government bestows its patronage.

"[464] The favourable manner in which female education has been espoused by the functionaries of government, has operated powerfully among the higher ranks in India. The children of nominally Christian Hindoos, orphan children, and the daughters of needy or menial natives, were first made partakers of education in mission schools, under the domestic superintendence of the wives of missionaries; and often with the parental care of adoption. The result was, that when their progress was discovered, and their improvement and superiority over uneducated females, however highly connected or wealthy, was established, the pride of the Hindoo was touched, and his ambition excited. He gave his money, that he might be numbered among the *honourable* patrons; and employed teachers for his own daughters, that he might receive the applause of the leaders of fashion for his liberality and intelligence. The

first scholar who attended Miss Cook's (now Mrs. Wilson's) instructions was of humble parentage ; and to secure her continuance, it was required that the teacher should sign an agreement that she would make no claim on the child hereafter for having educated her, but would give her up to her parents when they desired. In 1822 eight schools for girls were founded in Calcutta. In the following year, they increased to twenty-two, containing 400 children ; and a public examination was held in June. The second examination took place in December, 1824 : when five hundred children were present. Eighteen [465] months later the foundation stone of a central school was laid in the corner of Cornwallis Square, to which a retired native chief, the Rajah Boidanath Roy Bahadur, contributed 20,000 rupees (£ 2,000). His ranee, or princess, afterwards received instruction in English from Mrs. Wilson, and visited the central school to mark the progress of the children ; of whom nearly two hundred attended in the year 1829. The number in this institution had increased in 1836 to nearly 300, besides the daily common schools and the orphan asylum.

27

CALCUTTA IN 1840-1843*

By G. W. Johnson

FIRST IMPRESSIONS AND EXPERIENCES

[21] Arrival at the Sandheads — The Pilots and their Brigs — First Sight of India — Saugor — Its Unhealthiness — Natives — Dinghy-Wallahs — Curry — The River Hooghly — Garden Reach — Confusion on the Steamer's Arrival — Notice of Approach — Expense at Hotels — Choice of Residence — Native Servants — Khansamah — Dhirsee — Khitmutgar — Sirdar — Peon — Bearers — Dirwan — Meter and Metranee — Cook — Syce — Carriages and Horses.

[22 blank. 23] When we reached the floating light, which we did one evening at the commencement of February, the importance of the pilot establishment maintained there was intimated to every one on board, by the anxiety displayed by our captain to get one of the fraternity to take us in charge that night; and, when we became better acquainted with the shallow soundings in which we were navigating and the eternally shifting sands we were approaching, we fully participated in the skipper's anxiety. This anxiety was not to be allayed that night, for although we hoisted the usual signal, and burnt blue lights at intervals during the darkness, no pilot came to our invitation.

[24] The morning following was delightfully fine, with a very light breeze from the north-east. The manoeuvring of the pilot brigs, as they bore up and put pilots on board two other vessels which had arrived during the night, presented quite a yachting scene. It was soon apparent from which of these beautiful sea-

* From *THE STRANGER IN INDIA; or THREE YEARS IN CALCUTTA* by George W. Johnson Esq., in two volumes (volume I, pp. xii+304 pages & volume II, viii+294 pages; 1/8th crown, no illustration), London, 1843 (Henry Colburn, Publisher, Great Marlborough Street) Vol. I, Chapter II.

boats we were to receive our *gubernator*; and as she came down under easy sail, and passed close under our stern, the motions of her native crew was a sight of most amusing interest to us griffins, and ludicrous were the surmisings as to the duties and offices of sundry turbaned fellows among them. One, who had an overflow of white mustachios and beard, and who was in reality the *serang*, or native boatswain, defied all our calculations.

To my entirely English imagination the name of pilot summoned up the form of a regular Deal boatman—a thick-set sturdy sailor, in an oil-skin hat, and full ditto costume of blue, shaggy, dreadnought cloth, with deeply-carved features, coloured like fire-stained copper—who would roll his quid from cheek to cheek, and take off his hat, and smooth down his time-stained hair, as [25] he stepped upon the deck. “Look on that picture—then on this.”

“Good morning to you, Mr.—” said our captain, recognizing the *gentleman* (the word is prostituted in India, for your shoemaker is indited “Esq.”), and all eyes were directed from the poop, where we were assembled, towards the object saluted, as he entered through the gangway. Lo! his was a figure!—short, dumpty, waddling, bedecked with a gold-embroidered velvet cap, a blue *silk* jacket, white oh-no-we-never-mention-them, and, literally, with a most sinister expression of eye (for he had but one), peering from among eccentrically arranged features, all, apparently more brandy and curry-stained than storm-beaten.

He had the strangest indentation of the back that ever was impressed upon mortal form; and, walking remarkably upright, to make the most of his diminitude, his jacket and whites were separated *longo intervallo*, and he seemed stiff, owing to some violent strain that he had suffered, from a nearly successful effort to pull him into two parts.

Somewhat too much of this, relative to a personage no more really important than a [26] Hooghly pilot, yet I could not satisfy myself with less, so strangely did he contrast with my *beau ideal* of that gallant and hardy British character. Moreover, I am not undesirous of presenting a portraiture of a class of men intimately associated with the commercial prosperity of India, and of whom I shall presently have to speak more pointedly. In manners, the individual now upon the easel was similarly the antipode of the frank, unassuming English pilot. He

was vain, consequential, extortionate, and tyrannical to the utmost of his brief authority: I remember him even now with disgust;—but *presto*!

“So that is India!” bust from my unrestrainable disappointment, as I looked upon the bank of the Hooghly that first gladdened our sight; gladdened, because land is land, after five months of nothing but deck and water. Those who have read and pictured to themselves the bold beauties, the palm-characterized aspect of eastern scenery, graced and gladdened by eastern costume, will look anxiously for the shore as they enter “the holy river,” and as certainly will they be disappointed.

[27] The first land, the features of which are dissectable, is Saugor Island, one continuous low and even waste, covered with genuine jungle, the outline of which is unbroken by a single tree. Only two or three desolate-looking houses, with intervals of miles between, are to be seen; these even have no oriental trace about them, but seem left as testimonies that the white man has been there, and has failed in his conflict against nature.

A noontide, like “the burning fiery furnace,” chilling night fogs, and the miasma arising from putrefaction unparalleled in intensity, gather (at Saugor) the European quickly to his grave, whilst the rapid and extreme vicissitudes from moisture to dryness, break and crumble down his dwelling, with a rapidity unapprehended by a tarry-at-home in the temperate zone. In India, every house has to undergo a thorough repair once in three years; and before that period has half resolved, the lichen, the storm, the monsoon, “the rains,” and the less apparent, but not less ruinous, secret minings of the white ant, hourly demonstrate that physical nature here has, indeed, no rest.

[28] As the first peep at the land of the Easterns disappoints, so, most certainly, does the costume, which is usually first presented to the voyager's notice. Looking out of the windows of my cabin, the evening of the day we took the pilot on board, there were presented to view eight of the natives in a *dinghy*¹, who had silently paddled up, and attached their light barque to a rope astern.

1. *Dinghy*, a native boat or canoe.

Some were offering to barter fruits and other trifles with my fellow-passengers, on the ship's poops, and others were quietly squatted around a fire in the boat, preparing that universal supper of the Indian—curry. One was crushing, on a board held steady by his toes, the capsicums, turmeric, and other "curry stuff;" a second and third were cleansing some insignificant sized fish for compounding "the savory food," which, I doubt not, was that which Isaac "loved," whilst a fourth was attending to the rice; and all with the exception of a dirty cloth round the waist, in "nature's livery." Most unexpectedly did I excite a fair passenger's extreme ire, by inquiring if she had noticed these countrymen of our adopted land. The [29] young lady, however, though still a spinster, must long since have learned to endure the presence of naked Hindoos, such being too often the state in which the bearers are allowed to appear even when pulling the punkahs.

Nowhere, more than in India, is the truth of the apothegm, "Habit is second nature," more fully illustrated; for ladies, who would fly dismayed from a naked footman in England, here, with perfect *nonchalance*, allow themselves to be fanned by naked bearers, rowed by naked boatmen, look without emotion upon hundreds of naked coolies, performing their ablutions every morning at the aqueducts by the streets' sides, and do not feel delicacy outraged by finding the sirdar-bearer and his mates in a similar state of nudity, performing all the household work of the bed-chamber.

But these dinghy-wallers and their curry—let me not leave them without recording that Ude might take lessons from them in vain—nothing is more certain, in the *ars culinaria*, than that no European *artiste* can approach in curry-making to the excellence of these boatmen of the Ganges. "A [30] dandy's curry"—that is, a boatman's curry—is excellent to a proverb in India.²

PICTURESQUE SIGHT

The day following, higher up the river, we passed a few native villages, which are really picturesque, and where, for the first

2. In India, a *dandy* is a boatman, and certainly, never *overdressed*. like the personages intended by the English term.

time, I looked upon something approaching to a realization of the ideas performed from pictorial specimens of oriental scenery. The huts, with their far-o'erhanging thatch of the palm-leaf, and with panels of the same material, contrast happily their light ashen hue with the dark foliage under which they seem to nestle. This foliage is chiefly of the mangoe and other fruit-bearing trees, and the heavy outline of their round-headed forms is well broken by the tall stems, and gaily waving summits, of the cocoa-nut and talipot palms.

Here and there, too, the scene is enlivened by the white costume of some erect native form, pausing, with the water-lotah on its head, whilst, turned to view the passing vessel.³ But few animals are seen, and these are no other than the goats and diminutive [31] cows, browsing between the huts and the margin of the holy streams.

It is not until the voyager arrives within about five miles of Calcutta, where Garden Reach commences, that he sees any thing whereby to estimate the palatial style of the buildings of this city. At that distance he passes up between a succession of white, apparently stone-built residences, bespeaking the wealth and comfort enjoyed by their tenants.

On the left hand are, the house attached to the Botanical Garden, occupied by the present curator, Dr. Wallich, the Bishop's College, &c. &c.; but the most unbroken succession is on the opposite bank, and these, surrounded by their lawns and plantations, can best be compared to a series of mansions like those skirting the Green Park, in London, but at much wider intervals, and facing the water. The bold winding of the river, the fleet of ships, and the public buildings which terminate the vista on the far distance, combine grandeur with the quiet beauties of the nearer prospect, as it is passed in detail.

The comfort and benefit derivable from [32] the services of a native attendant, are never more apparent to the stranger than upon his first arrival, even if it were only because that, for the purpose of landing himself and his immediate necessities, it is requisite to employ a native dinghy; and the noise, the unintel-

3. *Lotah*, a truly Etruscan-formed vase, either of brass or earthenware, in which the natives fetch water.

ligible vociferations of the rowers or dinghy-wallahs, of the numerous craft of that description who come upon deck to solicit employment, is totally bewildering to the uninitiated.

The circumstances under which I landed with my family, were more than usually embarrassing to a new *arrive*. Our voyage had been so protracted from the frequent occurrence of calms and adverse winds, that every passenger agreed, in justice to the captain, to say nothing of our anxiety to land, that we ought to leave the ship the earliest opportunity. Accordingly we spoke a steamer towing a vessel from Calcutta to the Sandhead, and she agreed to call for us the following morning.⁴

[33] We did not reach the place of anchorage (Cooley Bazar) until it was dark, and that, unfortunately, is more than a mile from Calcutta. We were very quickly surrounded with dinghies, and their native wallahs, mingling with more than twenty passengers on the deck of a small steamer, diminished in space by piles of luggage, talking loudly and unintelligibly, illumined only occasionally as they emerged into the lamp-light streaming from the cuddy, every one anxious to escape, every one searching for lost packages, caused, altogether, a novel confusion that made me bless my good fortune in having a good native servant, who arranged every thing, and threw off every intruder with as much indifference, as if he were in the Temple of Silence and Concord.

As to bargaining with the dinghy-wallahs, I would advise every one to leave it entirely to his native attendant; or, if he have not one, to take the manjie, or head man of the dinghy, to the house whither he may be going in Calcutta, and let the manjie be there paid, by which the voyager will escape much annoyance and cheating, as a stranger will rarely have the money of [34] the country in his pocket, and the dinghy-wallahs will be sure to demand four times as much as they are entitled to receive, though they would grumble even if twice the amount due to them be paid.

As soon as the ship reaches Kedgerree, it is always advisable to have ready a note, to dispatch by the post-office boat, which

4. I may here state that for myself, wife, and two native servants, we were charged forty rupees (£ 4) for taking us from Diamond Harbour to Calcutta, a distance of sixty-three miles, that charge including tiffin, and a very excellent dinner, with wine, *ad libitum*.

there comes alongside, informing your friends of your arrival, or to Mr. Spence, or to Mr. Wilson, desiring them to retain for you a suite of rooms.⁵ Those on the ground floor of either of their hotels, comprise a sitting and bed-room, for which the charge is two hundred and fifty rupees per month; the first and second floor suites have three rooms, and for these the charge is three hundred and fifty rupees. The first floor is far superior to either of the others. These charges include board, except wine, and every other expense, exclusive of a gratuity of a few rupees (five are quite enough), to divide among the servants of the establishment when you leave, as you are expected to find your own servants, except the cook and his attendant. [35] The fare, attendance, quietude, and regularity of these establishments cannot be praised too highly. There is a good dhoby, who will be recommended by the hostess, and washes at the rate of three rupees per hundred for gentlemen's, children's and other clothes; but those of ladies' at four or six rupees per hundred.

If a permanent residence at Calcutta be intended, the next point is to look out for a dwelling. Barristers, requiring to be near the Supreme Court, have their houses chiefly in the Esplanade, and in Old Post-office-street; the rent of the houses varying from 200 to 350 rupees per month. Officials, medical men, and merchants, have their residences in Garden Reach, and the numerous streets contained in the district rejoicing in the general name of Chowringhee. The rent of houses in these outskirts varies, of course, in proportion to their size; but an equally influencing circumstance is, the distance from the central parts of the town: the price ranges between the extremes, 100 and 350 rupees per month.

It is impossible to decide anything as to the desirable size and conveniences of a house, as [36] this must be regulated by the number of the family, peculiarity of taste, &c. There are, however, one or two *desiderata*, which may be specified as almost indispensable.

The south aspect should be perfectly open; for the free ingress of the breezes from that quarter is one of the greatest com-

5. They are respectively the proprietors of *Spence's* and *The Auckland Hotels*.

forts, and more conducive to health than any other circumstance, except dryness. The south aspect of a house may be instantly known, because all the verandahs are on that side.

Dryness is of the greatest importance; indeed indispensable, if the ground floor has to be employed for a dining or breakfast-room; which, however, should, if possible, be avoided. The never-failing evidence of damp, is a green mouldiness round the walls, at the parts nearest the floor. If there are any mats on the ground floor, they afford still more decisive criteria, as wherever damp exists, they are rotted into holes. If the ground floor is not required further than for one of its rooms to contain a billiard-table, this dampness is of little consequence; and, with very few exceptions indeed, the houses in and about Calcutta are in these parts so affected.

[37] It is best, before you commence your searches for a house, that you hire your khansamah, or head khitmutgar, and take him with you, as he knows what is necessary to have in the *compound*, as the enclosed space round each house is called, viz., the cook-rooms, stables, rooms for servants, &c. &c.; added to which, he will, if he be active, find out many more houses for you than will come to your notice, either through house agents or advertisements.

Before commencing the purchase of furniture, it is advisable to hire the servants, as they will be found useful in taking care of anything sent to the house, and in getting it ready generally. If the establishment be large, and dinner parties frequently given, it will be necessary to have a *khansamah* who combines in one person the English house-steward, butler, and house keeper.

The best mode of procedure, is to hire him first, taking care to have him well recommended, and past the middle age. On his good character and conduct, depends that of the rest of your household. Having obtained a respectable head for your establishment, to whom wages are paid varying from [38] twelve to twenty rupees a month, it is advisable to leave the hiring of the other servants to him, rendering him responsible for their conduct; because he knows infinitely more about them than you can possibly ascertain by the most assiduous research, he having modes of inquiry which cannot be available to the master; and, what is more, long experience has shown, that by trusting to your *khansamah*, you render him trustworthy. You will only

have to tell him the servants you will require, with the wages you propose giving, and you may then safely leave the rest to him ; bearing this always in mind, *having once fixed your wages, abide by them rigidly*, because, if you raise those of any particular individual in your service, all the others will require a proportionate advance, and will either leave you, or continue discontented, which is more permanently inconvenient.

The duties of the *khansamah* are, to buy the daily necessities for the house. He will come in the evening to inquire whether you dine at home the day following, as he will have to attend the bazaars, or markets, at break of day, to make his purchases. At [39] first, it will be necessary to give him directions as to the articles you require : but when once he has become acquainted with the style in which you desire to live, you may, if he be clever and trustworthy, leave to him the furnishing of your table, which he will always supply with the various fish, game, fruits, and vegetables, as they come in season, much better than you can direct.

The best method of proceeding, is to give him one hundred rupees, and make him bring his accounts of expenditure once a week, to be balanced and passed by yourself. You thus ascertain whether your expenditure is within the requisite amount, and you can check, without trouble, the prices paid for each article, by comparing his account with the prices given in a bazaar-list, published by Robertson and Co., Doomtollah-lane, once a week, called, "The Domestic Retail Price Current."

Your *khansamah* will also pay the servants their monthly wages, if desired ; but it is most equitable for the master or mistress to do this personally, because, otherwise, the servants have to pay him his *dustoorree*, against which it is useless to protest or struggle, [40] because, as they say, it is *dustoorree*, that is, "this country's custom."

The *dhirsee*, or tailor and mantua-maker, for he makes and mends both gentlemen's and ladies' dresses, is an indispensable member of the household. The skill of these craftsmen is worthy of high praise. If a pattern be given them (I know from those who are judges), they will make any article equal to the best English milliners : wages eight rupees (sixteen shillings) a month.

The *khitmutgar* performs part of the duties of a footman ; he prepares the table for the various meals, and always displays much taste in the arrangement ; waits at table, and cleans the plate. The adults in a family must each have a separate *khitmutgar* ; otherwise, at a party, the one not so attended would be very ill supplied with the good things on the table. Every person, therefore, when dining, at the house of a friend, is accompanied by a *khitmutgar*, who stands behind the chair, and waits exclusively on his employer.

The expense of a *khansamah*, in a small quiet family, may always be saved, by giving the senior, or more intelligent *khitmutgar* [41] one or two rupees additional per month, to perform the extra duties, and take upon himself the consequent responsibilities. He will always gladly do this ; but a *khansamah* will never be induced to act in the subordinate character of *khitmutgar* : wages six or seven rupees (twelve or fourteen shillings) monthly.

The *sirdar*, or chief *bearer*, sees that the rooms are kept in order, the furniture in its place, and everything is well dusted. He makes the beds, takes charge of his master's ward-robe, and assists him to dress, if required. If the family and house be small, he had better be paid an extra rupee per month, to take care of the lamps, supply them duly with oil or candles, and keep the glass shades properly cleaned ; otherwise a *froze* must be kept for that sole purpose.

The *peon* (pronounced *pune*), or, as he is sometimes called, the *chuprassee*, or *hurkaru*, is the family messenger, whose sole business is to carry directions to the other domestics, and small parcels or notes to any person in the town, or elsewhere. He also accompanies his master or mistress when paying visits, to show the way, and to deliver [42] the visiting cards. His knowledge of the place where every one lives, is astonishingly correct and extensive ; and he always contrives to keep up his knowledge as to when, and to what place, persons have changed their residences. He is often sent to a distance of several days' journey, with letters or small parcels, and is never known to prove unfaithful, or to cause unnecessary delays. For the conveyance of heavy parcels, *coolies* must be engaged. Hundreds of them are waiting in the streets to be hired ; and though, like all Hin-

doors, they make a most Babel-like noise over their work, and require four to carry that which one English porter would think nothing of, yet they are careful carriers, and generally trustworthy. I had all my furniture removed to another house, three miles distant, by one hundred *coolies*, for whose services I paid twenty-five rupees. They worked, of course, under the direction of my *khansamah*.

Bearers carry your palanquin, or *palky*, as it is called, by way of contraction, in India; help the *sirdar* to dust the furniture; and pull the *punkahs*. If a palanquin, to be borne by your own people, is kept, five [43] bearers, at the least, will be required, that there may be always one to pull a *punkah*, when the others are absent with that conveyance. It is not absolutely necessary to have a palanquin of your own, nor, if you do keep one, to have your own bearers; for both may be hired together, or separately, in five minutes.

If you do not require the almost daily use of a *palky* it is cheaper to employ hired or *ticka* bearers. Most persons prefer having their own palanquin; for, although the hired ones are generally very neat, yet, like the hack vehicles of London, you must occasionally be annoyed by their want of cleanliness. A very good one may be purchased, with lamps and cover complete, for sixty rupees, if you do not require one by an English builder, and which, after all, I never found at all superior. The wages of a bearer are five rupees (ten shillings) per month. *Oreah*-bearers are considered the best; they come from *Orissa*, a district on the coast between Calcutta and Madras. They are known by their hair being shaved from the fore part of the cranium, that of the hinder part being combed back, and fastened in a knot. They keep up a steady running walk, of about four [44] miles an hour, including stoppages, which they require about every quarter of a mile, to change the shoulder on which the pole of the palanquin rests.

The *dirwan* is one of the most important, and certainly the idlest servant of the establishment. He has a little room, or lodge, adjoining the gates of the compound, and no one should be able to enter or leave it without his knowledge. If thoroughly honest, and I never heard any just cause of complaint, he is a very efficient guardian of your property, and a check upon the

irregularity of the other servants. It is part of his duty to inform all strangers, upon their arrival, whether his employer is at home.

There was an old *dirwan*, belonging to a house opposite to my own, who was the most perfect example of an assiduous door-keeper I ever knew. Look out when I would, in all weathers, in all seasons, at all hours of the day, I never saw his place vacant ; and whenever this kind of servant is mentioned, imagination instantly conjures up that grey-whiskered, pink-turbaned old man, squatted on the top of his stool, on which he was so constantly resting, that it seemed the pedes-[45]tal to which he was the figure attached. A *dirwan's* wages are five rupees per month.

A *meter* and *metranee*, very frequently man and wife, are the house-scorpions ; the first sweeping and carrying away the general dirt of the house, and the latter performing the same offices about the dressing-rooms of the mistress, and other ladies of the establishment. Their wages are, four and six rupees per month, respectively.

A *cook*, always a man, and generally a very excellent artist, to whom you must pay ten rupees (one pound) per month, and a *masaulchee* or scullion, at five rupees per month, complete the in-doors establishment.

If a four-wheeled carriage be kept, a coach-man will be required, and his wages are ten rupees per month.

For every horse, you must keep a *syce*, or groom. Their original duties, of course, are the same as in Europe ; but, in addition, the *syce* attached to each horse always attends him when you ride or drive. He ought to have a *chowry*, or whisk, made of a horse's or the *yak's* tail, to brush the insects away while the horse walks ; and, however fast the rider travels, it is surprising how close [46] the *syce contrives* to keep, in readiness for the performance of his office. It is now the more humane custom to take the *syce* or *syces* up behind the carriage when driving ; and though the one cramped under the hood of the chaise or *buggy*, as it is there called, is not a picturesque object, yet the two who have a better resting-place behind a *barouche* or *britchka*, are rather ornamental appendages. A *syce's* wages are five rupees (ten shillings) per month.

The purchase prices of the various wheeled vehicles are as follow : a buggy, 800 to 1100 rupees ; a palky-gharry, 900 to 1800. This, as the name suggests, is not unlike a palanquin on four wheels. It is a very comfortable carriage for travelling in at night or in bad weather ; but it is too close and hot for the purpose of evening exercise. A barouche, or britchka, costs from 2,000 to 4,000 rupees. These are the prices charged by the makers for new carriages ; but by private sale, or auction, they may always be met with, as good as new, for about half that cost.

A set of double carriage-harness, made of English leather, costs, at the lowest, 200 [47] rupees ; but there are native makers, who will furnish a set, made of Cape leather, for sixty rupees. I always had the latter ; they look quite as well as those made by English saddlers, will last more than twelve months, and may then be sold by auction for a few rupees ; so that you may always have a handsome set annually, for less than you could have an English set, even if it lasted four years, towards the end of which period, however, nothing could prevent its becoming useless.

Horses are necessarily dear. The passage out alone, of an English horse, to say nothing of insurance, is £ 40 ; so that those from the Cape, or those rejected from the stud-bred horses of the Company, are usually employed for draught. They vary in price considerably, but no horse that a gentleman would drive, can usually be bought for less than 500 rupees. Arab stallions, universally employed for riding, vary from 1000 to 1800 rupees.

The keep of a horse I found averaged fifteen rupees (thirty shillings) per month.

CHAPTER III : THE TOWN

[48 blank-49] Things worth seeing — The Mint — Job Charnock's Monument — The Black Hole — The Process of Coining — The Metcalfe Hall — The Public Library — The Botanic Garden — The Banian Tree — Upas Tree — Amherstia, and other plants — Sweet Lemon — Orange — Loquat — Plantain — Pine Apple — Guava — Custard Apples — Mangoe — Rose Apples — Lichee — Avigato Pear — Commercial products of the Botanic Garden — Assam Tea, its Discovery, &c. — Assam Tea Company — Dr. Wallich — The Town Hall — The Supreme Court — The Chief Justices — Sir E. Ryan — Mr. Pearson, the late Advocate-gene-

ral — Oaths in the Supreme Court — Native Perjurers — Supreme Court Library — Government House — The Streets — Europeans seldom seen — The Money-Changers — Native Bazaars — Diminished Mortality — Drainage — Scavengers — Bramunny Hawks — Crows — Adjutants — Jackalls — The Roads.

[50 blank—51] Whenever a *griffin* arrives in Calcutta, his very early question is, "Are there any sights worth seeing?" and, I believe, that to every thousand repetitions of such queries, the invariable answer in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases is, "Oh, dear! no."—In a majority of instances, the inquirer implicitly believes the respondent, takes no further trouble about the matter, and, after a residence of sundry lustrums of years, returns to England, and declares to inquisitive friends, "there is nothing worth seeing in Calcutta."

So far is this from being the case, that I can safely say, I know of very few cities which contain more objects worthy of inspection; and, on more than one occasion, I [52] have astonished the complainer that "there is nothing to see," by pointing his attention to the Mint, the Asiatic Society's Museum, the Fort and Arsenal; the view from the gallery round the summit of the Ochterlony Monument; the tomb of Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta; the locale where the memorable Black Hole once stood, but has now given place to the more salubrious structures of Tank Square; the Botanic Garden; and Messrs. Tullah and Co.'s auction-rooms, where are to be found assembled articles of every description; the manufactured goods of every quarter of the globe in countless variety; the products of every art, the arms and curiosities of every nation of the East, and articles for daily use, from the meanest vessels for domestic purposes to the most splendid fabrics of furniture and dress.

OLD MINT

I shall not attempt to describe all these places worthy of notice, but there are a few which deserve to be more than casually mentioned, and first of these is the Mint. The building itself, which was completed in the year 1830, especially when viewed from the river, is a commanding object, of hand-[53]some proportions, and classically elegant; but, like every other building in Calcutta, the effect is impaired by the proximity of miserable

native huts and mean looking godowns.¹ But let the arcana of the establishment be penetrated, and the interior of this, one of the best regulated of modern monetarii, be inspected—let the progress of the coinage, the combination of chemical and mechanical processes which are going on, be traced—and I should be much surprised if the visitant, after leaving the colonnade, and making his bow to the able and gentlemanly Major Forbes, does not say to the old “*see-nothings*,” there *is* something worth looking at here.

The accurate and rapid system of coinage adopted, is that invented by Messrs. Boulton and Watt; and was first introduced into Calcutta under the supervision of Major Forbes, in 1830. First are the crucibles, or smelting-pots, in which the gold and silver are alloyed, to render them harder, and consequently, better able to bear the wear and tear of circulation; and they, as well [54] as the copper, are in this department, cast into bars ready for the rolling-mill.

The application of machinery commences even here, not only in removing the crucibles from the fires, but in shifting the moulds past their mouths to receive the molten metal. The bars are then heated to redness in ovens, to which they are consigned, and from whence they are withdrawn, by the aid of machinery, which greatly reduces the labour and exposure to heat, which must be otherwise endured by the workmen. They are then passed between revolving cast-iron rollers to reduce them to the requisite thinness, whether it be that of the gold mohur, the rupee, or any of their subdivisions.

The facility with which the workmen, all natives, handle the red-hot plates, the ease with which the rollers, though impelled with rapidity by the giant arm of the steam engine, are regulated and stopped by their superintendents, must strike the most careless observer, and make even the unreflecting feel the triumph of science over mere power.

From these plates the *blanks* or *planchets* [55] are formed, to be afterwards impressed with the images and inscriptions appropriated to the particular coin. These *blanks* are cut by a peculiarly worked punch; and after a few have been cut, they

1. Godown—a storehouse.

are weighed to ascertain whether they are of the correct value ; and if too heavy, the plates, before punching again, are passed between another pair of rollers, so exquisitely adjusted by the aid of screws, that the plates can be accurately reduced in their thickness $1/50,000$ th part of an inch.

The boiling of the *blanks* in sulphuric acid to restore the metal to its natural brilliancy ; the drying them by agitation in contact with heated saw-dust ; the machine which raises the edge to prevent the faces of the coin being so readily defaceable as they would be without such a protection ; and finally, the accuracy with which another arrangement submits them to the pressure which imparts to each *blank* the milling on its edge, as well as the obverse and reverse impressions, all worked by the steam-engine, cannot but impress the unaccustomed spectator with astonishment at seeing so much power and accuracy combined.

[56] Indeed, it is only the steam-engine and its attached machinery that could effect such a combination ; for the arm of man necessarily varies in force and accuracy during every effort. The never-failing correctness with which one part of the machinery, imitating the human thumb and finger, places the blank to receive the impression, and by the same action removes the preceding one which has been completed, is particularly interesting ; especially when it is considered how many workmen are thereby saved from mutilation, to which, in former years, when the coin was placed and removed by hand, the workmen were liable,—the delay of an instant, or the least nervous indecision, occasioning the amputation of their fingers.

These are only among the chief processes daily going on at the Mint, of whose interesting details I have not recounted a moiety. The mere sweepings of the floors being now washed, and the residue smelted, effects a large annual saving to government, by restoring the particles of the precious metals which are unavoidably scattered on the ground during the various operations. The superiority of steam-impelled power over mere [57] manual labour, is demonstrated by the fact, that one pair of dies at the Mint are able to strike off 27,000 rupees per day ; and, as there are twelve coining presses, the establishment is able to coin 300,000 pieces of money daily.

The mere process of coinage is not the only ingenious operation carried on within these walls. The dies employed in the

work are engraved there, as are also all the matrices or moulds ; the most delicate parts of the machinery, too, and the heavy iron work for government, are cast at the foundry in the same building.

Seeing the hundreds of natives employed every minute handling, and even trampling among, the precious metals, it invariably and naturally strikes a stranger that great loss must be sustained from robbery ; yet the very contrary is the fact. There is such unremitting attention paid to weighing and counting,—so much accuracy in keeping the accounts,—such a systematic search of every workman before he leaves the premises—so complete a responsibility thrown upon the head man of each department, that, beyond [58] inevitable small operation losses, none fall upon the government.

METCALFE HALL & BOTANIC GARDEN

A principal ornament of Calcutta, when finished, and probably such is the case by this time, will be the *Metcalfe Hall* ; so called, because part of the fund provided to defray the expense of its erection, was the money raised by public subscription to commemorate the governor-generalship of Sir C. Metcalfe. The building is to furnish suitable rooms for the Agricultural Society and the Public Library. The Society subscribed 10,000 rupees, the Public Library a similar sum, and the Metcalfe Testimonial Fund raised 23,000 rupees. These, united, were found to be sufficient for the purpose ; Mr. C. K. Robison, one of the Calcutta magistrates, furnishing a design, and the builder's estimate for its completion being 42,629 rupees.

The next desirable object was to obtain a site for the erection, and the consent of the chief proprietors of the neighbouring property being obtained, application was made to government for a portion of the south-eastern corner of the enclosure in Tank [59] Square. The reply of Lord Auckland was consonant with his characteristic sound sense and discretion—"I think that those spaces of the town appropriated to admit light and ventilation, ought not to be given up for purposes of building." That spot was therefore refused ; but in its place the south-west corner of Hare Street, facing the river, was given. The site rendered an alteration in the plan necessary, and a consequent additional

expense, of 5827 rupees.—a demand speedily supplied by subscription.

The Public Library is a most valuable institution. Its stores are continually increased, but at present they amount to about 130,000 volumes, of which subscribers may obtain the full benefit for less than six rupees monthly, including the use of a reading-room, on the tables of which the daily papers and other periodicals are always to be found. The courtesy and intelligence of its native librarian, *Baboo Pearychand Mitter*, will always be remembered with pleasure by all who have once profited by his acquaintance. He was educated at the Hindoo College, and his published writings testify the soundness of his judgment, and the [60] correctness of his knowledge of the English language. That the public are not backward in availing themselves of the stores of the library, is proved by the circulation of the books amounting to many thousands of volumes annually.

The most delightful refuge from the dust and heat of Calcutta, is the Botanic Garden, situated about four miles to the south of the city, on the opposite bank of the river. In the sultry and oppressive hours of the hottest season, it is most refreshing to escape to the shade of the *Baniam trees*, in themselves a grove. There are several of these in the garden, but one of them is of gigantic growth; its branches, and their numerous sustaining self-emitted stems, form of themselves a *töpe* (grove), covering about an acre of ground.

The sight of this magnificent tree gives the stranger a more forcible idea of the vastness and strength of tropical vegetation, than any other object. The trees of milder climes sink into insignificance, when called to memory for the sake of comparison. The natives entertain an opinion that it is sacred, and never struck by lightning—a notion [61] probably, founded on experience. The fact, if truth it be, is to be accounted for by the resinuous, non-conducting quality of its leaves and wood. This, however, is not the only plant deserving attention in this delightful garden, for near it is to be seen the far-famed, and much-fabled *Upas-tree*, the poisonous qualities of which are truly virulent, but not to the extent once believed, when that in Java was the only one known, and that very imperfectly. So far from the atmosphere around it being rendered pestiferous by the exhalations from its leaves, I have continually placed them, and handled its stem.

Then there is the elegant and brilliant *amherstia*, with its graceful pale tinted foliage, and long pendulous pink flowers; one of the rarest, and certainly the most beautiful, of trees. No one who has not seen it in blossom, can form even a proximate conception of its surpassing loveliness. Little inferior to this, is the *poincinnia regia*, and beautiful beyond any of the riches of Europe, are the *poinsettias*, *passifloras*, and many others, of which I cannot remember the titles. If the visitor turns to the waters [62] of the garden, he will be scarcely less gratified, by seeing floating on their surface the classic flower of the Eastern Tales, the pink and the white-petaled *lotus*.

The fruits cultivated here are also abundant. There are the pumplenose, or shaddock, not unlike a huge orange, with its flesh in granules. The *oranges* which come from China and Sylhet, differ but little from those we have in England except that they are more luscious, as ripening in a more sugar-creating climate. The *sweet lemon*, globular in form, resembles a green orange, though its flesh is pale, as that of the lemon, and its flavour like that fruit exhausted of acidity by soaking in water, during the process of making lemonade.

The *loquat* is now known in England, among those who have conservatories. It is an oval, yellow, smooth-skinned fruit, about two inches in length, and one in breadth, not unlike a small golden pippin, with two or three chestnut-coloured stones. It is a grateful subacid fruit, of the same genus as the medlar, but not requiring to be kept until decayed.

The *plantain* is in season throughout the [63] entire year, but in greatest perfection early in March. It is a yellow-coated, long, cylindrical-shaped fruit; flesh butyraceous, and not unlike an over-ripe pear. Lately it has been dried in the sun, and may be obtained in the shops of some of the London confectioners.

The *pine-apple* I consider the most delicious fruit of India; I mean that with the yellow flesh, and known in Calcutta as the *Dacca pine*: the common, white-fleshed, is a very inferior fruit. I have eaten pine-apples at the exhibitions of the London Horticultural Society, and at other places; but I never tasted any with a flavour superior to those I have met with in Calcutta.

The *guava* is a yellowish-green-skinned fruit, with pinkish flesh, and a harsh perfumed flavour, very different from that of the

jelly to which it gives a name and colour. It is not unlike a small angular apple.

The *custard-apple* has a pale lurid green rind, divided into raised lozenge-shaped compartments. It is full of brown seeds, about the size of a kidney-bean, each enclosed in a [64] white membranous bag, or follicle, the interstices filled with a sweet gelatinous mass, in flavour much resembling an insipid custard.

Of the *mangoes* there are five varieties, of different qualities. The green-skinned *malwah** is, I think, the best. They are oval-shaped, with a large flat stone, having numerous fibres adhering. The flesh is of a deep orange colour, very juicy, and if in perfection, resembling in flavour the orange and melon mingled together; but inferior specimens have a disagreeable taste, resembling turpentine. They are about the size of a goose's egg.

The *rose-apple* is an oval hollow fruit, the cavity containing a much smaller round stone. Its flesh resembles that of the hip of the rose-tree; but, unlike it, is flavoured, and has a strong smell of attah of roses.

The *lichee*, in outward appearance and form, is not unlike a very large mulberry, but its colour is pink, mixed with green; and upon the skin being peeled off, beneath is a very juicy gelatinous flesh, inclosing a large oval seed. In flavour it is sweet, yet with a grateful acidity.

The *avigator pear* is a pale green, smooth, [65] oval fruit, not unlike a small bottle-shaped gourd: it contains a large ponderous stone. Its flesh is eaten with pepper and salt, and resembles, in flavour and substance, the yoke of an egg boiled hard. It is called "mid-shipman's butter" by mariners.

Besides these, are *grapes*, not sufficiently attended to in India, the *aloochara*,¹ *sapota*,** and some others of inferior quality. Those, however, who have, like myself, formed rather superlative anticipations of tropical fruits, will probably be as much disappointed.

The Botanic Garden, in addition to gathering a vast assemblage of the rare and beautiful tenants of the vegetable world within its borders, from whence they have been liberally distri-

* Read *Maldah*. (P.T.N.)

¹ Read *Aloo Bokhara* (Bokhara Plum)—P.T.N.

** *Achras Zapota*, Linn.—P.T.N.

buted to all applicants, and to all districts of the globe, has also long been a nursery for the rearing and dissemination of many plants which are now elevating the qualities and varieties of the commercial products of India, and consequently, aiding its increase in wealth and civilization. Experiments are still going on, but hitherto without success, to acclimatize the cochineal insect, and its sustaining plant, [66] the *cactus opuntia*; but better results have rewarded the efforts of Dr. Wallich, to raise seedlings of the tea, and Arabian coffee-plants, and the Otaheitee sugarcane.

ADVENT OF TEA

The introduction of the cultivation of the tea-plant has been so much the work of the three years I have under consideration, that it deserves a more full and detailed account.

There is scarcely room for doubting that, in the course of a few years, tea will become one of the staple exports of India. Thousands of young tea-plants are distributed annually from the Botanic Garden to various European residents, in districts favourable for their growth; and very extensive plantations are under cultivation in Assam, where the genuine tea-plant (*thoea*) has been found native. These plantations, partly effected by government, and partly by the Assam Tea Company, annually become more productive. In the current year, I believe, at least 150,000 lbs. will be, manufactured, and in 1845 more than twice as much.

The subject is viewed with much interest at Calcutta, and so highly important is the discovery of tea in Assam considered that in 1841, the public journals contained many [67] communications, relative to the claim of being its discoverer. The London Society of Arts voted its gold medal to Mr. Bruce, the Tea Company's Superintendant in Assam; and after a contest, in which the Agricultural Society of India was rendered the arena of not a very creditable partisanship, this Association voted gold medals to Captains Charlton and Jenkins, for their services in introducing the tea-plant to public notice. As it has become of so much interest, I will recapitulate what I know to have been the progress of the discovery.

In 1815, Colonel Salter was well acquainted with the tea of Assam, that was brought to the Rungpore market in a manufac-

tured state. Three years subsequently, the Hon. Mr. Gardner, our resident at the Nepaulese court, sent flowers and ripe fruit of the tea-plant to Dr. Wallich; and by the latter, they were forwarded to Sir Joseph Banks. In 1822, Dr. Gerard, and others, reported that more than one species of tea was indigenous to India, but it was not established whether these were not of the genus *camellia*.

But in 1823-24 and 25, the late Mr. Scott (well known as a naturalist in India) wrote to Dr. Wallich, stating, decisively, that the Assam tea-shrub is the true *thoea*, and sending a drawing. &c., of the seed-capsule. Mr. Swinton got part of a boat-load of tea-plants from Assam early in 1826; similar tea-plants were received in the Botanic Garden from Mr. Scott in 1827. Major Vetch, at Lucknow, sent to Assam for some in the same year. Major Bruce, who died in 1825, was so aware of the value of the plant that, in his "Calendar," he stated the period for collecting the seedlings and seeds. Major Wilcox knew of the plant's existence at that time, and states his reasons for believing that Major Bruce and Mr. Bruce, were those who first sent plants and seeds to Mr. Scott,—that is in 1823; and Mr. Bruce himself states, he obtained a canoe full of the plants, about 1826, from the same native from whom his brother obtained the plants in exchange for a musical snuff-box. Soon after, Captain Neulville, and almost every one else in Assam, possessed them; and when Dr. Wallich was there, in 1836, he found every one asserting that Major and Mr. Bruce [69] were the first European discoverers of the plants in Assam.

In 1832, Captain Jenkins was appointed by government to survey Assam, and he furnished an official report of the localities where the tea-plant had been found. Earlier in the same year. Captain Charlton wrote many particulars relative to plant, in a letter to Dr. Tytler. But nothing for rendering tea an article of Indian commerce was effected, until Lord W. Bentinck in 1834, recorded a minute, recommending "measures for introducing the cultivation of the tea-plant within the British possessions in India." Dr. Wallich visited Assam, and reported very fully upon its tea localities. Government soon after commenced attempts to establish its cultivation; but, by degrees, have parted with the larger portion of their plantations to the Assam Tea Company.

The simple fact, that more than thirty million pounds of tea are required annually for the British market, and about half that quantity for America, would necessarily keep attention aroused to the proceedings of this Company ; from the exertions of which I look with well-grounded expectations, that in the [70] course of a few years, India will share largely in this lucrative trade ; and that the value of her tea produce will equal that of her indigo, before any very protracted period of time has elapsed.

The reports of the Company demonstrate, that though there have been many losses incurred, and many disappointments, which might have been avoided, if the experience and knowledge they have purchased could have been possessed by intuition ; yet I do not observe any that have been needlessly incurred. The heaviest have arisen in the endeavour to remove the greatest existing obstacle to the more rapid increase in the amount of the tea manufactured. For in Assam, unlike most other parts of India, the scarcity of labour is extreme. This is not difficult of explication, for the jungle has been allowed to increase to a fearful extent, and when nature is thus neglected, she is a deadly opponent in her warfare against man. She has thinned the population of Assam to a remnant, and the servants of the Company have suffered miserably in the struggle now making to reclaim the wilderness. Every year seems to have reduced the number of [71] the inhabitants, rendering labourers consequently more scarce, and the Company have been making strenuous efforts to remedy this deficiency.

The most apparent source from whence to derive labourers, was China ; because, if the hiring had been judiciously conducted, men, accustomed to some portion of the various businesses necessary to the preparation and packing of tea, might have been reasonably expected to be thence derived. This unfortunately, was not sufficiently attended to ; and instead of procuring a respectable, efficient body of workmen, a set of ruffians were imported, who, by their conduct whilst in Calcutta, demonstrated how very much less than worthless they were, and that to the first loss, the Company most widely submitted, though amounting to nearly 30,000 rupees.

Another loss, amounting to about one-third as much, was incurred by endeavouring to get to the tea localities a gang of 652 Dhangah coolies ; for cholera appearing among them, mid-

way between Hazareebaugh and Assam, they took fright—"the whole gang disappeared in one night, and no trace of them could be found!"

[72] The Rungpore coolies, however, have turned out well, and further drafts of them have been sent for. This is so far satisfactory; but I confess, that I have greater hopes of obtaining labourers, eventually, from among the Nazas,* Singphoos, and other neighbouring tribes, because they are inured to the climate; and when they see the profits made by the Singphoo chief (Ningroola), whose tea sold so well at the sale of 1840, I think it will act as an additional stimulus to them to come in, and engage in the occupation. Indeed, I look upon the fact of his having engaged in the manufacture, as one of the best guarantees that the produce exported from India will annually increase, much more rapidly than the Company have calculated.

The direful effect of the climate (it being so malarious, that, as the documents before me state, no European can exist there during June, July, August, and September), has been another disadvantage against which the Society has had to contend; and it is testified by the facts, that within the preceding twelve months, Mr. Duffield, Dr. Lamqua, Mr. Murray, Mr. Marlay, and Mr. Paton, [73] have fallen before its death-blast; and Mr. Bruce himself was not only incapacitated from attending to his duties, but reported, "that at one time, during the past season of production, he had not an individual able to superintend, or to move about among the people, who were equally sickly." These melancholy losses, and this prevalence of sickness, will decrease, as the clearance and cultivation of the land diminishes the generation of malaria.

Having thus passed through the most sombre portion of the detail, let us turn to the more encouraging; and this is not small in amount. Thus, it appears that government has liberally responded to the application, relatives to the Company being permitted to avail themselves of the tea-lands in the vicinity of their localities, though not included in the present grants to the Company, and that fifty-six poorahs, in addition, have been transferred by the government to the Company.

* *Read Nagas.*—P.T.N.

No pains have been spared to increase the numbers and extent of the *barees*, or tea-plantations, and with considerable success ; and that the extension has not been larger [74] compared with the outlay which has occurred, evidently arises from the deficiency of hands, and the losses I have alluded to ; but which are not more, I think, than are incident to the first few years existence of every new manufacture, during which there is always the greatest amount of outlay, and the least amount of returns. Thus, a saw-mill, for the preparation of the thin boards required for making the tea-chests, has been purchased, and is in the course of erection, which is an expenditure without a return ; and so are the boats ; making a heavy charge together, of more than 31,000 rupees. These are at present unproductive expenditures, necessary, but not to recur, except as casualties happen.

The same observations apply to the formation of roads and buildings ; some of the former of which have been so well constructed and prove so generally useful, that there is some hope government will contribute towards the expenses incurred. Then there has been the purchase of an iron steamer, which, with the fittings, will cost considerably more than a lakh of rupees ; to which may be added, the first expense of [75] opening the mines from whence the steamers are supplied with coal, as well, I believe, as for use in drying the tea. These are all expenses which press heavily—unavoidably heavily—upon an infant establishment, but are not likely to recur.

The monthly outlay of the Calcutta establishment, and of the various stations, amounts to 6750 rupees, which is very heavy ; but still, I would not advise the Company to be frightened into a false-economy, by any fear of an outcry from the shareholders. The expenses at the localities are great ; but, without a very liberal salary, where is the European who will consign himself to such a service ?

Of the superintendent of the Botanic Garden, Dr. Wallich, I cannot speak too highly : his scientific attainments need no testimony from me ; they are demonstrated by his published works, and by fifty societies, which, unsolicited, have enrolled him among their associates. But I must not omit to mention the urbanity and liberality with which he meets the wishes, not of his friends only, but of all who seek from him [76] either the

gratification of their curiosity, or an addition to their botanical stores.

Dr. Wallich is by birth a Dane, and was a medical *attache* to Chandenagore,* the chief Indian colony of his native country ; and it was to the estimable Dr. Carey that he was indebted for bringing his scientific merits under the notice of the government, and subsequently for his appointment to the honorable, lucrative, and delightful office he now holds. To this he is devotedly attached ; and though of late warned that a residence of many years in a tropical climate renders a change to one more temperate desirable, yet I much fear he will linger on, till he becomes the tenant of that grave which he has already prepared in a favourite shaded spot among his botanical treasures.

During the last two or three years, the doctor has succeeded in acclimatizing many plants, which must eventually become objects of commercial importance. Madder (*calotropis procera*). *manethia cordifoila*, a substitute for ipecacuanha ; *crinum Asiaticum toxicarum*, a substitute for the squill ; the guaiacum, and quassia plants ; *hemidesmus* [77] *Indicus*, a substitute for sarsaparilla ; fustick (*macleura tinctoria*.) *caesalpina coriaria*, abounding in tannin ; and various other useful plants, are of the class in question.

The Town Hall is the most classic-looking structure within the bounds of the city ; but there is a tablet in its walls, which may be considered as sacred to the memory of the five lakhs of rupees (£ 50,000), which *departed* during its erection, not to mention all the extravagance of which it has been the occasion ; for here are held all the public dinners and balls, not of rare occurrence, and which, for their excellence and unvarying price, have obtained the title of "the gold Mohur Festivals.**"

In close proximity to the Town Hall is the Supreme Court : and this, instead of offering as it ought, that aspect of nobleness and majesty so inseparable from power and justice, in the associations of the native mind ; is, both within, as well as externally, one of the meanest and worst proportioned edifices in Calcutta. Yet it is an object replete with interest to every reader of the

* Read Serampore.—P.T.N.

** A gold mohur is worth thirty-two shillings.

[78] history of India. Behind its three unadorned and elevated desks, he cannot remember, have sat many whose names are associated with India's more memorable days ; that there, Impey is charged with having sacrificed his conscience to his interests, and that his name, associated with that of Hastings, is in the criminal annals of our country : there, too, once sat the classic Sir William Jones, whose pen, like the tongue in Eastern story, scattered but pearls and flowers, whether it descanted upon Hindoo lore, science, or the still less malleable matters of the law.

SIR EDWARD RYAN

Eleven chief-justices have been upon that bench since it was first elevated in 1774, and memory will glance over them as it recalls their portraits, which adorn the Court's grand jury chamber. To Sir Elijah Impey succeeded Sir Robert Chambers, whose widow, yet alive, has lately chronicled his worth in a suitable memoir, and whose manuscript library, the record of his knowledge of Hindoo literature, ought to be preserved entire in the British Museum. Sir John Anstruther was next in succession, and was followed by Sir Russell, of whom [79] the natives have a tradition, too absurd to require refutation, that he had two pockets in his robe, in one of which he deposited the presents from the plaintiff, in the other those from the defendant ; and that having counted each during the speeches of counsel, he decided in favour of the weightiest pocket. Sir Edward Hyde East, next in the list, is still living ; and the two who follow in succession, Sir Robert Blossett, and Sir Christopher Puller, are remembered for the remarkable fact, that the one only survived three months, the other only a single month, their arrivals in India. Next followed Sir Charles Grey, who has lately proceeded to make another fortune as a West India governor. He was succeeded by Sir William Russell, who died within six months, and was followed on the judgment seat by Sir Edward Ryan, in 1833.

I have now passed to persons who come within my own years of residence in India, and I may pause to be somewhat more circumstantial. Sir Edward Ryan retired from the chief-justiceship of the Supreme Court, at the close of 1841, and he carried with him the regard of every one who had a know-[80]ledge of

the devotion of his talents and energies to the benefiting of India. Ere he left its shores he was entertained at dinner by the members of the Calcutta bar.

It was a private party; and but one toast was drank—"The health of Sir Edward Ryan, and may health and happiness long attend him." It was proposed by the advocate-general, Mr. Peel; and the offering, as observed by this able lawyer and excellent man, was a demonstration above the suspicion of interested motives, for it was given as a token of respect to one who was retiring into private life; not to a judge just assuming the ermine which gave to him patronage, but to one who, retiring from office, could no longer hold out inducements to those who are actuated by selfish motives. There could be no such feeling actuating any one there present; and yet he spoke but their sentiments—those of the whole bar—when he said that the name of Sir E. Ryan would have its place among the names of those who had most adorned the Indian bench.

Thus it has been Sir E. Ryan's proud distinction to have parted with his brethren on the circuit, with a signal mark of their [81] regard, when he left this country in 1827; and that he earned the same esteem from his brethren on the Indian bench, and from the bar over which he there presided for more than thirteen years; and, as he has thus been honoured throughout his legal career, by those who best know how to appreciate his merit, he may rest satisfied with the wreath which has thus been awarded to him, though some, who in the course of his judicial duties passed under his censure, did not assist in placing it on his brow.

Sir E. Ryan has done so much for India, that I should not be doing him justice were I to allow him to pass in these pages without a further notice of the high estimation in which he was held by the Indian community. As president of the Asiatic and Agricultural Societies, no man laboured more assiduously for the promotion of their several objects; and this has been acknowledged, by their subscriptions to purchase portraits of him they have lost as their president, to remain as a record and a testimony in their respective halls.

To him, the Agricultural Society is especially indebted: for he found it in a state of [82] decay, but has left it the most flourishing institution in India. It is true that he had no parti-

cular skill in the arts of husbandry ; but he was selected for the presidentship because of his known good sense, energy of character, and influential position in society ; and the result shows how sound was the judgment which determined the choice. At the Society's dinner, held on the 4th of January, 1842, Sir E. Ryan took his farewell of the members ; and on that occasion thus spoke of his connection with the institution :

He said that it had been asserted that he had sought the appointment to its presidentship ; but this was not true. He was elected a member in 1828 ; and the Society then devoting its attention almost exclusively to horticultural and botanical subjects, was in a lingering condition : it had only about ninety members, and its finances were in a most slovenly and unsatisfactory state. In the opinion of many gentlemen, the Society was thought capable of being elevated, and rendered more valuable, by directing its attention to the improvement of the stable commodities of the country ; and without consulting him, without his even knowing [83] their intention, they proposed, early in 1829, that he should be the new president.

Finding what were their objects, he accepted the office—that was said to be his fault : but let it be remembered that it was the Society's fault that he had continued its president, for it had annually elected him for thirteen years. If it were a fault to have exerted himself to the utmost to advance the great objects of the Society, he pleaded guilty to the charge, and was ready to abide by the sentence of the unprejudiced for so doing. He knew so much of agriculture as a gentleman mixing among the country gentry of England, usually, or necessarily acquires but imperfect as that knowledge was, it did not prevent his being conscious that the best mode of promoting the intention of the Society was to gather knowledge from, and to stimulate to exertion, practical men. He had done his best to effect this ; and the Society had worked with him most successfully to accomplish the object.

If it were a fault to have used his influence, small as it was, to induce the government to lend its aid to the Society, he pleaded guilty to that also ; and retiring as he was [84] from public life, he might now, without his motives being suspected, declare that he had successfully used that influence. Lord W. Bentinck was the first governor-general to whom he had occasion to apply :

and his assistance, by appropriating an annual fund for the service of the Society, could never be forgotten; this had been continued by his successors;—and in Lord Auckland, he assured the Society they had a friend, who had watched most zealously and anxiously over all their proceedings, and to whom they were indebted for suggestions, information, and assistance, which none but the head of the government could afford.

Lastly, the community at large testified their opinion of Sir E. Ryan's worth, by the address they voted at a public meeting, and their subscription for a portrait, to be deposited, with those of his predecessors, in the grand jury chamber.

The conclusion to be drawn from this united testimony, is coincident with that which is afforded by those who knew him best; and it is, that amiable in all relations of life, of unimpeachable integrity as a judge, and indefatigable in promoting all that he [85] considered beneficial to India, he did more for that country than any of his contemporaries; and has left an example of unwearied assiduity in endeavouring to do good, that many may emulate, but which, probably, no one at present in India, is qualified to equal.

I must not omit to particularise the exertions of Sir E. Ryan, in the cause of education and of charity in the East. Those who know the country will readily appreciate those exertions, for he was a leading director of all the principal institutions in Calcutta, and his liberality with his purse was equalled only by his unwearied personal application in their behalf. The students of the Hindoo College presented him with a silver vase, and a very elegant address expressive of their gratitude.

The regret which accompanied Sir Edward's retirement from the bench of the Supreme Court, was scarcely more general than was the approbation and pleasure with which the announcement was received, that Mr., now Sir Lawrence Peel, was his successor. It gave a satisfaction without any abatement, because every one felt that while [86] his acknowledged legal acquirements insured a satisfactory administration of justice, the urbanity which characterised him while at the Calcutta bar, would accompany him to its bench. To that bar, and to the profession generally, it gave particular pleasure, for it is but too true, that its members have invariably been neglected when such vacancies required to be filled up, and they felt that they should have the

advantage of addressing a chief justice, who, whilst among them as advocate-general, had at once gained a knowledge of the practice of the court and of the three laws* he has to administer.

I cannot refrain from observing, that this is the second advocate-general who left the Calcutta bar during the period I am noticing, because it gives me the opportunity of paying a tribute of respect to the memory of Sir Lawrence Peel's predecessor. It seems impossible to speak of him in more honourable terms than those in which he was frequently named even while at the bar, for in [87] designating him "Honest John Pearson," eulogy can scarcely go further. Honesty truly characterised him in every relation of life—honesty in the widest sense of the classic derivation of the term. He was honest as a friend, honest as a relative, honest as an advocate, and honest as a public servant. For forty years, he was a member of the legal profession, and he had been for fifteen of those years advocate-general of the East India Company, when he retired in the January of 1840. During that period he saw many and great changes, but "Honest John Pearson" (to use the words of a personal friend) "has been always the same, subdued only in energy, as years, with their tropic seasons, passed over him." As an instance of those changes, may be mentioned, that in one of the last causes he pleaded in England, the late chief justice of Calcutta, Sir E. Ryan, and the late chancellor of Ireland, Lord Campbell, were his assistant juniors.

Of his conduct as advocate-general, the best testimony was afforded from the bench by Sir E. Ryan, who, after eulogising his "great ability" in office, added, "He united [88] in an eminent degree, qualities not easily combined: he, in all cases, supported with firmness, zeal and vigour, the interests of his client, while he never forgot the respect and courtesy which was due to the bench."

GUNGAJULLIAS

It would be uninteresting to enter into a detail of the practice adopted in the Supreme Court, though it curiously differs in

* Not only have all the branches of English law and equity to be administered in the Supreme Court, but also the Mahomedan and Hindoo laws relative to marriage and inheritance.

some respects from that in our own ; but one material improvement, introduced by Lord Auckland, deserves to be particularised. Until the year 1840 there were two modes of administering an oath to Hindoos—viz., swearing by the Ganges, or Gunga water, in which the witness dipped his fingers whilst taking the oath, or by “the mystic words” which were muttered to him by the pundit of the court. In that year, however, a change was effected by a special regulation of the government ; on which alteration, the following observations were communicated to me by a very intelligent native, who is far above the generality of his countrymen in information, and fully impressed with a sense of their depravity :—“Government has, at last, perceived and recognised the expediency of substituting a [89] mode of taking oaths in public courts, to which no objection, either on the score of caste, creed, or conscience, can be offered.

“‘I solemnly affirm, in the presence of Almighty God, that what I shall state shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth,’ is a mode of solemn declaration which will exercise a more salutary influence on every mind that has the slightest regard for truth, equity, and conscience, than the mere administration of an oath through the channel of the Gunga water. By the bigoted and superstitious, who compose the great majority of the native population, the enactment is hailed with feelings of peculiar satisfaction ; for it is not the truth which the respectable scruple to utter, but the being constrained to swear at all, which, in their estimation, has the dreadful property of consigning souls to perdition.*

“The utterance of truth or falsehood is to them a matter of secondary consideration, compared with the obligation to touch the [90] holy water of the Bhagherutty, (a branch of the Ganges.) Every one who is at all conversant with the religious scruples of the Hindoos, must bear testimony to the truth of this lamentable circumstance, and further admit that there are men amongst them, and these are by no means few, who would rather lose a good cause, or at least bear all the inconvenience of incognito, than be guilty of uttering the truth according to the hitherto

* This is a curious fact, and resembles the prejudice of many Christians, who give a literal meaning to the injunction, “Swear not at all.”

prescribed forms of a court of justice. But do not infer from hence, that this religious scruple predominates in the Hindoe mind. For one who is influenced by such motives there are ten who would unhesitatingly sacrifice their faith and conscience at the unhallowed shrine of filthy lucre. Indeed, wilful perjury, and subornation of perjury, are generally regarded as such light offences, that like marketable commodities, *Gungajullias*, or those who bear false witness, may be purchased at the rate of four or five annas (six pence or seven-pence half-penny,) and one or two rupees (two or four shillings,) in more intricate cases."

I have given the above literally, as received from my native friend, and will ob-[91]serve, *en passant*, that it is an example of the facility with which they acquire the mastery of our language. To the truth of his statements, I can bear unreserved testimony, and I would add, that this existing facility in obtaining evidence should be an effectual warning to the judges of the Supreme Court never to permit, where avoidable, the plaintiff's case to be completed on one day, and the defendant's on another.

I was retained in a cause where this occurred; and at a consultation held with us by the attorney of the defendant on the evening of the day on which the plaintiff's case closed, the managing man (always a native,) enquired what were the strong points established in evidence, and on these being pointed out, the consultation closed; on the following day our witnesses swore point blank in direct contradiction of the whole evidence of these points!

I may observe here, for the guidance of migrating barristers, that there is a law library connected with the Supreme Court. This useful collection of books was founded chiefly through the exertions of one of the advocates, Mr. Longueville Clarke, [92] in June 1825. The bar then was composed of ten barristers, and these with the six officers of the court, subscribed one hundred rupees each toward the purchase of a professional library, which was offered to them. The valuation amounted to 5928 rupees, and the balance left due was gradually to be liquidated by the annual subscription of each member, fixed at two gold mohurs (sixty-four shillings) per term.

Mr. Justice Buller obtained for the proposed library a room opening into the Supreme Court, and the books, by purchase and

donations, have gradually accumulated to a nearly complete series of reports ancient and modern, and to a respectable, though more deficient, collection of text books.—There is a *duftree* (native librarian) constantly in attendance to find the required volumes, and to take receipts for such as are borrowed from the library. Two daily newspapers are supplied to its table for the use of the members. After various alterations, the admission fee to be paid by those who join the society is 250 rupees, and the subscription is fixed at twenty-five rupees per term.

[93] The law terms are appointed with a very judicious attention to the seasons : two of them are kept during the cold season, one while this is just beginning to pass away, and the fourth during the cooling influence of the rains.*

On the same esplanade as the town-hall, but in the centre of its own somewhat too circumscribed grounds, stands the Government House, a palace worthy of being the residence of the most vast and wealthy viceroyalty in the world. Its *tout ensemble* more resembles the Queen's-palace at Kensington, than any other British residence I have seen ; but its interior arrangements have been rendered totally different from all things European, to meet the exigences of the climate. I give here no particular description of its saloons, because I shall have occasion to glance over a portion of its interior in the course of a subsequent chapter, and the whole is but any single part repeated again and again.

Stretching away to the south for miles in front of these public edifices is the *Maidan* [94] or grassy plain, in which is the impregnable, but too capacious, Fort William ; the race-course, of which more anon ; and in one corner that forlorn, unmeaning monument, the column to the memory of General Ochterlony ; north and east of these, branches forth the town with its *palatial* shops, ware-houses, and residences in strange apposition to the huts and other ruinous native dwellings.

In the best streets, where the latter disfigurement is least apparent, the white chimneyless forms of the houses, with their columned verandahs, and spacious windows, call to the imagination what Athens must have been in her palmy days. There is a loneliness however in these streets—an absence of apparent,

* These terms, in the order I have mentioned, begin respectively, October 22, January 7, March 1, and June 15.

active, civilized life, such as an Englishman naturally sympathises with—that renders them cheerless even in the hours of most gorgeous sunshine ; though a stream of vociferous, white-robed, or naked, native pedestrians are sauntering idly along, and though bullock-hackeries are crawling about with ever-creeking wheels.

In the street the Europeans are never seen during the day, except as they are partially visible swinging by in their palanquins, [95] or the blind-shaded forms of the doctors rolling past in their carriages, as they, and almost they alone, venture out in the mid-day blaze, and then providentially with hired horses : yet these straggling passengers are not sufficient to compensate for that bustling, animated throng, of the busy, the idle, the elegant, and the beautiful, which each day, and during all its hours, enliven the scene in an English city

Yet there are many objects of interest, and which, by their novelty, forcibly strike the passing stranger. The money-changers, at the corner of each street, squatted behind their piles of coin, so cunning in their look as to make one feel that their resort must to a "den of thieves," and the board on which rests their money, so easily tilted over, as naturally to call to our recollection the gospel narrative, and make us at once aware that the overturning "the tables of the money-changers" was a work of easy and speedy execution. That quarter inhabited by the Chinese shoemakers, the most industrious of craftsmen, Chowringhee—the stables of the Arab horse-dealers in Durumtollah, whose easy yet firm seat, as they [96] bestride those graceful creatures, at once calls to mind, and gives a clue to the origin of the fabled centaurs.

The bazaars, wholly inhabited by native and chiefly Hindoo, workmen and merchants—the makers of toys and of furniture—the dealers in the costly shawls of Cashmere, and scarfs of Delhi—the shroffs, or bankers—the slipper makers—the humble compounders of the universally-chewed pawn—the mat weavers—the importers of all the carved and lacquered wares of China—all these are here found : a strange medley of traffickers, resident in edifices whose open fronts, contemptible size, and ruined aspect, gain little admiration from those whose ideas of a bazaar are derived from that in Soho Square, or the Burlington Arcade.

DECREASING DEATHS

The narrowness and crowded state of the streets, with their stagnant, and consequently offensive drains, seem surely prophetic of miasma and pestilence ; yet there appears to be just reason for concluding that Calcutta is annually becoming more healthy. This, no doubt, arises in a great degree, from the improved habits of the people ; but it is also occasioned by the clearing and improved [97] cultivation of the land in its immediate vicinity, and the better cleansing and drainage of the city. The superior healthiness is apparent from the fact, that although the native population of Calcutta has annually increased in numbers, yet the deaths steadily decrease.

Thus there were recorded 2700 deaths fewer in 1834 than in 1833, and 2183 less in 1835 than in 1834. A diminution equally gradual occurred in the number of deaths among members of our established church, from 1826 to 1834. In the first-named year the deaths were 833, and in the last mentioned only 414. Unfortunately, we have no satisfactory documents from whence to gather the relative mortality among Europeans : this portion of the population perpetually fluctuating. They reside a few months or years, and then depart, to make room for others. Some stay but a limited term, others remain twenty or thirty years. There are no separate returns, showing how long each party whose death is recorded has been resident in India, and if it were found that in the far greater number of instances, Europeans die before they have been ten years [98] in the country, it very materially alters the calculations to be founded on each statements.

No criterion is afforded by the English regimental returns, for in these the deaths are found to vary from 1 in 9 to 1 in 39.7/8. There is no record of the ages of the parties ; and soldiers are among the most dissipated, and most exposed to the climate. From the tables kept at the hospitals, and from the calculations made by the various physicians, the average afforded is about 1 in 22, which is fully one-third more than the ratio in England ; but Dr. Strong, a long resident in Calcutta, who has paid much attention to the subject, sees reason to conclude that the mortality in Calcutta is only 1 in 40, which is less than in London ! This I believe to be very erroneous, though I am decidedly of opinion that Calcutta is not so inimical to English

constitutions as is very generally believed, but that it is made so by indulgence in a far too luxurious and stimulating dietary.

The great difficulty of draining the town arises from the extreme flatness of the country; the fall from the city to the river [99] not being more than the decimal of an inch per mile.

Lord Auckland promoted a searching inquiry into the best mode of remedying this evil; and much valuable information has been collected and published in a very bulky and tardily appearing "Municipal report."

The scavenger-carts traverse the principal streets of the city twice daily; but the filthy habits of the natives would frustrate their best endeavours, if it were not for the scavengers provided by an all-careful Providence. Among the objects which most forcibly strike the stranger on his first arrival, are the vast flocks of vultures observable on the trees on the river's banks; and the myriads of white-tipped hawks¹, soaring over and around the vessel in fearless proximity. But he soon perceives the services allotted to, and performed by, these birds, when he sees numberless corpses of the Hindoos floating down the sacred stream, and which, but for these ravenous creatures², [100] would soon become pestilent beyond endurance. The Hindoos never bury their dead; and those who cannot afford to burn the corpse of a relative, commit it to the waters of the Ganges! These are sources of the greatest annoyance to the ships at anchor in the river, across whose bows and hawsers they are daily entangled; and still greater nuisances are they to the residents on the banks, who have to retain among their servants one whose sole office is to thrust into the stream any dead body which may float ashore. The man so employed is himself often a nuisance, for he is such an outcast, and considered so defiled from the nature of his occupation, that no other servant will touch him even with a stick; and in consequence of this prejudice, a friend of mine was once obliged to descend in the middle of the night to remove

1. These are the Brahminy kite species (*Halioetus Ponticerianus*); by some writers called the Pondichery eagle; it is the *Falco Ponticerianus* of Gmelin.

2. The alligator, being hunted to more distant localities, is too rarely found near Calcutta to be ranked among its natural scavengers.

one from his door, who was howling drunk from some intoxicating drug he had been smoking.

In the town itself, the stranger is still more forcibly struck by the flights of the white-breasted crow (*Corvus dauricus*), which are upon every house, and thronging on every compound. These, too, act as [101] scavengers throughout the year, and most assiduous and bold are they in their avocation. Not a fragment of food escapes their vigilance; and their black cunning eye is to be seen constantly peering from the verandah upon the breakfast-table, and they will hop to the room's very threshold in expectation of a favourable opportunity for a foray.

The adjutant is a bird neither so numerous, nor so constantly to be seen at every turn, as the crow, but it is far more effectual and rapid in its operations. A dead rat disappears at once; and the carcase of a cat, with very little exertion, enters entire through this bird's enormous jaws.

At night, the jackals succeed their feathered fellows as scavengers-general, and are still more noisy in their avocation than the crows. They hunt through the streets in packs; their cry, breaking through the death-like stillness of an Indian night, is wild, savage, and lamentable. If it were not for the combined services of these animals, Calcutta would be merely a place in which Europeans might find a certain grave.

The highways of the town, totally devoid of all footpaths, are always in a miserable [102] condition. The prevalence of high winds, and the alternations between intense long-continued drought, and seasons of the heaviest rain, render the climate one of the most difficult in which roads can be preserved in good repair. There is but one half-mile of unexceptionable road anywhere in or about Calcutta; this extends from government-house to Chowringhee, but this serves to show that, despite the climate, good roads are maintainable. The others are full of ravines; mere quagmires when wet, and dust-holes when dry. The want of footpaths, and the apathy of the natives, render deaths and fractures (from the furious driving too customary with all Europeans in Calcutta), a matter of daily occurrence, and so little heeded, as usually only to call forth the thoughtless and unfeeling remark—"Oh! 'tis only a native!"

CALCUTTA IN 1843^{*}By C.J.C. Davidson[†]

[205] Wakened at two in the morning, to pay the toll for my three boats in Tolly's nullah, at the rate of eight annas per one hundred maunds. One of my boats—that with the baggage—had contrived to fall in the rear. The nullah differs very little, if anything, from the rivers I have been passing, except in the article of iron suspension bridges, of which I had to pass under no less than seven, before I could enter the Hoogly.

Much had I heard, for years, of the beauties of the Soondurbunds; but people praise them from fashion, and parrot-like habits. Tolly's nullah is infinitely more picturesque and pleasant. Instead of dull, monotonous trees, producing nothing but malaria, here are plantations of luscious plantains, stately groves of graceful cocoa-nut trees, and exquisite mangoes; while the mind's eye is regaled with the exhibition of fat ducks and tender goslings, disporting gaily on the golden stream. Elegant ghats abound, surmounted by tasty Grecian landing-places, dedicated by patriotism to cleanliness. At these fashionable places of resort, an observant person may *mentify* the innumerable stories in circulation concerning the seclusion of the native ladies. They are to be seen, of all [206] shapes and sizes—young and elegant, old and withered; with—ay, or without—their wet

* From the *DIARY OF TRAVELS AND ADVENTURES IN UPPER INDIA*, from Bareilly, in Rohilkund, Hurdwar, and Nahun, in the Himalaya Mountains, with a Tour in Bundelkund, A sporting excursion in the Kingdom of Oude, and A Voyage down the Ganges by C.J.C. Davidson, Esq., Late Lt-Colonel of Engineers, Bengal, in two volumes, London (Henry Colburn, Great Marlborough Street), 1843 (volume I, xvi+343 and volume II, 1-349; octavo, no illustration). Davidson's account of the suburbs of Calcutta is taken from his "Journal of a Voyage from Allahabad to Calcutta via Dacca and the Soonderbunds" contained in volume II, pp. 205-213. He left Allahabad on 5th December 1839

drapery, adhering closely to their bodies, in all possible postures—standing, ducking or, diving—close to men of all ages, in *almost* a state of nature.

All the suspension bridges vary in pattern, width, and curve ; so it is to be hoped that a standard may be speedily discovered. They are works of real utility to the natives, and are yet untaxed. Tolly's nullah will be soon closed, unless some expense be incurred in removing the accumulating silt. There ought to be some *attempt* at a river police, to prevent the aggregation of boats at particular places, and to hinder the natives from repairing their crafts while traversing it. It was never intended for a dock ; but at present is so used ; and the mud being scooped from under the boats, gradually increases the silt, by opposing the current. The pucca ghats also occasionally fall in, and add to the obstruction.

At Tolly Gunge, I found a splendid four-storied house, with clear, extensive grounds. Innumerable canoes, worked each by two men, were freighted by rice in the bulk, and con-[207]veyed to a gunge or market place, which we passed in our left.

Passed the Honourable Company's civil and military seminary at Allipore, consisting of numerous and extensive brick, stuccoed buildings, devoted to the mental instruction of perpetual pupils. Ignorant of, and wholly under-valuing the benevolent intentions of government, they sometimes rise on their ushers, and have been even blamable enough to murder their head masters. They manage things differently at Sing Sing and Auburn.

I found, on entering the Hoogly, a suspension bridge, built under the reign of Lord William Bentinck, and that ships of large burden were lying opposite to the cooly bazar ; a thing that had never been attempted formerly.

Five or six steamer tugs were also visible, to my great delight. I was the first who proposed the introduction of these highly useful vessels, some twenty-five years ago. I required three, two of very large power, and one smaller. The gentleman intrusted with the commission imported one of nominally eight-horse power, which, after various difficulties, at last found its way to the Ranee [208] Gunge colliery, where it has met with most profitable and constant employment, in pumping out the water.

The Bishop's College has been built, and adds greatly to the beauty of the reach : but below the fort, very little if any other

improvement is visible, and even up so high as Chaudpaul ghat, the appearance of the opposite bank is pretty nearly what it was.

At Chaudpaul ghat, a steam-engine of small power has been erected, for the purpose of supplying the aqueducts of the city with water; and during the day, groups of interesting native females may be seen clustered together, affecting to screen themselves, while bathing and washing their clothes, but as clearly free from all disguise, as if scores of miles beyond the sight of man. Such is native female modesty. *Our* respectable females would scorn to strip themselves of as much of their drapery, unless it were fashionable, and at evening full-dress parties.

The strand road, however, is one of the greatest improvements connected with the times past. It commences from the higher parts of the European city of Calcutta, and runs along the bank of the river, to the dock-[209]yards at Kidderpore, forming an extensive and beautiful walk or drive, mornings and evenings, and also greatly shortening the road to Garden Reach. But great as was the improvement, the then chief engineer would not allow it to pass the fort, without obstructing it to the utmost of his power. He expressed his fear that the terrific rattling of barouches, whether driven by pairs or four in hand—landaues, landaulettes, britzkas, with or without perches—phaetons of all sorts, high, low, and pony—curricles, tandems, buggies, full, half, or sweep-pannelled, and champignys—would unquestionably, by their irresistible concussion, destroy the ramparts of Fort William! Lord William Bentinck, however, it must be allowed, often thought for himself, and merely answered the argument, by asking how many salutes were fired during a month? "Oh, a great many, my lord!" "Ah! then we need not be afraid of the carriages!" The strand road was built, and the ramparts of Fort William still stand, as an insult to the predictions of the departed Sir Thomas Anbury, K.C.B.

BABU GHAT

A Grecian ghat has been built at the north end of the old Respondentia walk, within a few [210] yards of the engine-house, by a Calcutta baboo, which, if it does not rival the Parthenon, will at least commemorate to distant ages, the extraordinary liberality of the Right Honourable Lord William Ben-

tinck, &c. Governor-General of India, &c., who has not only graciously allowed a mural tablet to be erected on the side facing the road, but has most ingeniously contrived to begin the inscription with his own dearly beloved name and titles, *after which*, appears that of the Bungalee patriot whom he allowed to be handed down to grateful and admiring posterity. Ingenious Dutchman ! The inscription is as follows :—

"The Right Honourable Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, G C B and G.C.H. Governor General, &c. &c., with a view to encourage the direction of private munificence to works of public utility, has been pleased to determine that this ghat, constructed at the expense of Baboo Rajchundur Doss, shall be henceforth called Baboo Rajchundur Doss's Ghat."

Was there ever such liberality? So that it can no longer be doubted, but that we have arrived at that proud epoch in the history of man, in which we are at full liberty to call things by their right and proper names, as [211] the ghat is pretty generally called "Baboo Rajchundur Doss's Ghat!"

Riding past this ghat one morning, I heard a loud call in my rear, and turning round, discovered that a Bungalee book-hawker wished to enjoy my conversation. He ran up quite breathless, and opening his wallet, took out a little octavo half-bound-in-Russia volume, which he placed in my hands with an air of triumphant satisfaction. Lo, Sahib! Lo! Take it sir—take it! I took and opened the book, and the first glance displayed an old fat lady in a chair. Its title was, "Wade on Corpulency." I had never before seen, although I had heard of the work. I saw another similar etching, and at last laughed heartily. "What do you want for this? How much?" "You know best, sir" "No, I don't. What is its value?" "You ought to be best judge of that, sir," said the niggur, laughing in my face. I immediately looked round, to ascertain whether he had not been directed by some wag to bring it me as a joke, but I could not see any one.

The whole of the green forming the esplanade of the fort, formerly carefully inclosed by railings, is now cut up into carriage roads, [212] for the use of the public. Since my arrival, I have read an advertisement from the office of the Postmaster-General, to the effect, that "for the convenience of the public" certain new receiving stations had been instituted in different parts of the city! Hail, therefore, glorious and tax-paying pub-

lic, now bursting into life and power! Incorporate yourselves, and produce your own lord mayor, to rule within the city, and expend the taxes you raise on yourselves, on the improvement of your own territories. As for a "public," acknowledged merely to be taxed, I say, Phoo!

Those who wish to be further enlightened as to the present state of the capital of British India, are referred to the work of Mr. Stocqueler, and I have no doubt but that he will thoroughly gratify their curiosity. As to myself, the subject is too tempting; but I acknowledge the truth of the remark of a friend learned in the law, that "a person expecting to thrive at Calcutta must be cautious in indulging in the most trivial allusions as to the public or private conduct either of the members of government or its favourites, as every practicable mode of injuring their professional prospects would be [213] resorted to without mercy." Therefore, *tace* is the Latin for a candlestick—Amen. Being myself of a timid and retiring disposition, I shall merely say, that both are in the highest degree perfect, and free from spot or blemish!

NOTES

1. Charles James Collie Davidson, son of Alexander Davidson, merchant, and his wife Anne Ellen Isobel, was born in Calcutta on 24th October 1793. His elder brother, Alexander Davidson (1792-1856) was Lieutenant-Colonel of 2nd Bengal European Regiment. He was cadet 1812, Ensign 10th December 1814, Lieutenant 1st September 1818 and Captain 10th October 1821. He was promoted Major on 22nd January 1834 and Lieutenant-Colonel on 31st March 1840. He retired from service on 22nd October 1841.

Davidson was a cadet at Addiscombe from 19th February 1810 to 25th October 1811. He was Adjutant of the Corps of Engineers from 27th June 1817 and worked as Garrison Engineer at Asirgarh. He took part in the siege and capture of Bhurtpore. He was awarded the India medal as Captain of Engineers. Davidson also worked as Superintendent of canals undertaken by the King of Oudh from 13th June 1833 as Executive Engineer, 6th Allahabad Division P.W.D. from 10th April 1838 and went on furlough in 1839-1841. He married at Calcutta, Letitia, fifth daughter of—Crump, of Charlton, Gloucestershire, on 3rd February 1818. He died at Stockwell Park Road, London, on 31st March, 1852. (From V.C.P. Hodson's *List of the Officers of the Bengal Army*, part II, London, 1928).

29

CALCUTTA IN 1843*

By Captain Leopold von Orlich

[166] I took leave of Major Carpenter on the afternoon of the 15th March, and set out in a palanquin on my journey to Calcutta. On the road thither there are thirty-three dawk stations, and between twenty and thirty bungalows. In less than an hour, I was carried across the Ganges, which is 3000 [167] feet wide at this part; but its waters scarcely flowed over the half of this breadth, though the mean depth was about thirty-five feet: the current of the Ganges at this place is, at the surface, at the rate of 2910 feet an hour, and the under current.

⁴ From the *TRAVELS IN INDIA, including Sindh and the Punjab*, by Captain Leopold von Orlich (of his Majesty's Guards) translated from the German by H. Evans Lloyd, Esq., in two volumes (volume I, xvi+278 pages & volume II, 312 pages, illustrated with colour as well as black and white engravings, charts etc.), London 1845 (Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, Paternoster Row). This account of Calcutta is taken from Orlich's letter No XII dated Calcutta, 14th April, 1843, addressed to Alexander von Humboldt, in volume II of his *Travels*. The headings (Journey from Benares to Calcutta.—The Hooli festival of the Hindoos.—Description of the road.—The Puhari.—Burdwan.—Description of Calcutta.—Fort William.—The revenues and expenses of the administration of India.—The palace of the Governor-General.—A visit to Dwarkanauth Tagore.—Hindoo festivals.—Excursion to Dum-Dum.—Trip to Hooghly and Barrackpoor.—The Botanic Garden.—Social life at Calcutta.—Preparations for my departure to Bombay and the Indus.—Embarkation on board the Pluto steamer.—Departure for Bombay.—Stormy voyage and return to Calcutta.—Continuation of letter from Aden.—Embarkation on the steamer Hindoostan for Madras.—Madras.—Point de Galle.—The Maldiv Islands and their inhabitants.—Aden.—Conclusion of letter on board the Oriental steamer.—The Red Sea.—Residence at Cairo.—Ascent of the Pyramids.—Journey to Alexandria.—Audience of Mehemet Ali.—Embarkation in the Oriental, and voyage to Malta, Gibraltar and Falmouth) omitted.

below the surface, only 1410 feet an hour. I travelled through the fertile, richly cultivated valley of the Ganges for the first eighteen hours of my journey: the road, which is very good and broad, gradually ascended as I approached the offsets of the Vindhaya chain, and the country was as highly cultivated as on the previous part of my route. The Vindhaya mountains are here called the Bindi hills, and are, on this side, the last offsets of that remarkable physical conformation which traverses India, in its greatest breadth of 300 geographical miles, and here separates the Sone and the Ganges from each other.

At the earliest dawn of the morning of the 16th, while the moon still shone in the greatest splendour, my attention was attracted by bright lights dancing and flitting about in every direction as far as the eye could reach. I soon discovered that they were straw torches in the hands of the men and children of the villages, who were running about the fields, swinging and throwing their burning torches, and at the same time shouting and singing with all their might. It was the Hooli, one of the principal Hindoo festivals, which lasts three days, and appears to have much similarity with the bacchanalia of the ancients; for, at this time, the gentle Hindoos, who are much disposed [168] to rejoicing and wantonness, are at full liberty to indulge their fancy, and to play foolish pranks and frolics even on women and strangers. The consequence to myself was not very agreeable, for at almost every stage I had several drunken bearers.

During the noontide heat of the same day, which was extremely oppressive in the mountains, being 98° Fahr. I rested for some hours in the bungalow beyond Sassaram. It is situated in the shade of beautiful mango trees, at the entrance of a mountainous tract, the elevation of which is scarcely more than 600 feet above the Ganges. The cheerful little village, which is adorned with the ruins of several Mahometan buildings, is most picturesquely ensconced under mangoes and bananas, among which the Fan palms lift their proud and elegant crowns. After luxuriating in a bath, and partaking of a good breakfast, I proceeded on my journey at three o'clock, and at sunset reached the village of Deury, where the river Sone flows in a bed 5000 paces in breadth, but the main stream was scarcely 360 paces broad, and not eight feet deep. The bed of the Sone is a deep stratum of sand, which is traversed by small streams and pools;

but these were so shallow, that the bearers had no difficulty whatever in passing through them.

On the 17th I was quite among the mountains; the loftiest summits of which, according to my estimation, were not more than from 800 to 1000 feet in height, and were for the most part covered with brushwood. The inhabitants are a totally distinct tribe from any I had before seen: they are a short, stout, and dark-brown people, and live in houses covered with tiles or reeds. They are the Puharri, a race quite different in appearance, language, and religion from the Hindoos of the plain: there are no castes among them, nor do they worship idols, but they pray every morning and evening to a supreme being, whom they call Budo Gosai, and to whom they offer buffalos and other animals, as propitiatory sacrifices. They subsist principally on the produce of the chase, in which they employ bows and arrows. Their chiefs are under the protection of the English, and have entered into their service. All the Hindoos, my bearers not excepted, had on this day sprinkled their turbans and white dresses with a bright-red colour; and on the following days they all appeared in orange colour.

The bungalows at Dhunwah, where I rested and refreshed myself, lie on a small plateau, surrounded by steep rocks, with the most picturesque views towards the west. On the 18th the country appeared still more beautiful, and more diversified in the grouping of the mountain chains, the lofty summits of which were sometimes jagged and sometimes rounded, now forming perpendicular walls, and then declining in terraces to the plain: the situation of the bungalows at Dumry is particularly delightful.

As soon as we issued from these mountains, the appearance of the country and of the people was totally changed; the land was gradually more cultivated, and the people were handsomer, taller, [170] more slender, more cleanly, and of rather a lighter complexion than those of the mountains. On the 19th I stopped for two hours in the bungalow at Hyrasone, and then proceeded in my palanquin with a temperature of 89° Fahr.

About half a day's journey from Burdwan, which is situated in a rich delta of the Ganges, and is surrounded by handsome seats and gardens, the country becomes like a boundless park: corn fields of every description alternate with plantations of sugar, indigo, cotton, and banana, interspersed with mangoes.

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larly successful, in the conversion of the Boishuors, the worshippers of Vishnu.*

[172] The road from Burdwan to Hooghly and Calcutta is probably the most frequented of any in India. [173] The merchants generally send their goods by land, as a waggon is not more than six or seven weeks in performing the journey from Burdwan to Cawnpore, and costs only 110 rupees; whereas a boat is four, and even six months in accomplishing this distance.

* The following interesting account of this sect is given in the "Protestant Missions in Bengal," by the Rev. J.J. Weitbrecht, and it was deemed important to subjoin it in this place.—TRANSLATOR.

"The first families who applied for baptism belonged to a sect who call themselves 'Kurta Bhojahs', that is, worshippers of the only God. This sect appears to be extensively spread in Bengal, along the Ganges and its various branches. The founder of it is said to have lived in the beginning of the present century in a village near Culna, and to have become acquainted with the Scriptures by one of the first Protestant missionaries, either Carey, Foster, or Thomas. The doctrines and precepts of Jesus appear to have come home to his conscience; and possessing a considerable knowledge of the Hindoo shasteis, he undertook the task of preparing a new religious system, retaining in it a considerable portion of Hindooism, but rejecting the worship of idols entirely, and substituting the worship of the only true God, as the foundation of his system. This new teacher succeeded in enlisting disciples from among his friends and neighbours, and the sect increased every year. Hindoos of all castes, Mahomedans, and even Indo-Britons, and descendants of the Portuguese, are now found among the Kurta Bhojahs.

"This brotherhood seems to manifest a very uncommon degree of energy and vigour: they have their missionaries, whom they send out in all directions to make proselytes. I met with one of them in the neighbourhood of Burdwan; and if they have many agents possessed of the same talents and lively energy as that individual, I am not surprised at the rapid increase of their disciples. He was a handsome young Brahmin, polished and dignified in manner, very agreeable in conversation, and eloquent. He assured me that the sect numbered above one hundred thousand members, and promised to introduce me to their private evening assemblies. They meet every Thursday in certain villages, after sunset, two or three hundred together; sitting cross-legged, in a circle, on the ground. They sing hymns in praise of their Creator. Every distinction of caste ceases at these nightly meetings; the Brahmin is sitting in brotherly fellowship by the side of the Sudra and the Mahomedan. They break bread together, and a cup passes round the circle.

But as this road is made chiefly of gutyn, a calcareous substance, which is soon pulverised by the heavily-laden carts, travelling is rendered exceedingly uncomfortable in dry weather by the clouds of dust, and in the rainy season, by the slough and mud.

The great abundance of coal in the vicinity of Shigar is very remarkable. It is so near the surface, that the strata stand out in many places.

From Burdwan the traveller is conveyed by the best and most rapid palanquin bearers, who trot four or five miles in an hour, singing and [174] shouting all the way. I arrived at the little town of Hooghly, at noon, on the 19th, just as the children were coming from school. Here is a temple, which, during the Rath festival, is visited by thousands of pilgrims, and where, in former times, as at Juggernaut, devotees suffered themselves to be crushed by the car of the idol, which has thirty-six wheels, and others were suspended till they died, by an iron hook, which was thrust through the hips of these unhappy fanatics. But I am thankful to say, that of late years the British government has prohibited this cruel custom.

The road from Hooghly runs between houses and gardens, near the river of the same name. At Pultah-Ghaut I was conveyed over the Hooghly in the evening twilight, while continued and bright flashes of lightning, in the south-east, illuminated the whole country. It was midnight before I reached Calcutta, and as I could not go to the residence of my friends at that late hour, I repaired to an hotel. Being almost tired to death, for I had had no sleep for five nights, and no refreshment for twenty-

from which all are drinking : doubtless this is an imitation of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

"Thus is an obscure sect, by the wise and gracious providence of God, destined to break through the chain of caste, and to become the pioneers to our mission work in Bengal. The people composing this sect are, as it were, already in a transition state. Some of these Kurta Bhojahs hearing Mr. Drew preach at Kishnagur, exclaimed, 'Surely this is our own religion ;' and were shortly baptized. Moreover, I received from our brethren labouring in that place the interesting information, that their converts from that sect are the most consistent Christians, and give them the greatest satisfaction, evidently from this simple reason, that purer ideas of a Divine Being had previously been implanted in their minds."

four hours, I lay down after a slight repast to take some rest ; but the heat and the musquitos prevented me from getting any sleep, and in a feverish excitement, half awake and half dreaming, I impatiently longed for the day.

CALCUTTA

Before I enter upon an account of my proceedings here, I must give you a description of Calcutta. It is built on a perfectly level alluvial soil, on the left bank of the Hooghly, called by the natives Bhagirathi, or the "True Ganges," about 100 miles [175] from the sea. Fort William, which commands the river and the surrounding country, lies at the most southern point, in 22° 34' 49" N.L., and 88° 28' E.L., from Greenwich. Viewed from the Hooghly, Calcutta has the appearance of a city of palaces. A row of large superb buildings extend from the princely residence of the Governor-General, along the Esplanade, and produce a remarkably striking effect, by their handsome verandas, supported by lofty columns.

On the site of a wretched village, situated amidst jungles and impenetrable forests, Job Charnock founded, 120 years ago, the capital of the now mighty Indian empire ; but though the jungles and woods have vanished, though the roads and pools are dry, yet a dangerous, infectious air often blows over the city from the Sunderbunds. At high water the Hooghly is a mile in breadth, but at the ebb, there is, on the opposite shore, a long road of dried sand banks, which are increasing greatly. To the south of Chandpaul Ghaut there was once a thick forest, between which and Kidderpore lay two villages, the inhabitants of which were induced to settle in the city by the Seths, a wealthy mercantile community. Fort William and the Esplanade were erected on the site of the forest and of the abandoned villages in 1758 ; and where the splendid houses of Chowringhee now stand, a miserable village, surrounded by marshy pools, existed in 1717 ; and even in 1756, when Surae ud Dowlah took the place, only seventy houses were inhabited by Englishmen.

The present city of Calcutta extends nearly six [176] miles northwards from Fort William, along the left bank of the Hooghly ; but its breadth varies very considerably. The Esplanade forms a large verdant square, with several handsome walled

reservoirs, between the fort and the city, and on two sides is bounded by the Chowringhee, which consists of the grandest and most splendid buildings. At the most northern point the Maharatta Ditch surrounds the city from Chitpoor to the distance of a mile beyond the Fives Court, close to Chowringhee.

The city is divided into two distinct parts, formed by a line drawn from Bebee-Ross-Ghaut eastward, to the upper circular road, and from Hastings Bridge to the Tollis-Nallah in the north-eastern direction, to the lower circular road. This portion of the city is chiefly occupied by the Christians; whereas the natives have settled in the district from Bebee-Ross-Ghaut eastward, to Chitpoor Bridge and the Maharatta Ditch, including all the streets of the northern portion of the city.

Here, as in all Oriental cities, the streets are narrow and the houses lofty; the lower portion contains the bazars, and the upper the dwelling-house, the place of windows being supplied by curtains or shutters. The residences of the merchants are between Champaul Ghaut and the New Mint, along the river side, and those of the principal inhabitants are in Chowringhee, which is two miles in length, and forty paces in breadth, and occupies two sides of the esplanade. As the limits of the city are not marked by walls or ditches, an uninterrupted series of suburbs and villages are attached [177] to it on every side. The dwellings consist for the most part of neat bamboo huts, covered with palm leaves; but they are excessively liable to take fire, and during my stay here, no less than 700 of them were burnt to the ground in three days.

If we were to take the number of houses and huts in Calcutta, amounting to 71,532, as a basis, from which we might infer the number of inhabitants, as has been done in former times, we should arrive at an exaggerated result. After eight months' researches, in the year 1837, Captain Birch, the superintendent of the police, succeeded in ascertaining the population of Calcutta to be 229,705 inhabitants. It appeared, at the same time, that a fluctuating population of 177,000 persons daily frequent the city. Of these inhabitants there are 3138 British, 137,651 Hindoos, and 58,744 Mussulmans; 3180 Portuguese; 536 Americans; 49 native Christians; 160 French; 203 Jews; 40 Parsees; 35 Arabs; 362 Chinese; 509 Moguls; 683 Mughls and Burmese; 4746 Eurasians, (children of a European father and

a native mother,) and 19,804 of low castes. For the preservation of personal security, there is a police, with a magistrate at its head, and to which 8141 Thannadars, Naibs, Chokidars, Jemadars, and Burkandazes belong.

The climate of Calcutta may be inferred from its situation in a damp hollow, on the banks of one of the largest rivers in the world. Each season has its peculiar dangers; in the hot months, fevers and cholera prevail, and when the rainy season be-[178] gins, dysentery and other painful diseases of the stomach are added to them. Even in the cooler season, the adult population suffers from dyspeptic fevers, and the children from catarrhs and coughs.

The most unhealthy part of Calcutta lies near Elysian Row, and is surrounded by the lower circular road, and Theatre Street; here dirty bazars, and the dwellings of Europeans, are built upon a marshy spot, filled with numerous half-drained ponds. When the other parts of the city are in the most healthy state, you may be certain that all kinds of diseases prevail here; nay, it not unfrequently happens, that in many houses not one of the inmates is exempt from fever. The ground is here so soft, that the houses often sink eight inches in a few hours. The most salubrious parts of the city are the Chowringhee, the Esplanade, and Tank Square.

The hot or dry season begins in the middle of March, and continues till the middle of June, when the wind blows very regularly from the south or south-west; the thermometer then rises in the shade, to 95° Fahr., and in the open air to 100°, or 110° F. The inhabitants suffer from a constant state of perspiration during this time; and the Europeans cannot sleep by night unless the punca, or fan, which is suspended over their beds, is kept in constant motion. During my three weeks' stay here, we had very regularly, in the morning before sunrise, 78° Fahr. in the shade, at noon 95½°, and in the evening, at sunset, 90°, Fahr. Various ex-[179]periments of sinking the thermometer in the earth, at different times of the day, gave a temperature of 77° and 78°, at the depth of eighteen inches.

The finest season of the year, and the most favourable to the European constitution, is from the 1st of November to the 15th of February, when the sky is always clear, and cool refreshing winds prevail. The mercury then falls to 45° in the morning.

and seldom rises above 75°. The sun-beams, however, are so powerful, that it is dangerous to be exposed to them at noon.

HOTELS

Though Calcutta has four large hotels, of which Spencer's hotel is the most distinguished, where a stranger is very well accommodated for 250 rupees per month, Mr. Maddock had very kindly invited me to take up my residence at his beautiful villa at Allipoor, where Warren Hastings matured his great plans. Mr. Maddock's charming seat was, however, not yet furnished; and I had, in consequence, the privilege of being received as an honorary member of the Bengal Club, where my friend had already prepared a lodging for me, and where foreign members have the privilege of a free residence.

The Bengal Club, which is in the very centre of the city of palaces, possesses the largest and handsomest buildings on the Esplanade, and overlooks the most splendid parts of the city, and the port of the Hooghly, with its numerous ships. It contains reading rooms, a library, and dining rooms, all of which are fitted up in the most convenient and elegant manner. From one of the windows of [180] my apartment I see our Mussulman servants assemble for prayer every morning and evening: they all kneel on a retired grass plat; and Mr Maddock's Hooockaburdar, a handsome man with a silver-grey beard, always takes the lead. Though the only business of this man is to bring the hookah to his master three or four times a day, he one morning, to our great astonishment, requested to have an assistant, and seemed rather surprised when his master paid no attention whatever to his request.

The Mahometans regulate the times of the day according to their religious duties. As soon as the sun sets, the night, whether it be long or short, is divided into twelve hours, and the time from sunrise to sunset likewise into twelve hours, whence it follows that, in the winter months, there is of course a great inequality. At the equinoxes alone their reckoning agrees with ours; yet the Mahometan's twelve o'clock is always one o'clock with us. Among the Hindoos, the day and night are divided equally into four parts. Their day begins at sunrise and ends at sunset: each of these times is divided into Ghurees of twenty-

four minutes each, consequently the times of the day are longer in summer than in winter, and *vice versa* : however, where the natives have become connected with the English, they have adopted their division of the day.

Immediately after my arrival, my friend introduced me to the principal families, which gave me an opportunity of seeing the splendid houses and costly furniture of the resident British. The fore-[181]court, or garden, is surrounded by a wall : the dining-room and drawing rooms are on the ground floor : the middle story surrounded by a veranda, supported by pillars, contains the sitting rooms of the family, and the upper stories the bed chambers. Bath rooms are universally introduced ; and all the apartments are supplied with a punca to cool the air at will.

DWARKANATH TAGORE

I had the pleasure of calling upon Dwarkanath Tagore, whom I had met in London at the Drawing Room, when this intelligent Hindoo, with remarkable gracefulness and dignity, for the first time paid his homage to his Queen. While I had been inspecting the Indian world, he, with acute penetration, had examined the manners of Europe, and he considered the time which he had spent there as the brightest period of his life. Though differences have arisen between him and his family on that account, he seriously thinks of returning to Europe, and of having his second son educated in England. Next to Ram Mohun Roy, Dwarkanath Tagore is one of the most distinguished men of his nation ; he, too, contends against their errors and corruptions ; but he wants the energy of mind and the moral courage of his illustrious and lamented countryman. Judging by his intelligence and sentiments, he appears to me to be more of a Christian than of a Hindoo, although he has not renounced his faith, and still observes some of its usages. His wife lives in strict seclusion, and his eldest son does not participate in the religious views of his father. It is exceedingly interesting [182] to observe this remarkable man in the course of conversation, when he passes his small, delicate hand over his beard, and his fine large eyes look intelligently around, and reveal the quick succession of thoughts that arise in his mind. Dwarkanath Tagore, who, by his ability and enterprising spirit, has become

one of the wealthiest merchants in India, is also one of the most hospitable men in that hospitable country : he had the goodness to invite me to a fete at his villa.

In the evening we took a ride along the Strand, where the fashionable world of Calcutta, both Europeans and Indians, go to enjoy the cool of the evening, as they do in London in Hyde Park. Here, however, the handsome equipages, and the ladies and gentlemen on horseback, are surrounded by a crowd of servants, which imparts a foreign air to this scene, which otherwise reminded us of our own country.

Those, however, who wish to enjoy the beauties of nature, repair to Garden Reach at Allipoor. Both sides of the road thither are enlivened by a succession of magnificent country houses, surrounded by lovely flower gardens and small parks ; the verdant carpet of which is diversified by groups of mangoes, tamarinds, figs, neems, and teak ; among which tower the lofty bamboos, whose delicate foliage flutters with the slightest breath of air. The notes of the Indian nightingale (the bulbul or *Hazar-dasitana*. *i.e.* the bird with a thousand songs) resound from amid the refreshing shade, and hundreds of luminous insects hover about like little lamps or *ignes fatui* ; the air is filled with the most [183] delicious perfumes, which are diffused all around by the evening breezes.

As I spent the forenoon in visiting the most remarkable buildings, I will, in the first place, give you some account of them. As a military man my attention was, of course, primarily engaged by Fort William. It is built in the form of an octagon, and is fortified according to Vauban's system ; three of the fronts, however, which are turned towards the Hooghly to command the river, deviate from the regular form. The five regular sides are inland : the bastions have all very salient orillons, behind which retire circular flanks ; the moat is dry, and has a *lunette* in the middle, but it can be laid under water by means of two sluices. In front of every courtine is a *ravelin*, the faces of which mount 26 pieces of heavy artillery at once. The demi-bastions which terminate the five regular fronts on each side are covered by a counter-guard, the faces of which are likewise defended by 26 guns.

This citadel was begun by Lord Clive after the battle of Plassey, and cost, on the whole, two millions sterling ; but it is

on so great a scale, that a garrison of 15,000 men is required for its defence. In the interior of the citadel are the bomb-proof barracks, the arsenal, and the magazines. The garrison consists of two European regiments, one of sepoy, and a few companies of artillery; because the principal station is at Barrackpore, 13 miles distant, where there are 7000 men. The arsenal contains arms for 80,000 men. Close to it some [184] works have been erected, by means of which the whole may be laid under water in a very short time. This has been done, because a few years ago a fire, which was supposed to have been caused at the instigation of the Rajah of Nepaul, burnt down one of the side buildings, and threatened the whole arsenal with destruction. An artesian well was begun; in boring which, the bones of dogs were discovered at the depth of 150 feet: this project, however, has been abandoned.

One of the most remarkable building in Calcutta is the Mint. It was commenced in the year 1824, on a plan proposed by Major Forbes, and was finished in six years. This Mint, which is undoubtedly the largest in the world, is erected on the Strand, 26½ feet below the surface of the ground, and 60 above it: it is built in the Doric style, and the centre portico is a copy of the temple of Minerva at Athens. The various machinery for coining and stamping the money are set in motion by six steam engines. Nearly 3000 workmen, chiefly natives, are employed in this establishment. Two lacs can be coined daily in seven hours; and since the year 1831, 200 millions of rupees have been issued from this Mint. As I have mentioned the source from which the current coin is spread over India, I will add an account of the revenue and expenditure of this vast empire.

The following are the results of a view by Colonel Sykes, of the Revenue and Expenditure of India at the four decennial periods: 1809-1810, 1819-1820, 1829-1830, 1839-1840:—
(Omitted)

PALACE OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL

[185] The palace of the Governor-General lies on the north side of the Esplanade, facing the city. It is three stories high, and has four wings, one at each corner of the building, surrounded by a colonnade of Ionic pillars, behind which are the

narrow verandas. On the north side is a fine flight of steps, under which carriages drive to the entrance. Though the proportions are certainly not correct, this palace is a fine and magnificent building. Captain Wyatt the architect, who erected it at the expense of 130,000*l.* sterling, has combined perfect convenience, with great taste and elegance, in the interior arrangements. The lower story contains the council chamber and other public rooms. In the centre of the first floor is a large marble hall surrounded by pillars, and three splendid apartments, which are used for state dinners; and, above them, in the third story, is the ball room. All the apartments are furnished with divans, large mirrors, and handsome chandeliers. The four wings which are connected with the main building by covered galleries contain the private apartments of the Governor-General and his attendants.

The column which was erected in honour of General Ochterlony is near this palace: it rises to the height of 163 feet: the basis is in the Egyptian style, and the upper part is in imitation of a pillar in Syria. A winding staircase leads to the top, which commands an extensive view over the city and the banks of the Hooghly, as far as Barrackpore and Fort Gloucester. The cathedral and the six [186] churches of Calcutta (three of which are Roman Catholic) are by no means remarkable as specimens of architecture, and the theatre is even still less distinguished.

After I had been present at several entertainments, and at a grand dinner given by the Deputy-Governor in honour of my friend Mr. Maddock, at the palace of the Governor-General, I was invited by Dwarkanath Tagore to visit him in his fine villa, and I accordingly repaired on the 26th of March to this interesting Indian, who has adopted many of the manners and customs of Europe.

The villa is situated about five miles from Calcutta, in a small park laid out in the English style, combined with the beauties of tropical scenery. This quiet solitary abode is surrounded by a lawn, the bright verdure of which is adorned with a mosaic of flower beds, enlivened and refreshed by a beautiful sheet of water, along the margin of which are groups of mangoes, tamarinds, and bananas; the whole is bounded by plantations of cocoa and fan palms. This seat is a favourite resort of young married couples, who are often invited by the hospitable owner

to spend the honeymoon here. The villa is two stories high, and is fitted up entirely in the European style, and it is ornamented with many works of sculpture and painting. Among the latter I greatly admired an extremely interesting portrait of a beautiful Indian lady reclining on a cushion. Dwarkanath pointed out the portrait of this accomplished beauty with a degree of pride, and he evidently appeared to have been very much attached [187] to her. The brothers and a nephew of our host joined us at dinner, at which there was no lack of the richest wines, and even roasted joints of the sacred animal. After dinner six bayaderes appeared with their musicians. Their dance as usual was not so much to be admired as their pretty delicate feet and hands, and their fine contour. At length, however, their movements became so offensive, that we requested that the dance might be concluded. The notions of morality and decorum entertained by the Indians, even when they have acquired that degree of refinement which our host undoubtedly possessed, are still so different from ours, that they are quite insensible to that impropriety which so much shocked us. Two of the bayaderes, who were very pretty, sat down by us after the dance was over : one of them, a girl of thirteen, the orphan daughter of Mahometan parents, told me that she had been compelled by necessity to adopt this mode of life.

As I was riding to the Strand before sunrise, on my way to Dwarkanath, I witnessed a Hindoo festival, and saw numbers of men, women, and children, in neat white garments, hastening to the Ganges. It was one of those days when they consider it as a particular merit to wash away their sins in the waters of the sacred stream. Girls, selling flowers, offered elegant garlands, wreaths, and nosegays, for sale to the passers by ; and numerous beggars and cripples had spread white handkerchiefs on the ground, and implored the pity of the charitable by begging and singing : almost every [188] body, even the poorest, threw them some money, corn, or rice. The scene of the greatest animation was about the river itself, where numbers were assembled in picturesque groups, and men, women, and children, plunged into the stream. The women, several of whom came in handsome carriages, or in palanquins, were attended by their female servants ; they went into the river in their delicate garments, closely veiled, strewed some flowers on the surface, and

then dipped into its healing waters : mothers poured the purifying element over their daughters and little children.

As soon as the ladies of distinction had completed this work of penance, they were closely surrounded by their female attendants, and very dexterously and modestly changed their wet garments for dry ones, and then to avoid observation, instantly stepped into their carriages and palanquins. Yet still an opportunity was afforded of casting a glance on the beautiful women of India : and our admiration is not only called forth by the higher classes whose noble and lovely forms, and lighter complexion, strike the eye, but also by the unveiled females, who, when in the flower of their age, in their fifteenth year, have very fine figures. In some places I saw several hundred men sporting in the water, to the sound of the drum, the cymbal, or the violin ; while on the bank, near the bathing places, were various comical groups of barbers, who were busily engaged in exercising their profession on the heads and beards of their customers.

This festival reminded me of another very [189] poetical one, which is celebrated chiefly by the Hindoo women and girls. On a certain day in the year, when the sun is near setting, the women, with little boats, carved of wood, come from a great distance to the Ganges. Thousands of females, dressed in white, are then seen launching their little boats, each of which is supplied with a small lamp. Anxiously does every one watch her little boat, with its flickering light dancing upon the buoyant waves ; for the completion of some cherished wish depends upon this light : if it remains visible as long as the eye can follow it, the secret wish confided to the stream will be fulfilled ; but if it be extinguished before she loses sight of it, her fond hope will be disappointed ; and though thousands of such little lamps are often tossed up and down the river, yet every woman maintains that she can distinguish her own. The many white figures moving about, backwards and forwards in the evening twilight, and the numerous lamps floating on the broad surface of the river, appear like the spirits and magic lights of fairy land.

A whole day was taken up in an excursion to Dum Dum, the Woolwich of India. Accompanied by Captain Mackintosh one of my acquaintances, I drove first to the cannon foundry, situated at the extreme north end close to the river, where I

breakfasted with Captain Wilson, the director. This cannon foundry is, in every respect, better contrived than that of Woolwich: it contains a boring-room, in which twelve brass guns may be bored at the same time; for the government procures [190] the iron guns from Europe. During the time I was there, six guns were cast; and the arrangements are such, that three times the number might have been manufactured.

We reached Dum Dum about noon; and here I was indebted to the kindness of Captain Buckle for several instructive and interesting hours. All the young officers arriving from Europe, as well as the recruits, are practically trained in this depot of artillery, and then sent to their regiments; so much haste is, however, often made, that the officer must have completed his course of study in one year, and the private in seven months. The officers' rooms are handsomely fitted up; and besides the dining or mess-room, comprise a billiard-room, a select library, a model room, and a collection of remarkable arms.

The Elephant Battery, which I had an opportunity of seeing in operation, appeared to me to be very original and unique in its kind. Two elephants harnessed behind each other, or sometimes only one in shafts, draw a nine-pounder with the greatest ease. The movements are executed with great rapidity and precision, which is not without difficulty, because the Mahouts are not the most judicious people in the world. It has also cost much trouble to make the harness, &c., sufficiently solid; for the incredible bodily strength with which the elephant throws himself into the harness requires that the materials should be both strong and elastic. It seems very doubtful whether this elephant battery can be employed in battle, [191] because the elephant is very timid, and is excessively afraid of fire; he is, however, a most serviceable draught animal, for bringing up heavy guns, especially in swampy soil.

My friend made arrangements for me to pass two days in the enjoyment of a country life in India, at the summer villa of the Governor-General at Barrackpore; and, at the same time, to combine, with this little excursion, a view of the schools at Hooghly, which Mr. Bayley, under whose immediate direction they are, had kindly promised to show me. Accompanied by that philanthropic young man, I accordingly drove one cool morning to Hooghly, which is twenty-six miles distant. One of the finest

roads I have seen, lined with avenues of beautiful mangoes, tamarinds, banyans, neem, and teak trees, varying in their foliage, colour, and form, led us through the paradisiacal valley, past many pretty country houses, some embosomed amid the umbrageous foliage, and others surrounded by little cocoa plantations. Beyond Barrackpoor we crossed the Hooghly, then passed Tranquebar, which belongs to the Danes, and soon afterwards Chandernagore, where the French nation was vividly brought before us; not only by the 100 sepoy in their French uniforms, but also by the countenances of many of the natives.

As I intend, in a subsequent letter, to give you a separate account of the schools, I shall now pass over what I saw and observed here. After stopping four hours at Hooghly I returned to Barrackpoor, where a room had already been pre-[192]pared for me in the house of the Governor-General, and a few hours afterwards Mr. Maddock arrived. This little villa, which is built in very good style and taste, lies close to the Hooghly, at the end of a large park. The lower story, appropriated to the servants, is surrounded by a vaulted colonnade; in the upper story are large handsome saloons for social entertainments, and the private apartments. At the four extreme corners are four bed-chambers and as many baths: on the north and south there are airy verandas. All the rooms are fitted up with perfect convenience and princely magnificence.

Three neat bungalows, at a short distance, are designed for the residence of the immediate attendants of the Governor-General. This villa is surrounded by a small flower-garden, which joins the park, with its verdant lawns and fine groups of trees. At the extremity is a menagerie, which might be one of the finest in the world; but the keeper very justly observed, "One Governor-General takes an interest in it, and another none whatever."

The view towards the Hooghly is really enchanting: the broad river with many country seats, gardens, pagodas, flights of steps, and palm groves, present an uninterrupted busy scene of boats and bathers; and in the evening the banks are illuminated by innumerable lamps. On beholding this glorious scenery, I again felt the often-cherished wish that I could send to my friends at home, as if by magic, a picture of this diversified view of land

and water, which quite overpowers the feelings : but, alas ! the power of the fairies is long since [193] broken ; and it is granted to only a few favoured mortals, like Prince Puckler, to follow nature into her most secret recesses, and to give to language that charm which Claude Lorraine gave to colours.

I passed two days, which can never be forgotten, with my valued friend, in the silence and solitude of the country, amid this wondrously beautiful scenery. The evenings were spent in the family circle of Mr. Grant, who resides in a beautiful villa on the Hooghly, and, notwithstanding his advanced age, enjoys the best health, and the possession of his intellectual faculties in full vigour.

We returned to Calcutta in a handsome gondoia, which a wealthy Parsee had sent for us. An excursion on the Hooghly, especially at sunrise, is most delightful : the landscape, when seen from the river, displays its greatest charms. Here we were greeted by the sight of beautiful country houses, peeping out beneath the shade of the most variously grouped trees or palm groves. Villages, with their pagodas, are erected on the banks, and fine flights of steps descend into the river and the whole is most enchantingly reflected in the deep waters. On the flight of steps there are generally six small pagodas standing near each other, three of which belong to one village, and three to another, which is indicated by their being painted of different colours. Beyond these temples of colonnade runs towards the river, under the shade of which the bathers are protected from the burning rays of the sun ; and here old and young are seen by hundreds [194] sporting in the sacred stream. But our poetical reverie is painfully disturbed by the disgusting sight of the dead bodies floating down the river ; a practice equally repulsive to the sight and to the smell.

BOTANIC GARDEN

As soon as we had passed the cannon foundry, the river became more animated by numerous men of war, merchantmen, and steamers ; and suddenly the forest of masts, with their sails, rigging, streamers, and flags, gave a totally different character to the prospect. The commerce of Calcutta is so considerable that of late years 550 large merchantmen have annually arrived in

the port.* We had to wind our way through this floating town in order to reach the esplanade, where our carriage was in waiting, and speedily conveyed us home.

One afternoon we made an excursion to the Botanic Garden, which is three miles distant. We drove along Garden Reach on the left bank of the Hooghly : both sides of the road are lined with the finest gardens and country houses, among which that of the chief judge, Sir Lawrence Peel, looks like a little fairy castle ; opposite to it is the Botanic Garden, which extends to a great distance along the right bank of the river. It is undoubtedly one of the richest and most beautiful gardens [195] in the world : besides a variety of European flowers and shrubs, all the trees and plants of India, nay, I may say, of all Asia, and southern Africa, are cultivated here. It was commenced about 50 or 60 years ago, by Lieutenant-Colonel Kyd, and after his departure, Dr. Roxburgh and Dr. Wallich continued to improve it with equal zeal and judgment. The object contemplated is not only to bring to the highest perfection all the fruits and vegetables of Europe and India, but also to raise tea and coffee, and medicinal plants, as well as the most useful kinds of trees, in order to supply the gardens of India and Europe. The number of species of culinary vegetables, fruits, and flowers, cultivated in the kitchen garden is 1200, or nearly a third of the whole number of species of plants raised in this garden : peculiar attention is paid to the cultivation of medicinal plants. Many hundred mahogany, teak, and sissar trees have been distributed among private individuals. Sixteen thousand plants were divided in one year, and 42,000 tea plants, raised from Chinese seed, were sent to Assam, Kamaon, and Simore. This incomparable garden, which concentrates the vegetation of half the globe, is not only a source of unceasing delight, but also of incalculable benefit to the inhabitants of Calcutta, who constantly resort thither as a retreat in hot weather : here they recruit after the fatigues of the day, and

* The navy of the Presidency consists of 8 war steamers, of 722 horse power, two of which, each of 220 horse power, are equipped ; there are besides 4 iron war steamers, each of 100 horse power : 4 iron steam tugs of 60 horse power, with as many iron passenger boats, and 18 pilot boats. In 1843, 571 merchantmen, whose total tonnage was 236,264 tons, entered the harbour of Calcutta.

acquire fresh strength and vigour to resume their various occupations with renewed activity.

[196] The mode of life in Calcutta is, like that of other cities of India, dependent on the climate, and only differs from it by its greater luxury and splendour. Calcutta vies in hospitality with all the other places I have visited ; and I have been privileged to experience so many proofs of this, that the remembrance of it will be cherished throughout my whole life. With the first dawn of day both high and low are on the wing—the upper class to enjoy an excursion, and the lower to enter upon their day's work : in the hot season, the early hours of the morning and the close of evening are the only times of the day when the European can venture into the open air. At nine o'clock, after bathing, the family join at breakfast ; after which they disperse for their several avocations till two o'clock. The ladies are engaged in domestic occupations, or in paying visits and making purchases, and the gentlemen are employed in their official residences. At this hour the whole party again assemble and partake of a hot tiffin, after which each returns to his business. Servants are every where employed to cool the air by means of the punca, or of a large fan ; but in order that their masters may not be molested by their presence, the strings by which the punca is set in motion are passed over pullies, and conducted into the corridors, where the men keep the puncas in constant motion. As soon as the sun is near setting every body seeks recreation on horseback, or in carriages along the beach, or in excursions to Garden Reach and Allipoor. The natives also go out at this hour in their palanquins, [197] and we frequently saw them reading the English newspapers. During our ride, we often met wretched persons who have been attacked by the cholera, and who would certainly have remained lying helpless on the road-side, had not some European taken pity upon them.

At eight o'clock the family meets at dinner, which does not give the hostess the smallest trouble, for the servants are so well trained, that it is only necessary to tell the butler and the kid-magar the number of guests that are expected, and a most capital dinner will be served. The ice is brought in large blocks from America, and is preserved in an ice-house. In the cooler season theatricals, concerts, and balls give a variety to the social enter-

tainments. The rule that no dinner-party should fall short of the number of the Graces, nor exceed that of the Muses, is certainly not adhered to in Calcutta : only on one occasion I joined so small a party at dinner, which was that of the Junior Club, in the Town-Hall.

On the arrival of the news of the victory gained by Sir Charles Napier over the Ameers, at Hydrabad, I concluded that a lengthened war would ensue, and at once resolved to repair to the scene of action. I accordingly begged leave of the government to proceed thither in the *Nemesis* or *Pluto*, which were destined for the Indus ; and was indebted to the kind intervention of Mr. Maddock for a favourable reply to my request. These two vessels had come into port a few weeks before from [198] the Chinese expedition, and were to put to sea on the 6th of April.

I shall ever look back upon my sojourn in India with feelings of sincere pleasure and gratitude ; for not only will the valuable and ample stores of acquired knowledge, furnish materials for agreeable and useful contemplation, to the latest term of my life, but the numerous proofs of kindness and friendship which I have enjoyed, will cast a bright halo over every reminiscence ; those hours especially which I passed in the society of Mr. Maddock will never be effaced from my memory. This eminent statesman presented to me, at parting, a beautiful and valuable sabre, kindly expressing the wish that I would wear it in remembrance of my Indian friends ; and this I shall ever do with feelings of the highest esteem and cordial attachment.

I took leave of him at midnight, on the 5th of April, and embarked on board the *Pluto*. This steamer is of 100 horse power, flat built, and draws scarcely four feet of water ; it was therefore resolved that we should go through Manar Straits, over Adam's Bridge. The captain was an experienced seaman ; and we had on board General Walker and his family, on his way to his new garrison at Madras, three other officers, and a surgeon. Our sailors were mostly Lascars, who had been collected from all parts of the world :—there were Mussulmans, Portuguese, Arabs, and Chinese, for the most part, lazy, careless people. The *Pluto* also [199] had charge of a million of rupees, which were to be delivered at Bombay.

We weighed anchor at seven o'clock in the morning, on the sixth of April, in foggy weather, and proceeded down the

Hooghly, amid the cheers of the crews. Towards nine o'clock we had a beautiful deep-blue sky, and the rays of the sun darted with increased power. We were carried forward so rapidly by the ebbing tide, the steam, and the sails, that we cast anchor at Kedgeree, at six o'clock : here we had to wait for the *Nemesis*, as we were to put to sea together, and the captain had appointed this as the place of rendezvous. That vessel, however, did not come in sight till nine o'clock the following morning, when we immediately set our engine to work, and, accompanied by the *Nemesis*, passed the first night. As we approached the sea, the wind became more violent, and the water more agitated, so that the *Nemesis*, whose engine had suffered some damage in China, could not keep up with us. On reaching the Pilot boat, at midnight, where we parted with our pilot, we could still see the lantern of our consort, but in the course of an hour we wholly lost sight of her.

On the eighth of April, the barometer fell considerably, and there was every indication of an approaching storm. The violence of the wind increased to such a degree, that our little vessel was continually covered with the waves, and tossed about in all directions. The motion was so irregular, that, for the first time in my life, I became [200] sea-sick—an evil which most of the sailors shared with me.

On Sunday the ninth, the weather became quite stormy—not a speck of blue was to be seen in the sky : we were enveloped in a grey veil, through which the sun, shorn of its beams, shed a melancholy gleam, and, from time to time, was completely obscured by dense black clouds. Though our engine was worked to the utmost of its power, we advanced scarcely two knots an hour : the waves had already torn off the planks of the paddle wheels ; and our stock of coals was so reduced, that even, under the most favourable auspices, we could not reach the nearest harbour, that of Coringa, which was 300 miles distant.

The captain having determined the position of his ship at noon, and having duly weighed the circumstances, found that it was impossible to gain that port, and he therefore considered it his duty to return to Calcutta—a resolution which he took very reluctantly, but which necessity compelled him to adopt. The wind was now in our favour, and we were able to spread our sails, and were carried along with such rapidity by the constantly

increasing storm, that we accomplished in the space of fourteen hours the distance which we had been three days in making ; for we descried the light of the Pilot boat at midnight, and came up with it at three o'clock in the morning ; but we had to cruize about the boat nearly three hours before we could take a pilot on board. We entered the Hooghly at one o'clock in the afternoon, and at six [201] anchored off Sultanpoor. The telegraph had already transmitted information of our return to Calcutta.

On the eleventh of April, at ten in the morning, we reached the Esplanade, and I hastened to look for my friend. Some anxiety had been felt about us, because there was a stormy wind at Calcutta and still greater fears were entertained for the *Nemesis*, which, according to the statement of the pilot, had steered towards the coast, because it was no longer able to keep out at sea.

Mr. Maddock immediately informed me that news had just been received of a second brilliant victory, obtained by Sir Charles Napier in Sind, in consequence of which, that brave General considered the affairs in that country as finally settled. This induced me to resolve to return to Europe, in the Hindostan steamer, which was to put to sea in a few days. If, however, on my arrival in Egypt, I find permission to make a longer stay in India, I shall return to Bombay, and from thence undertake my cherished plan of a journey to Cashmere and the Himalaya mountains.

Aden, 8th May.

I arrived safely at this desolate harbour two days since, and am now at a bungalow, at the extreme north-west end of the Peninsula, built on a high rocky point. The little, closely built town, lies at my feet, in a hollow, enclosed by bare, jagged masses of rock, surrounded by the barracks and bungalows of the troops stationed here. In the far distant [202] Arabia a few trees, which look like little specks, indicate that there is still some vegetation, and to the west and south I enjoy the sublime prospect of the boundless ocean.

HINDOO HOLYDAYS

I passed three happy days at Calcutta, in my friend's villa at Alipoor, revelling in the enjoyment of the luxuriant scenery. The

Hindoos celebrated three of their greatest holydays, the last of which, on the 13th of April, concluded with a fete, something resembling our Christmas fair in Germany. As we rode along the Esplanade in the evening, throngs of men, women, and children, were crowding round the sellers of sweatmeats, fans, paper lanterns, and children's toys of every description. All the people were dressed in clean white garments, and many of the women and girls, who walked about unveiled, or had carelessly flung their veils back, were distinguished by fine figures and handsome countenances, lighted up by the most brilliant eyes.

The last evening was spent, till midnight, in the company of friends, when I again took leave of Mr. Maddock, who is so justly endeared to my best affections, and proceeded, by bright moonlight, to the place of embarkation, at the end of Garden Reach.

In spite of all forebodings, the Hindostan was to weigh anchor on Good Friday, the 14th of April; but in consequence of the necessary repair of the machinery, the departure was deferred to the following day, and even then, the Hooghly, which has proved fatal to so many vessels, nearly defeated our plan; for our large steamer was torn from its anchor by the force of the current, on the very point of being [203] dashed against one of the banks, and then carried a mile down the river.

With the first voyage of the Hindostan, a new communication was opened between India and Europe, direct from Calcutta to Suez. What had been deemed by most persons, only twenty years before, as a mere visionary scheme, was now realised. The Oriental Steam Navigation Company, supported by the East India Company, undertook this great enterprise, with two steamboats, the Hindostan and Bentinck of 550 horse power. The Hindostan is commanded by Captain Moresby, who has gained an imperishable name in the navy by his admirable surveys of the Red Sea, and of the Maldivé Islands. It is 250 feet long and 42 broad, and draws nearly three fathoms of water, and cost 110,000*l.* in building. Though it is not exactly adapted to the hot climate, the cabins being rather too small, it is however extremely convenient, and furnished in a very handsome manner. In the large saloon, which alone cost 5000*l.* sterling, there is every accommodation, and a well-chosen library. There are even baths in the vessel.

The upper deck in its whole length affords ample space for the passengers to take exercise. The engine consists of two separate works, with two chimnies, and contains four boilers, and besides the usual life-boats, the roofs over the paddles form two large boats, in each of which thirty persons may be easily accommodated.

Our company, consisting of above 100 passengers, was extremely miscellaneous, civil and mili-[204]tary officers with their wives and children, captains of ships, merchants, and Indian adventurers. Most of my English comrades, among whom I will mention only Colonels Shelton and Wyld, and Captains Trower and Houghton, were going to recruit their strength in their native country, after the exertions of the war. The latter, one of the bravest officers in the army, had lost an arm, and was the only survivor of a regiment that had perished in the disaster at Cabool.

Among the passengers was a relation of the Begum Somroo, who is known all over India, and of whom I will say a few words. When the Maharattas threatened the empire of the Great Mogul, a Silesian, named Sommer, whom the most romantic adventures had brought to India, found means to rise to the dignity of one of the first chiefs, and was placed by Najaff Khan, the principal counsellor of Cassim Ali Khan, King of Delhi, as tributary governor in the province of Sirhind, in the centre of the Doab, eighty miles north-east of Delhi. Sommer had his own troops and twenty pieces of cannon, at the head of which were some Europeans, among whom were Levasso, an Italian, and Levois, a Belgian. Whenever this fortunate adventurer was not engaged in war, he sought recreation and amusement in the pleasures of the people, in dancing and music.

Soon after the death of his wife, some bayaderes requested the favour to be allowed to dance before him : among them was a Mussulman girl thirteen years of age, of singular grace and beauty, who [205] made such an impression upon Sommer, that he made her a proposal to remain with him. This bayadere, afterwards the Begum Somroo, declared herself ready to remain with him if he would take her for his wife, and promised that her attachment to him would induce her to embrace the Roman Catholic religion. The itinerant bayadere was artful enough to

perceive that Sommer was desperately in love with her ; and as she saw there was some hesitation on his part, she pretended that she was going away, upon which Sommer was induced to marry her. The Begum was in the bloom of youth, and succeeded so completely in centering the affections of her husband, that in his hours of solitude he was often overwhelmed with the idea that he might survive her. But the ambitious Begum soon grew tired of her fond husband, though she endeavoured to confirm him in his belief that her heart was animated with a similar affection. In one of these happy moments, the Begum conceived the idea of having two rings made, each filled with poison, and gave one of them to her husband, with the mutual promise, that, if they should ever be separated, and one should hear of the death of the other, the survivor should take the poison which was concealed in the ring.

Sommer was soon after seized with a severe illness, which confined him to his bed. While in this state he received intelligence of a rebellion in the province ; and as delay would be dangerous, the Begum, mounted on an elephant, put herself at the head of the troops, and at parting reminded her husband of their reciprocal promise.

[206] A few days after her departure a battle ensued, during which the Begum sent a confidential person to Sirhind with the news that she was killed. Sommer had scarcely received the melancholy intelligence, when he opened his ring, took the poison, and died, in 1770.* The rebellion was soon suppressed ; the troops did homage to the Begum, who obtained the Pergunnah from Najaff Khan, on condition of keeping three battalions under arms, for the security of the district.

Soon after the death of Sommer, the Begum married Levasso, the General of her troops. Having no children by her husband, this infatuated woman was seized with jealousy bordering on frenzy, which she carried to such a degree, that Levasso, having on one occasion manifested an interest for a young person among her attendants, she caused her to be walled up in a place under her own apartment, and inhumanly rejoiced in listening to her moans, lamentations, and mortal anguish.

* Other accounts, however, say that Sommer died a natural death.

Levasso possessed neither the prudence, talent, or knowledge of mankind, so eminent in his predecessor : vain and revengeful, he attempted to make use of his position to ruin General George Thomas, who was in the service of the Maharattas, and who had on several former occasions made him feel his superiority. The General enjoyed a great reputation as a commander : his enterprises had always been successful, and brought his men large [207] booties. Levasso unexpectedly advanced against him, and he instantly collected a body of men, inferior, indeed, in number, but far superior in military skill.

Levois counselled Levasso to come to terms with the General ; but Levasso, who had been long jealous of the devotion and attachment of the soldiers to Levois, considered this advice as treachery, and degraded his brave officer. The enraged troops hastily summoned Zaffer Yab Khan, a son of Sommer, by his first wife, from Delhi, and placed him on the throne of Sirhind.

Forsaken by her troops and dependents, and destitute of every means of succour, the Begum saw, when it was too late, the imprudence of her husband in marching against the General, and she at once resolved to get rid of a man who had no power to protect her, and of whom she had long since become weary. She therefore told him that she considered their case desperate, and that she expected from him that he would die with honour, rather than ignominiously fall into the hands of his enemies.

They accordingly fled from Sirhind, accompanied by their most faithful attendants : the Begum was in a palanquin, followed by her husband, who was mounted on horseback ; but they had proceeded only a few miles when they were overtaken by the soldiery of Zaffer Yab, and carried prisoners towards Sirhind. On the road thither, the Begum desired one of the attendants to give her a dagger ; she bared her breast, and punctured it, so that the [208] blood flowed, and then fainted away. Her husband, roused by the cry of distress which arose among her attendants, anxiously inquired the cause, and being told that the Begum had killed herself, he drew a pistol from his girdle and shot himself.

The Begum remained a prisoner at Sirhind, but she eventually succeeded in persuading General Thomas to take up her cause : he approached Sirhind, effected her restoration, and carried Zaffer Yab prisoner to Delhi.

From this period, the Begum governed with unlimited power, and with singular prudence and wisdom, till she attained her seventy-fourth year. She resided in a very large palace at Sirhind, which was fitted up partly in the Oriental, and partly in the European style. She was perfect mistress of the Persian and Hindostanee languages; and, during certain hours of every day, she seated herself behind a curtain, and transacted the affairs of the government with her officers. She never appeared unveiled, even at the public durbars. To Europeans, however, her conduct was the very reverse: she was extremely fond of giving them splendid entertainments, where none but female domestics were in attendance, and she then always appeared without a veil, and was dressed in the richest Oriental style, covered with gold and jewels. She was a very small figure, and rather stout, but light and active: the expression of her countenance was harsh and severe; but even in old age her beautiful black eye sparkled with all the brilliancy of youth. She appears to have had some com-[209] punctions of conscience in the latter part of her life, and endeavoured to find consolation from her father confessor: at her death, she left a part of her wealth to the Romish church.

The Begum frequently complained of her keen sense of loneliness and isolation, which she sought to alleviate by adopting the two children of a Gorawalla (groom). The boy was sent to England as a wealthy heir, under the name of Deysommer, where he afterwards married the daughter of a nobleman; and the girl was married to Major Regalini, who was in the service of the Begum. A son who was the offspring of this marriage, and had been invited by his childless uncle Deysommer to visit him in England, was our fellow-passenger on board the Hindostan.*

* He was a handsome, animated, and gentle youth of sixteen, and was exceedingly fond of exhibiting himself in the most splendid dress of the Orientals. When he arrived in London, at the residence of his uncle, he found that his unhappy relative had at that very moment been declared a lunatic, and was confined in some asylum. The poor, lonely youth was immediately sent back to Liverpool, where a ship was on the point of sailing for Calcutta: the unhappy lad was put on board of her, and at once taken back to India.

Although the Hooghly is navigable at all times of the year, even for the largest vessels, it is however considered to be one of the most dangerous rivers in the world, on account of its varying descent, its shifting bed, and its rapid currents. The vast mass of water soon spreads from one, to a couple of miles in breadth, and, half way between Calcutta and the sea, attains such a width, that [210] the palm-clad shores look like dark lines and the numerous ships and vessels which traverse and appear only like black spots. The banks and islands are covered with towns and villages, surrounded by palms, plantations of rice, sugar, mulberry, pine-apple, fine orchards and fields of vegetables.

We commenced our voyage on the 15th, at ten in the morning, but we were able to use only half our power, and came to anchor when we had made forty knots. On the 16th, we set out with the tide; but notwithstanding the utmost care, and every precaution on the part of the pilot, we were within an ace of being dashed against the bank, by the incredible force of the bore; and, had not the pilot, with the rapidity of lightning, seized the helm, we should certainly not have escaped this catastrophe. We cast anchor in the afternoon in Diamond harbour.

It would certainly have been better, if the Hindostan had taken her departure from this point, and the passengers' baggage and coals had been sent thither from Calcutta, in small steamers. On the 17th, we again weighed anchor, and proceeded on our voyage, with a small quantity of steam, but, after sailing only six hours, the pilot was obliged to cast anchor near Kedgerree. At last, on the 18th, when we had made scarcely an hundred knots in three days, we neared the bay of Bengal. Favoured by the finest weather, and a tolerably calm sea, we put our pilot on board the [211] Pilot boat, and full of hope, steered to our next goal—the harbour of Madras.

The passengers were all in the highest spirits—for we were hastening to our native land, where we each hoped to meet beloved friends and relations, and were already enjoying a foretaste of the happy hours which we should spend in converse on the past. We were a very sociable party: music and singing kept us together on deck till a late hour of the night; and in the daytime, the hours were whiled away in endeavouring to

descry distant vessels, or in watching the movements of the hapless flying fish.

The fine weather still befriended us on the 19th ; but the wind and the current were so much against us, that we could not make more than eight knots an hour. On the following day, the current was so very contrary, and at the same time turned towards the west, that instead of advancing 228 knots, we had made only 192 in the last twenty-four hours. . . .

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION IN CALCUTTA

Writing from on board the Hindostan steamer, May, 1843, to Alexander von Humboldt (volume II, letter XIII), Captain Orlich has traced the progress of education in Calcutta.

[253] . . . Though it is only within the last twenty years that the British government has begun to provide for the establishment of schools and popular instruction, yet much has been effected within this short period. Deeply impressed with the vast importance of the subject, the government has prosecuted the undertaking on a truly noble scale, and with an energy and zeal commensurate with its end. The Directors of the East India Company as far back as 1824, in a dispatch to India, said, "We wish that you may be entirely penetrated with our zeal, with which we desire the education and training of the natives of India to be promoted, and rest assured that we are ready to make considerable sacrifices for this object."

[254] There were two systems of instruction in India. In the presidency of Bengal, the English language was chiefly used in teaching, and in that of Bombay the language of the natives. The first system was much censured ; but when we consider that there are various dialects in India, that the languages of the country are by no means sufficient to teach the subjects of instruction in a lucid manner, and conformably with the present state of learning, and that the English literature is so rich in all that is good and useful, we might feel disposed to give the preference to the system adopted in Bengal ; but it has been modified, and the vernaculars are now attended to.

In the presidency of Bombay, the Elphinstone institution, founded in the year 1837, and so called in honour of the Governor, Mountstuart Elphinstone, is the principal establishment for

the instruction of the natives. It consists of two divisions, one for the English, and the other for the native language. The former is subdivided into the upper and lower school; in the first of these mathematics, natural philosophy, mechanics, chemistry, political economy, geography and history, are taught, and according to the report of 1842, there were 30 scholars in this division: the lower school was attended by 587 boys. There are besides, several schools belonging to this institution, in which instruction is given in the native language, and in which there are 719 boys.

The government has likewise established English [255] schools in the following places: at Poonah, where there were 81 boys, and where 61 young people had already been prepared for various offices in the country; in Tannah 58 boys, and in Surat 35 were under instruction. The English school at Panwell was dissolved on the report of the Board in 1842. Lastly, there is at Poonah a Sanscrit gymnasium, in which 85 students are educated gratis, and 68 pay the fees.

In connection with these superior institutions are the schools of the natives in the district, under the superintendence of the Board. They are such as aim chiefly at influencing the civilisation of the people, and therefore confine themselves to the simplest elements of instruction. To the first division belong those in the collectorates of Poonah, Ahmednuggur, Sholapoor, and Candeish

In the collectorate of Poonah are 19 schools, which are attended by 1257 boys; in that of Ahmednuggur there are 16 schools, with 1243 scholars; in Sholapoor, 4 Mahrattée and 6 Canarese schools, with 250 boys; and in Candeish there are two Mahrattée schools, with 80 boys. The state of the schools in these last two collectorates is reported as being much neglected.

The second division is formed of the collectorates of Surat, Ahmedabad, Kaira, and Tannah. The collectorate of Surat contains 13 schools, with 1142 scholars; Ahmedabad 6 schools, with 414 scholars; Kaira 7 schools, with 456 boys; and, in the northern Concan and the collectorate of Tannah, there are only Mahrattée schools, 10 in number, which are [256] attended by 661 children, between the ages of five and 15. The third division consists of the southern Concan and the southern Mahrattá country. In the collectorate of Ratnagherry, there are 9 schools, with 782 boys, the establishment of four new schools, has been granted.

The variety of dialects in the southern Mahratta country renders instruction very difficult there. Mysore is the seat of the Canarese language in its original purity : but in the district adjoining that territory the language becomes corrupt and almost unintelligible, by the mixture with Telinghee in the east, Mahrattee in the north, Malabar in the west, and Dravid in the south. Now, as in the collectorates of Darwar and Belgaum, Canarese is the language of the natives, and at present employed for the communication between the government and the people, (though Mahrattee was formerly made use of for this purpose, and is still used in some of the Jaghires,) the council of education at Bombay has decided that the Mahrattee language shall be entirely excluded in the Canarese schools : in the same manner as in the schools of the Deccan, instruction is imparted only in the Mahrattee, and in Guzerat in the Guzerat dialect. In the collectorate of Darwar there are two Mahrattee and five Canarese schools, which are attended by 531 boys. In Belgaum there are 18 Canarese schools, and one Mahrattee school in the little town of Khanpoor, in which there are 669 scholars.

According to this account the presidency of Bombay numbers 120 schools for natives, in which 7750 [257] boys are instructed. The Council of Education has caused a census to be taken, as far as possible, of the number of boys fit to attend school, from which it appears, that of 100 boys above five years of age, about 18 on an average enjoy public instruction.

In the presidency of Madras, the only institution for superior branches of education is the university, founded in 1841. It consists of a higher or academic, and a preparatory school : the academic department is intended to comprehend a medical and an engineer school. Children of natives of all castes are admitted into this institution, and receive instruction seven hours every day. The fee for the high school is four rupees, and for the preparatory school two rupees per month. According to the last report, the first was attended by 100 young people, and the latter by 38. The Board does not deem it advisable to give any admission gratis, because in that case poor children would, for the most part, make use of it, who, after attaining some knowledge, and before they had completely finished their education, would be compelled to leave the institution. The Board also complains that the results and practical importance of education are not better

understood and appreciated by the natives, even among the superior classes.

Since the year 1823 a general committee, consisting of 17 members, has been at the head of all establishments for education in the presidency of Bengal. The secretary of the government is, *ex officio*, a member of this committee. Two natives [258] are annually chosen from the Council of Administration of the Hindoo college, and the other members are elected from the higher classes of European functionaries at Calcutta. The secretary, alone, has a salary of 500 rupees a month. The general committee is a superintending and controlling board: every member has a right to make proposals, on which the majority decide. Sub-committees, consisting of three members, are formed from it, and have the care of the finances, the choice of books and instruments, and the appointment of teachers, subject to the approval of the general committee.

The general committee, in its report to Lord Auckland in the year 1835, states, that it is endeavouring to extend, to confirm, and to improve, the basis of the system, and that it contemplates, as soon as there are sufficient means, "to establish in every village of the country a school, where instruction shall be given in the native language." When a school has been found to answer in the principal stations, the committee will form a college, and take care that the professors and teachers shall reside in the vicinity of their respective spheres of action; for which purpose it is intended to build houses for their accommodation rent free. In every college there shall be a professor of mathematics, of natural philosophy, and of law: "but this branch of knowledge," remarks the committee, "has to encounter great difficulties from the number of conflicting systems of law, and their composition in so many different languages; we hope. [259] however, that the law commission will shortly furnish us with a succinct and sufficiently comprehensive work on Anglo-Indian law, in the English and native languages." This being accomplished, every thing would be done to form practical officers for the administration of justice and finance, so that every Zillah, and every civil tribunal, shall have the assistance of one or two.

With a view of promoting English writing and literature, an edition of a selection of the best English authors, both in poetry and prose, was set on foot. Besides this, every institution

contains a library, for which the Rajah Bejai Govind Singh alone gave 20,000 rupees, and private persons made considerable presents in books. In order, however, that the native languages might not be neglected, while the study of the English was being pursued, the council caused translations of the best English works to be made. The Governor-General also declared that the diffusion of European literature and learning among the natives was to be kept in view as the principal object, without, however, interfering with the instruction in the languages of India. It was, therefore, the special object of the committee to educate school masters and translators, and to give such a direction to the seminaries, that the young men might be employed in the departments of justice and finance. This desirable object was to be promoted by scholarships and prizes of books, medals, and money, which were to be bestowed upon the best scholars in every branch of learning.

[260] In the year 1835, we find the following seminaries already established : In Calcutta, an Anglo-Hindoo college, a Mahometan, and a Sanscrit college ; in Benares, an English seminary, and a Sanscrit college ; in Delhi, an English and an Oriental college, and schools at Maulmain, Hooghly, Moorsheadabad, Bhaugulpoor, Saugor, Allahabad, and Agra. In the same year the following were established : A medical college at Calcutta, and seminaries at Pooree, Gawahatee, Dacca, Patna, Ghazipoor, Meerut, Rajshahee, Jubbulpoor, Hooshungabad, Furruckabad, Bareilly, and Ajmeer. Each of these twenty-seven institutions were under the special superintendence of a committee of Europeans and natives, chosen from among the inhabitants of the district in which the school was situated.

In these schools were 3398 pupils, among whom were 1881 Hindoos, and 595 Mahometans, educated, maintained at an expense of 25,427*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* Of these 1818 learned English, 218 Arabic, 473 Sanscrit, 376 Persian, and 40 Mahrattée. If I observe that this small number of scholars, from a population of 73,000,000, is only one pupil out of 18,250 inhabitants, it must not be forgotten that three times the number of children are instructed in other establishments. Experience, however, had already shown at that time that the scholarships, and the grants of school-books free of expense, did not promote the intended object. The committee, therefore, proposed, that every

boy should provide himself with books, and the plan had so far a good effect, that, in the [261] same year, we find at Maulmain 106 scholars, among whom there were 48 Burmese, and 16 Chinese. At Meerut the seminary increased in eight months from 19 to 112 scholars; and at Dacca, where, at the opening of the school, so many children came, that it was necessary to hire another house for them, a native made a present of 1000 rupees*; and a collection made among the natives and Europeans amounted to 5000 rupees. In the Oriental college at Delhi there were in that year 197 scholars, of whom 61 boys, divided into nine classes, belonged to the Arabic division: 80 boys, in eleven classes, were instructed in Persian; and 56, in nine classes, in Sanscrit. The directors of this institution, in their report, mention a scholar who did great honour to the establishment, and who had thoroughly studied the chief works on the principles of Mahometan Jurisprudence; on Mahometan law; on natural philosophy; on ethics, logic, and on rhetoric.

“ART OF PRINTING”

[262] The result of education on the mind and sentiments in Bengal will be most, clearly shown by some extracts from the best essays of scholars produced on their examination in the presence of their teachers. In the Hindoo College at Calcutta, “The Art of Printing” was given as a subject, and the prize was adjudged to Kylas Chander Datt, a scholar of the first class, seventeen years of age. He expresses himself in the following terms:—

* The following fact, communicated by the Rev. J. Weitbrecht, gives a pleasing view of the interest manifested by another native in the education of youth:—

“I requested the Rajah of Burdwan for some assistance in building an English school in that town. To my surprise he presented me with two bank notes, amounting to 1500 rupees (150*l.* sterling). The same wealthy individual once attended an examination of our orphan and infant schools, and was agreeably surprised in hearing the little boys and girls sing and repeat portions of Bible history from the prints suspended round the school-room; for he, with many of his deluded countrymen, had the idea that females are unfit for, and incapable of, intellectual and moral improvement.”—*Translator's note.*

"To preserve from oblivion the religious ceremonies, laws, and renowned actions of sages and heroes, mankind, in the primitive ages of the world, had recourse to metre. The simple and crude laws of the early inhabitants of ancient Greece were set to music, and chanted in fairs and other public places, in times of festivity and merriment. But experience taught our barbarian ancestors that oral tradition could hardly be credited after the lapse of a few centuries. So many and so extravagant were the errors, that crept into unrecorded but genuine history, that a more lasting monument of their exploits was deemed requisite. Amongst the variety of objects with which men are surrounded, it is natural that those should be selected, which are, comparatively speaking, of an imperishable nature. The decrees of Solon, the laws of the twelve tables, contracts, wills, epitaphs, treaties, and conventions, were all engraved on stone, metal, or wood. Before the invention of the Divine Art of Printing, as it has been emphatically called, men were absorbed in the grossest super-[263]stition. Alfred and Charlemagne, by erecting schools and endowing monasteries, had shed only a temporary lustre over the intellectual horizon of Europe. The monks being the only instructors of youth, the communication of knowledge was very slow and imperfect. Incredible legends, unedifying homilies, and trite expositions of the Scripture, were the only learning at that dark period. The contracted ideas of the monks, their outward austerity, their religious opinions, and their depraved morals, rendered the communication of knowledge in their hands utterly unfit. Science degenerated into barbarous sophistry, and genius remained mute and inglorious in the fervour of theological controversy.

"Printing was invented in the middle of the fifteenth century, and in the course of a hundred years attained its noonday splendour. This wonderful invention was at first of a rude and simple nature, consisting of whole pages carved on blocks of wood or marble. The formation of movable type was a grand step towards its present improved state. The clergy, finding it inimical to their interests, became its inveterate foes. They attributed its origin to the prince of darkness; the thunders of the Vatican were directed against it; it was called the great dragon, the anti-christ foretold in sacred history. But still it flourished. It soared with unwearied wings far above the artillery of malignant monks.

Ere a century expired, Europe saw the embers of learning in a blaze, saw the expiring lamp relumed, witnessed [264] the decay of popery, of abject despotism, and a material change in the habits and opinions of mankind. In short, the invention of printing made a complete revolution in the human mind. Happy is it for mankind that it has withstood all the artifices and hostility of its selfish opponents. Had it been strangled at the very moment of its existence, and some dreadful fatality, some unaccountable intrigue checked its growth, in what a state would the world have been now!

"The world has been filled with such an infinite number of idle books, tending to increase the love of pleasure, of dissipation, and of vice, such trashy articles have gone abroad, amongst which can be numbered the present essay, that instead of instructing, they distract the attention of mankind; such heresies have been propagated, such private scandal has been published, that we cannot but lament that with so glorious an invention there should have been wedded such injurious consequences. But the advantages far outweigh the disadvantages. What though there has been an infinite number of worthless publications? What though there has been a partial perversion of morals and primitive piety, what though there have been wanton innovations to gratify the avarice, the vanity, or the misanthropy, of hungry, foolish, and wicked men! The extensive general beneficial effects on morality and religion will endear it to the latest posterity! The evils will pass away in the triumph of time, of civilisation over barbarism, of truth over falsehood. Three centuries only have elapsed [265] since the invention, and behold the mighty consequences. Is it possible that from a commencement so feeble, there has gone forth a progress so steady, an expansion so gigantic, a benefit so glorious? During the middle ages, the universities, the monasteries, and the libraries only of the great, contained books. But now behold the splendid saloons of the lords of hundreds of manors in England, and the hut of the poor cultivator of one acre of ground, and tell me whether or not you will find in both the works of Scott and Lardner. The invention of printing, then, may be deemed the most glorious in the annals of mankind. May angels continue to hover over its safety, and may that God in whose hands are the issues of all things, perpetuate to us the inestimable boon, which, through

the agency of some obscure men of Germany, he has bestowed, and continue to render it the happy instrument of exposing the enormities of kings, of the heinousness of private individuals, of the diffusion of knowledge, and the increase of civilisation!"

* * *

CALCUTTA MEDICAL COLLEGE

[268] In the year 1837, we find 98 institutions, in which there were 170 teachers and 5196 scholars. At that time the expense of one scholar in the Arabic school at Calcutta, per month, was 15 rupees, 9 annas, and 7 pice; in the Sanscrit College, 11 rupees 2 annas, and 1 pice; in the colleges at Delhi and Agra, between 8 and 9 rupees; but in the schools at Allahabad, only 1 rupee, 8 annas, per month.

In the following year, there were in the presidency of Bengal seven colleges and 33 schools, in which 100 professors and teachers, and 115 Pundits (teachers of Hindoo law) and Mou-lavies (teachers of Mahometan law) were engaged. They were attended by 5727 scholars, and cost £ 38,179 s 11. The subjects taught in the colleges were, mathematics, book-keeping, engineering, architecture, drawing, surveying, mechanics, ethics, natural philosophy, chemistry, jurisprudence, technology, history, geography, and poetry; in the preparatory schools, reading, writing, grammar, geography, and the first rules of arithmetic, were taught in the English and native languages. The desire of being instructed in English became so predominant in consequence of the situation which the best scholars obtained in the service of the state, and of private persons (thus in only one year forty scholars of the College of Delhi obtained situations), that Persian and Arabic were quite neglected. In the province of Assam, as ardent a thirst for knowledge was manifested as there was in Europe in those ages when learning revived. Yet out of 100 [269] children of an age to go to school in Moorshedabad, only 8 came; in Burdwan 16; in Behar five; in Tirhoot only 2; and in Arracan many of the inhabitants considered education as a mark of slavery.

In the year 1838, there were forty-four schools and colleges in the following places: in Bengal, at Calcutta, the Hindoo-

Sanscrit Medical College*, and the Madressa; at Hooghly, the College of Mahomet Mohsin, a branch school, and a school for young children; likewise schools in Seedapoor, Tribanny, Umerpoor, Jessore, Dacca, Comillah, Chittagong, Dinajpoor, Bancurah, and Bauleah; in Orissa, at Cuttack and Midnapoor; in Assam, at Gowahatty; in Arracan, at Akyab and Ramree; in Behar, at Patna; two schools at Bhaugulpoor, Arrah, Chaprah, and Maulmain; in the district of Allahabad, at Benares a college and a seminary; schools at Ghazipoor, Allahabad, Saugor, Jubulpoor, Hossingabad, Azimghur, and Gorrukpoor; in the north-western provinces, a college at Agra, a college and institution at Delhi, also schools at Bareilly, Meerut, Furruckabad, and Ajmeer. In these establishments there were 6550 scholars, viz. 4952 Hindoos 1400 Mussulmans, and 198 Christians. The expense was £ 38,178, of which only a little more than £ 24,000 sterling fell to the provinces of Bengal and Agra, which alone have a nett revenue of nine and a half millions sterling.

[270] It appears from the report of the committee to the Governor-General, that the boys were beginning to attend school at an earlier age, yet, notwithstanding every effort, the higher and middle classes manifested less interest in education; and it appeared extremely important to form a respectable class among the natives, acquainted with the English and native languages, who might have a favourable influence over their less educated fellow-countrymen. In drawing up a uniform plan of instruction, it was intended to take care that the master should teach well, and not too much, and that he should influence the minds of his scholars, as well as promote their intellectual advancement; and corporal punishments were prohibited, but rewards were to be given, as well for moral rectitude as for improvement in learning. During the last year of their stay in the colleges, the scholars were to be chiefly instructed in practical subjects which are of the most frequent occurrence in India. It was found difficult to retain many pupils of the higher classes, because they left the colleges as soon as they thought themselves capable of filling

* Dr. Goodeve and Mr. Frederick Mount have especially exerted themselves to promote and improve this institution, which is already placed on an equality with the better class of medical colleges in Europe.

some small situation under the government or in the service of private persons. To remedy this inconvenience, a trifling gratuity was given to the best scholars of the lower classes; and those scholars in the colleges who most distinguished themselves by their diligence received every year, after the examination, a gold medal, and those in the schools, a silver medal. The general committee was likewise careful for the erection of convenient school-houses, with airy apartments and shady play-[271]grounds; and to every superior institution a museum of natural history and a model room were to be attached.

In the years 1840 to 1842, there were seven colleges and 33 schools under the superintendence of the general committee, which cost £ 56,843. In the Medical College at Calcutta, the monthly expense for each scholar, in the years 1840 and 1843, was respectively* Rs. 58, As. 12 and Rs. 51; in the Hindoo College, Rs. 9, As. 2, and 6 pice; in the Sanscrit College, Rs. 11, 15 annas, and 7 pice; but in several of the lower schools, not quite 2 rupees. The total number of boys in all the schools was 7391; viz. 5435 Hindoos, 1507 Mussulmans, 240 Christians, and 209 of different sects, who were instructed by 87 head masters, among whom were two professors of the university of Cambridge, and 233 under masters.

In 1843, there were 10 colleges and 41 schools, which were attended by 8609 scholars. If we add to this number the 900 scholars of the General Assembly's institution at Calcutta, we have only one scholar for about 10,000 inhabitants; on which, however, it must be observed, that the female sex receive no education in India. If we adopt the estimate of Mr. Adams for some districts, as applicable to the whole presidency, we shall have for every 100 boys, above five years of age, 15½ who receive instruction in the schools.

[272] To this statistical view, I will add a few observations which occurred to me on my visit to several of these institutions. It has unfortunately hitherto been very apparent that most of the boys attend the colleges and schools only in the prospect of

* In the Report it was 73 rs. 10 an. 4 pice per head, but this was to the exclusion of the lower school; the students of which should have been brought in to diminish the average cost.

obtaining a situation, and that the majority belong to the lower classes ; for, with the exception of Calcutta, people of rank and fortune do not send their children to school.* Scholars who have raised themselves above the general mass by their intelligence and virtue stand alone, and abandoned in their own families and in society ; and they feel themselves unhappy and discontented if their hopes are not realised.

On the foundation of the Medical College at Calcutta, Dwarkanath instituted an annual prize of 2000 rupees, for three years, for the best scholar, and expressed himself, in a letter, as follows :—"My own experience has taught me that no motive is [273] more powerful with the natives than pecuniary rewards, and I am convinced that the difficulties will vanish in proportion as young men are encouraged in this manner." This frank and sincere acknowledgment clearly intimates the motive which induces many parents to send their children to school ; but, on the other hand, it is not to be denied, that occasionally a thirst for knowledge and a desire of improvement lead the youth to school. Thus, in the Hindoo College at Calcutta, I met with the only son of distinguished and wealthy parents, of Assam, who by his ardour for improvement, and his good moral conduct, was honourably distinguished among his collegiates. Two scholars in the Hindoo College at Hooghly, had likewise devoted all their energies to the study of astronomy, and, from their own scanty means, had themselves made the requisite instruments for obser-

* In the Protestant Missions in Bengal, before alluded to, Mr Weitbrecht says,—“We have just heard the gratifying news that a wealthy Brahmin, in the city of Benares, has lately given up his son into the hands of one of our missionaries, with these memorable words : “I feel convinced, sir, after reading your holy Shasters, that they contain the true religion. I have not the power to come up to the purity of its precepts, but here is my son ; take him as your child, feed him at your table, and bring him up a Christian”. At the same time he made over the sum of 10,000 rupees (£ 1000) into the hands of the missionary to defray the expense of his son's education. This event is a new era in the history of our North Indian missions ; the effect of it will be incalculable upon the minds of the Hindoos at Benares ; a greater blow has never been inflicted upon the stronghold of idolatry.”—*Translator's note.*

ving the stars: with small magnifying powers, indeed, but answering the purpose.

Boys of all ages, above seven, and of every religion and caste, from the highest Brahmin to the lowest Shoodra, are found in these schools. The scholars themselves make no distinction whatever on this account, though, in order to avoid giving offence, there is a regulation that if the parents or children of the higher caste should insist upon it, a child belonging to the lowest caste must be removed from the institution; but such a case never occurred. Only in children of the highest caste of the Brahmins a partial separation is made when they take their meals, which are brought to them by servants of their own caste. These boys then retire to a place appropriated to them, where they sit down apart from their fellow-scholars. In other respects, they live together in a familiar and friendly manner, both in and out of school. Almost all the scholars of the higher classes are married, but it is seldom that one of them lives with his wife, who as yet is betrothed to him. Most of them are too young, in fact, they are sometimes mere children, and they seldom form a household establishment till they have obtained a situation.

A very striking fact among the boys, especially the children of Hindoos, is their quick comprehension, their intellectual activity, and their love of European learning, especially metaphysics and the belles lettres. Of ten children of the higher classes, you will find nine who are fond of poetry, and have made themselves familiar with the best poets of England. With this passion for poetry, however, they find it difficult to make verses, though they are inexhaustible in ideas for poetical subjects. In the other branches of learning, particularly mathematics, history, and geography, I find as much knowledge among the scholars of the first class as among our first class at the Gymnasia.

It rejoiced my heart, and surprised me not a little, when to my question, "In what country is the education of the people the most advanced?" I was answered, "In Prussia;" with a tolerably correct statement of the method pursued. These youths comprehend, with far greater facility than [275] our young men, propositions and metaphysical theories: they are persevering and indefatigable, and grieve much when their attendance at school is interrupted or forbidden them.

When I visited Mohamed Mohsin's College, at Hooghly, the scholars of the higher class had presented a petition against the numerous holydays, but at the same time requested the removal of a teacher, whom they declared to be incompetent. This little conspiracy was of course strictly inquired into, and the instigators were to be removed from the College. In all the schools which I visited, the boys of all classes unhesitatingly expressed their satisfaction at remaining in the school till six o'clock in the afternoon.

Though it cannot be doubted that there are boys of remarkable talent among the scholars, it is equally true, that no men of distinguished eminence have arisen among them. They appear like tropical plants, which rapidly arrive at maturity: they attain their physical and intellectual perfection too prematurely to be vigorous and durable; they are tall and slender, but their nerves and muscles are weak, and they have no stamina. It is evident, that among them brilliant schoolboys seldom enter into life as eminent men; and it is to be feared, that the mind of the Bengalee will never acquire any very great depth, or be endowed with much activity. The few exceptions, among whom Ram-mohun Roy cannot be wholly excluded, are distinguished only as Hindoos, and would never have been considered great men in our own country. [276] This indolence and apathy which comes over them with manhood, and which must be mainly attributed to the climate, is the melancholy cause why so many of the young men, when they enter upon active life, become indolent, vain Baboos, whose whole efforts are directed to the acquisition of money; for a very small number only pursue their studies after leaving school. Some of them obtain situations under government, as deputy collectors with a salary of from 150 to 400 rupees per month; others become teachers, merchants, clerks in great commercial houses, or secretaries to private wealthy individuals, with monthly salaries from 200 to 600 rupees. In general, he who has obtained an office and dignity has not only to provide for his parents, but is also expected to maintain the whole family. This circumstance was very characteristically indicated by an exceedingly hopeful boy, in the Hindu College at Calcutta, who, on my asking him who his parents were and how they maintained themselves, replied, "My father sits at home, and does nothing; but I have a brother in office."

A very important question is, What influence has education produced on the religious sentiments of the Indians? It has hitherto appeared that the young people grow up as Deists, and, in some cases, have even converted their parents and relations to deism; yet, with very few exceptions, neither they nor their families have neglected the religious usages of their ancestors. Their adherence to them, and their great respect for them, seem [277] to be an innate custom, from which they cannot wean themselves, though they profess their disbelief in them, and prefer the Christian religion. The case is otherwise with the scholars of the General Assembly's Institution, which is founded on the principles of the Scotch church, and has for its object not only the propagation of learning, but also of Christianity*. Nine hundred boys are now [278] instructed in this institution, which was founded only in 1830, and is maintained by the benevolence [279] of the Scotch church, and of private persons. It consists of a school department, and of a college; [280] the first has

* Captain Von Orlich appears not to have seen, or to have received any authentic information respecting the numerous missionary schools in India, or he would certainly have noticed them, as well as the admirable Scotch School under the care of Dr. Duff. He would then, perhaps, have been inclined to entertain more favourable opinions of the progress of Christianity in India. However, to complete in some measure the interesting detail on education which he has given, we add a summary of the schools under the Church Missionary Society up to April, 1844.

CALCUTTA AND NORTH INDIA MISSION.

Commenced 1816.

Mission Establishment.

24 European missionaries.

1 Indo-British missionary.

1 European catechist and schoolmaster.

10 Indo-British catechists and schoolmasters.

117 Native catechists and teachers of all classes.

2 Indo-British schoolmistresses.

4 Native schoolmistresses.

seventeen classes; in the latter, the course of education occupies four years. I here heard from the lips of the scholars, how they estimated the Christian religion above all others in the world, and considered Hindooism as idolatry. At an examination, the following subject was proposed, "The Comparison of Christianity and Hindooism," which was answered by one of the pupils in the following manner:—

"The theology of the Hindoos recognises in [281] theory, as its supreme God, a being without attributes or moral feeling, who is neither our Creator, Preserver, nor Governor. In fact, this theology is supernatural absurdity. According to this, man

Summary of the Calcutta North India Mission

Stations	..	—	10
Communicants		—	644
Attendants on public worship	..	—	2180
Seminaries	.	—	8
Seminarists	.	—	204
Schools	..	—	45
Scholars			
Boys	.	—	2155
Girls		—	265
Youths and adults		—	373
Sexes not distinguished	..	—	45

2833

(Details of CMS Stations at Madras, Bombay, Ceylon etc. omitted.)

With respect to the probable effect of the preaching of the Gospel in India, the following remarks by the Rev. J. Weitbrecht will be found interesting and encouraging:—

"I do not calculate the result of the labours in Bengal so much by the number of those we have baptised, as by the moral impression which Christian truth has produced among the people. It is true, that of three or four thousand who have heard the preaching of the Gospel. Only a few comparatively have been converted to Christianity; but most of these young men have carried home with them a clear knowledge of the most important doctrines of Christianity, and have thereby obtained a decided conviction in their own minds that our religion contains sound and saving truth, and that the very groundwork of Hindooism is made up of lies and falsehood; that the one darkens and deteriorates, while the other improves and sanctifies the heart."—*Translator's note.*

must leave the world, go into the jungles, and become an inactive being, no better than a stone. If every one were to act in this manner, no children would be born, and the world would be destroyed. How can we compare it with Christianity? Christianity raises man to his proper dignity—to glory: purifies his moral nature, and, instead of obliterating the properties of man, sanctifies and purifies them; in a word, converts an immoral, weak, sinful world into a paradise, animated by enlightened, purified, and sanctified human beings, who live together in endless and undying love in joy and happiness. Popular Hindooism is the mother of ignorance, of superstition, of vice, impiety, and misery: it is the grossest idolatry. Neither this nor the former can be compared with Christianity.”

Dr. Duff, who conducts this institution with indefatigable zeal, and with rare devotedness and self-sacrifice, had the gratification, some years ago, of seeing two of his scholars of their own accord, and against the will of their parents and relations, publicly embrace the Christian religion. But as soon as the news was spread among the people, most of the parents kept their children from school. So great, however, was the desire for knowledge and instruction, that Dr. Duff had the pleasure of soon seeing the number of his scholars [282] complete again; and not only the sons of inferior castes and poor parents, but even those of Brahmins and rich persons, desire to hear the word of the Lord. A Hindoo scholar of the first class concluded his essay on the influence of sound general Knowledge upon Hindooism with the following words:—

“The resplendent Sun of Revelation hath darted forth to the eyes of benighted India. But, alas! alas! our countrymen are still asleep—still sleeping the sleep of death. Rise up, see the glory of the Sun of Righteousness; Beauty is around you; life blooms before you! why, why will ye sleep the sleep of death? And shall we who have drunk in that beauty—we who have seen that life—shall we not awake our poor countrymen? Come what may, ours will be the part, the happy part, of arousing from slumber, slumbering India.” (Here ends vol. II)

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CALCUTTA IN 1848*

By a London Missionary¹

[30] The approach to the Hughli, the most navigable branch of the Ganges, and that on which Calcutta stands, is through a number of extensive sand-banks, some of which stretch out far to sea, even beyond the sight of land. It requires, therefore, very great care in looking out for the proper channel between these banks, as ships of considerable burden may get on shore, long before they get in sight of land, and there is consequently very great danger in stormy, or in foggy weather. A considerable distance out to sea, near the entrance of the principal channel, several brigs are stationed, some at anchor, and others cruising about what are called the sand-heads. These belong to "The Pilot Service." There is a number of pilots on each of these, one of whom is here put on board each inward bound ship to conduct her to Calcutta, while those, who bring down the outward bound vessels, here resign their charge, and go on board and live on these brigs till they get a vessel to take up. These pilots are all Europeans, and form a regular branch of the government service. They have fixed salaries on rather a liberal scale, besides certain allowances from the ships which they pilot, according to their size. They are an organized body, having different grades of rank and emoluments, to which they must rise by seniority and good conduct, their superintendents having

* From the *"TRAVELS IN INDIA : Comprising Sketches of Madras, Calcutta, Benares, and the principal Places on the Ganges :—Also of the Church of England, Baptist, London Society, and other missionary stations, with Observations on the origin, customs, and worship of the Hindoos, and Narratives of incident and Adventure, &c.,"* By One of the Missionaries of the London Missionary Society, London (James Blackwood, Paternoster Row) MDCCCLII.

1. The author, in the preface, signs himself W.B. and the preface is dated, Aberdeen, March 11, 1848.

themselves risen through the various grades of service and all of them being held responsible by the government, in the same way as its naval and military services in general. Such a regular body of well trained and intelligent pilots, intimately acquainted, not merely with the river and its intricate and ever shifting channels, but with these extensive and changeable sands, even out at sea, becomes highly necessary, as the navigation is peculiarly dangerous, especially during the equinoctial gales, when many a noble ship has been lost among these sands.

However uninteresting to the lover of the picturesque these immense beds of sands, deposited by the mighty Ganges, the Brahmaputra, and other great rivers that here enter the sea, may appear, they are very interesting to the geologist, and even to the speculator on things in general. They show, in a very simple manner, how the whole of that fertile region of Bengal, now the habitation of upwards of thirty millions of people, and capable of sustaining, at least, thirty millions more, with equal ease, has gradually risen from the bed of the ocean, and become one of the most productive countries on the face of the earth.

Thousands on thousands of torrents, the channels of which are most of the year merely dry ravines, bring down masses of sand and gravel, during the rainy season, to the plains of upper Hindustan and the valleys of central India, from the vast chain of the Hymalaya, and other great mountain ranges. These masses of more solid matter are deposited annually, and become mixed with the vegetable soils, or are carried along by the rivers towards the sea, intermingling, as they go, with the vegetable matter carried down from the fertile plains, by the inundations which almost cover them during several months of the year, thus spreading over the Bengal provinces a fertile mould, and gradually covering over even the sands washed by the ocean with a rich alluvial soil.

This great process constantly goes on. Every year the sand banks are not only extending farther into the sea, but the great Gunga, and other rivers are bringing down from the vast and luxuriant [32] regions which they water, layer after layer, of rich vegetable soil, and spreading it over the extended beds of sand already formed, while others, still farther out, are in the course of formation

GUNGA SAUGUR

[34] . . . From the extreme lowness of the coast, the land near the mouth of the Hughli, is not seen till it is approached within a short distance. The indications of its being near, are the muddiness of the water, and the sight of a great many vessels, of various sizes and descriptions, from the greatest ships down to the small and curiously-rigged coasters of the native traders, and the still smaller boats of the fishermen. The land, when first seen, is so low as to appear level with the water; and the numerous clumps of bamboos, [35] cocoanuts, tar, and other palm trees, with which the coast is covered seem as if they were growing in the sea. As we advance, we find ourselves in a broad estuary, formed by the mainland to the westward, and on the east by Saugur Island. The point of Saugur Island toward the sea is regarded by the Hindoos as sacred, and is called, Gunga Saugur. The word Saugur, though here apparently applied to the Island, means the sea. Gunga Saugur is, therefore, the name given to the spot where the Gunga and the Saugur, or sea, unite.

There is here a temple sacred to Kapil Muni, one of the ancient Hindoo saints. It is a principle of the Hindoo religion, that the waters of the Gunga—everywhere holy, are holier still at any place where they join with any other water. On this principle, the junction of the Gunga and Jumna at Allahabad, and, in general the junctions of all rivers of any importance, with the holy stream, are regarded with much veneration; and bathing at them, especially on certain days in the year, is supposed to cleanse from sin, and to procure temporal and spiritual benefits. There are great gatherings, or bathing festivals, at most of those places, especially during the Hindoo month, which usually corresponds with our January. At this time, a great assembly takes place annually at Saugur, which has acquired no small notoriety from a practice that prevailed here, till put down by the British authorities, of offering children to the Gunga. The deluded Hindoo mothers were here in the practice of throwing into the sea, with their own hands, their infant children, in fulfilment, generally, of vows made to the goddess Gunga, either in seasons of distress, or for the sake of procuring some desirable object. These vows were often made before the children were born, but were not usually fulfilled till they were some years

of age. The mother, it is said, generally enticed the child for a considerable way into the water, under pretence of bathing, till she was able to push it beyond its depth, and then leave it to become the prey of the sharks and crocodiles, here very numerous, and by whom it was instantaneously devoured. Since the humane measures of the British Government for the suppression of this, as well as other inhuman [36] rites, the police are strictly ordered to take every means to prevent and to punish them ; and though it is possible they may yet be occasionally practised where the local authorities are not particularly vigilant, yet it is to be hoped that such cases are very rare. Since there have been laws against such rites, the people have been gradually forgetting them, or in general, have begun, at least, to think more correctly respecting them.

Considering that the pilgrims have to reach this rather out-of-the-way sacred place by boats, from the opposite shores of Urissa, and elsewhere, the assembly at the season of the festival is said to be great—exceeding, often, a hundred thousand people. The missionaries of London, and other societies are in the habit of attending, to preach to the people, and to distribute among them copies of the scriptures and tracts, and generally meet with a good deal of encouragement. At this, as well as other great meetings of the Hindoos, excellent opportunities are found for preaching the gospel to thousands of the heathen, who, from the paucity of the missionaries, could never otherwise hear it at all. Not a few instances of genuine conversion on such occasions have taken place, and we may naturally presume, that a great many more may have occurred that have not come to notice. But, even where conversion does not follow, there may be a great deal of good done in such places, and on such occasions, in preparing the minds of the people for the future reception of the gospel, by what they hear in explanation of Christian doctrines and moral principles, and in refutation of the grosser absurdities of polytheism and idolatry. The books, also, which all classes so very readily receive, and carry home with them, are, gradually, but surely, spreading the knowledge of the way of salvation, and of a purer system of morals, over many a secluded district of this densely-peopled country, where no missionary has ever yet actually penetrated, or is likely soon to reach.

SUNDERBANS

We are now, however, in the Gunga, or at least in one of the numerous branches by which it reaches the sea ; for this great river, on entering the province of Bengal, divides itself into many separate streams, and enters the sea, not as one, but as a multitude of rivers—an emblem, [37] according to Hinduism, of the deity, who is many, but yet essentially one. Most of Bengal is formed of more stripes of fine alluvial land between the different branches or outlets of this noble river, and is thus intersected by the numerous channels by which the Gunga flows into the sea, so that, in almost every place, it is possessed of abundance of water carriage, and plentifully supplied with great varieties of fish. The tide runs up all these branches of the river to a great distance. The Hughli, the branch on which Calcutta stands, is the most westerly ; while the largest, or main branch, is the most easterly, and, flowing by the city of Dhakka, unites with the main stream of the Brahmaputra before it enters the Bay of Bengal. The mouths of the Gunga, therefore, including the Brahmaputra—, or, as it is called below its confluence, the Megna—indent the whole coast for about two hundred miles. The lower parts of Bengal are usually called the Sunderbans ; a name derived from a tree of the name of Sunder, found in these parts, and the Sanscrit word, Bana—a forest. The whole district, as we have already noticed, consists of narrow stripes of land, formed by the deposits of the river, that run out towards the sea in points which terminate in sand banks, still in the course of formation, and probably destined, before long, to be covered in their turn, by mud and afterwards by a rank vegetation. The greater part of the Sunderbans is yet uncultivated, but very far from being untenanted.

Crocodiles, such as abound in the Nile, as well as the more common species of alligators, are here to be met with in great numbers, and also tigers and rhinoceroses, huge boa constrictors and other monsters, with various kinds of formidable wild animals, not usually found near the haunts of men. Myriads of water fowl of almost every kind, usually to be met with in such places, from the gigantic adjutant crane, down to the smallest species of waders, that prey on the more minute insect tribes, luxuriate in this hotbed of nature. Creeping and flying insect

make every spot seem instinct with life, both night and day, changing watches according to their natures, so as always to be present to torment.

The buzzing of the torturing mosquitoes keeps one awake through [38] the night only to feel and to count their bites, while the glimmering light of the fireflies would seem almost to show them where to find their victims. The howling of jackals and the snarling of parriar dogs, as they fight for their shares of the carrion that has floated ashore during the day, (perhaps the mortal remains of a human being, cast into the river by his friends), are occasionally interrupted by the angry growl of the royal Bengal tiger, of which this is the native land and acknowledged domain.

Almost every sort of life seems to thrive save that of man, whose proper development and healthy existence seem to require a drier and less impregnated atmosphere, than these low dense jungles, and steaming damp mud banks, can yet afford. But man, the highest order of being on earth, will soon have his turn. This territory is rapidly being prepared for his reception and sustenance, and will soon be claimed by him, and covered with luxuriant fields and a teeming population.

Though already a good deal of progress has been made, the general unhealthiness of most parts of this moist region has greatly retarded its cultivation, and the native settlers are reported to have suffered much, not merely from occasional inundations, but also from wild beasts, by whose inroads they often lose their cattle, and sometimes even their own lives. The Bengal tiger, the most formidable beast of prey in the world, is a native of the Sunderbans, and though now almost extirpated from most other parts of India, by the eminent skill and persevering zeal of English sportsmen, who are passionately fond of tiger hunting, he seems likely here to keep his ground for some time to come. There is much of the jungle, as yet, quite inaccessible, and prey for these ferocious animals is still in such places so plentiful, that they can easily live and breed far beyond all human reach. But as cultivation advances, the haunts of the tigers will become hemmed in on all sides, and their destruction certain. As the whole country, with little exception, is admirably adapted for the culture of rice, sugar cane, &c. it is sure to be everywhere peopled, in spite of all obstacles, at no distant period, especially

as its produce is not far from an open market and has [39] every natural advantage of carriage, both by sea, and inland navigation.

In coming off a long voyage and entering a large river like the Hughli, one is very much disposed to be pleased with every thing he sees, if it is only green. Land of any kind is a pleasing change to the eye, that perhaps has rested on nothing, for months, but the wide expanse of waters. An air of cheerfulness is, therefore, spread over the countenances of all, whether landmen or seamen, as they look round on the shores on either side. Even the hard, weather beaten features of the old boatswain exhibit a sort of grinning smile as he whistles with unusual animation and shouts—"All hands up anchor," for the last time on the voyage. We are now at Diamond harbour, and expect to reach Calcutta with the tide, which is just turning in our favour, and the help of a steamer which is taking us in tow. Here those who have been in India before, or who have friends expecting them, receive letters brought off by the Post office boat, from Kedgerree. Friends, glad to welcome friends in this strange land, send off letters of congratulation, addressed to the ship by which they are expected, or notes of invitation to partake of their hospitality. There are many, however, and they are often the young, who most need assistance and advice, who have no one to care for them, now what they are about to enter on a new world, and, perhaps for the first time, on the real responsibilities of life. Some are pensive and others are gay and thoughtless, and they are variously affected by the scene around them, according to previous associations, and their states of mind. As they pace the deck and look around they give expression to emotions, some of one kind, some of another. A young Scotch officer, from Argyleshire—"Land of brown heath and shaggy wood—Land of the mountain and the flood," looking pensively round, murmurs, "what a miserably dull place, the monotony of this is enough to make one hang himself;" while a young lady, not quite out of her teens and fresh from a boarding school, is quite delighted with the scene, and exclaims, "How beautiful—how pretty those bamboos and cocoa nut trees—how lovely those light green trees covered with yellow [40] flowers, and see there is a large flock of fine sheep, they seem much bigger than English sheep." "Where?" says an old Indian,—*"see there, on the bank."* "Why, Miss Griffin, those are cows, not sheep." A herd of Bengali cows

is very often indeed taken, by new comers, for a flock of sheep. This is not much to be wondered at, when they are at some distance, as they are not much larger than the small Shetland species, and are generally of a whitish colour. Old Dr. Carey of Serampur, it is said, was once walking with a friend fresh from England, who, seeing a cow at a little distance, asked what animal it was. The doctor quietly remarked,—“It is what they call a cow in this country.”

The natives—mostly fishermen, who first come round a ship on entering the Hugli, differ considerably from the same classes at Madras. In point of physical appearance they are in general much superior to the Madras boatmen, being both taller and better formed, and having more regular features. Their complexion is also fairer, though very much darker than that of the majority of the other natives of Bengal. They are, perhaps, however, not in reality more hardy and laborious than the same classes about Madras ; but they are of larger mould, more smooth in the skin, and from outward appearance, would seem to be better fed and to work less, which I suspect is really the case, though the mode of life of such men, here, as elsewhere in India, is very simple and economical. In power of lungs, for never ceasing noise and clamour, they may be regarded as a fair match for those of Madras. In this respect it would, however, be impossible for the one party to excel the other, as both have reached perfection. The constant shout of “Chup raho ! chup raho !—Be silent ! be silent !” is enough to produce deafness in any ordinary set of ears ; to say nothing of the stunning clamour of never tiring voices by which it is called forth. It is, however, as unavailing as if it were addressed to a south-wester off the Cape of Good Hope. Even blows administered, sometimes with no sparing hand, to their backs, make no impression whatever on their tongues. It seems to be normally impossible for them to be even one moment quiet, unless [41] when they are asleep. Whether engaged in cooking or eating their food, resting on their oars, or rowing their boats, they continue, with never-tiring energy, scolding, shouting, singing, laughing, wrangling, in every possible way, with every possible kind of gesticulation, but their powers of lungs seem never to fail them. As to honesty, they do not, in general, seem to make any pretensions whatever, and exhibit no symptoms of shame when detected pilfering. One of

them showed me a specimen of quiet coolness, in stealing an article from me before my eyes. I had been bathing, and had laid down my towel to dry in the window of my cabin, and was sitting near it inside, looking out ; when one of these men, having climbed up the side of the ship from his boat, popped his head in at the window, and looking me in the face with the greatest composure of countenance, took hold of the towel close to me, and at once decamped. He was quite aware, that before I could get at him, I must run on deck, and by that time he could easily be out of reach, and undistinguishable among the others who were in the boats ; but still, that power of face, which enabled him to look me full in the countenance when he was gasping my property, within a yard or two of me, and then to retreat so coolly, must have been acquired by no little practice.

SCENERY

From the entrance of the river Hughli, to the city of Calcutta, the distance may be about seventy miles. The scenery greatly improves, as we ascend, though it is everywhere flat, and consequently destitute of variety. It is quite of a tropical character, and though it changes a little here and there, the general aspect has so much of sameness, that it soon loses its interest, though any part of it is beautiful, if it were seen but once, and were not so very like every other part. The river itself, however, is very interesting, both as a natural object, and from the busy scenes of commerce, and active industry, which it presents. Many of the finest ships are under sail, both outward and inward bound, carrying flags of almost every civilized commercial nation. European, or Asiatic, as well as some bearing the stars of liberty, and the stripes of slavery—the unintentionally appropriate emblem of the North [42] American United States ; in addition to all of which, hundreds on hundreds of native vessels, both for the coasting and river trade, show the extent and importance of the commerce carried on by the metropolis of British India. Flags never seen in the ports of Europe or America, such as those borne by the Arabs of the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulph, the Chinese, Burmese, and Maldivé Islanders, as well as by many other nations of the east, almost unheard of in England, here wave in full security, under the protection of the British

Union Jack. But what protects it and all this great commerce amidst these millions of heathens?—The prestige of a name! The whole province of Bengal proper, with its thirty-six millions of inhabitants, has not, apart from its ordinary police, five armed vessels, not ten thousand armed men, and yet this vast native population, and all the nations allured to it by its valuable commerce, are ruled by a civil government, consisting of a few individuals from England, Scotland, and Ireland, scarcely ever having the least occasion for the interposition of coercive, or military power. But a truce to speculation. We are now within a few miles of Calcutta, the metropolis of that wonderful and extensive empire, which, in the overruling wisdom of Providence, Britain has been enabled to raise during the last hundred years, and which she is too apt to look on merely as a splendid monument of the persevering genius of her statesmen, and the indomitable valour of her armies. On approaching near to Calcutta, the banks of the river, on both sides, become increasingly interesting, from the great number of handsome houses and gardens, belonging to the higher classes, both of Europeans and natives. The commencement of Calcutta may be said to be Garden Reach, taking its name, I suppose, from the botanical gardens situated on the opposite bank. Here there are many very fine residences, having generally beautiful gardens attached, some of them of large extent. These houses, or, as some of them may be called, palaces, have generally fine lawns in front, reaching down to the river, so that their owners or occupants, may keep boats of their own, which many of them do, either for business or pleasure. On the other side of the river, here about [43] the width of the Thames, a little above Gravesend, are the Botanical gardens, of considerable extent, and the Bishop's college, founded by Middleton, the first bishop of Calcutta, and intended for the education of Anglo-Indian clergy. It has always been of rather high church character, and, if judged by the men it has sent out, of rather a low intellectual one. The lower in this respect, however, the better for the cause of truth, as the system of religion taught in it, is usually understood now to be what has been not inaptly designated—"Popery, with its face half washed."

Many very handsome edifices are to be seen along the banks of the river; so that in defiance of the general flatness of the whole panorama, it has a striking appearance. The most de-

fective point in the whole scene, however, cannot easily be kept out of mind by a person accustomed to countries of a more varied aspect. All that is seen is a mere margin. There are no vistas of any kind, giving a peep here and there into the country, and for the want of this, the stranger can be consoled by the assurance, from those who know it, that there is nothing in the country worth peeping at, or, at least, of which he may not see a fac-simile any where else in Bengal. There are no elevations, except those made by man. You may look at, and count the houses, the gardens, and the trees, standing on the banks of the river, and admire them as much as you please; but here is no landscape. It is a place admirably adapted for near sighted people. To one who has never been accustomed to look at any thing farther off than half a mile, and who can see but dimly even at that distance, there are few places that can present a more interesting scene than Calcutta, about Garden Reach. But if one has good eyes, and has been accustomed to ascend hills, and look on the widely extended and varied objects of nature on a large scale, and therefore feels a strong desire to see farther than that row of fine gardens, with large and elegant houses in the middle of them, he must restrain curiosity, and leave his imagination to fill up the void. As long as he is in lessened ignorance of the country beyond these splendid abodes of Anglo-Indian luxury, he may think of a large extent of park-like grounds [44] beautiful green lawns, palaces, &c.; but the real fact is, that they merely occupy the immediate bank of the river, while the whole country behind them is a dull extent of sterile districts of rice fields, swamps, and useful, though uninteresting flats.

On passing Garden Reach, the city of Calcutta comes fully in view, with a noble forest of tall masts, covering the whole river from bank to bank, for several miles. The stream is here something like that of the Thames about Woolwich. The city of Calcutta stands on the eastern bank, while on the western, stands the large suburb of Hawrah. There are as yet, however, no bridges across, nor even a steam ferry, though one like that of Portsmouth harbour has long been spoken of. It is the habit of the people of Calcutta, to speak of any plan of improvement for a great many years, and then to wait for many more, till the government, or some wealthy patriot, carries it into effect.

CITY OF PALACES

Between Garden Reach and Calcutta, and on the same side of the river, there is another considerable suburb, called Kidderpur, where there are dockyards, &c., and a considerable population. It may be called the Blackwall of Calcutta, having much the same relative position, and answering much the same purposes, as Blackwall to London. Here, as well as at Hawrah, a great deal of shipbuilding is carried on, and a considerable number of the largest vessels, visiting the port, are usually anchored; while most of the smaller ships, as well as the coasters and the innumerable river craft, be farthest up the stream, and more abreast of the city. On passing Kidderpur, we come to Fort William, and here we obtain the best view of what has been called—"the city of palaces;" and from this point especially, the city of Calcutta appears, indeed, a noble city. The public esplanade and open plain, of several miles' extent around the Fort, have a fine effect; and the public buildings and princely residences, by which the whole panorama is filled up, have a noble appearance, and altogether produce a high idea of the wealth and importance of the present metropolis of British India.

Fort William is on the bank of the river, so as to completely command it by its batteries, and thus protect the city from any at-[45]tempt that might be made against it, by any naval force. It was built at a time when our tenure of India was much less secure than it now is; and was most probably designed to be the last resort of our armies, if unable to keep the field against any overwhelming force. I believe it is regarded by military men, as a formidable place of defence; but I have heard that authorities of the same kind have considered it as too large, and that a garrison, fully adequate to its proper defence, might under able management easily keep the field. Be this as it may, a shot in anger has never been fired against it, nor from it, and the only use of its batteries is to fire salutes when the governor general, or any other great man happens to set out on, or return from a journey. It is generally garrisoned by an European regiment of infantry, and several companies of artillery, who, both on their own account, and that of the dingy denizens of Calcutta, would be better any where else. To be cooped up in this hot climate, within so many scorching brick walls, instead of being in open

cantonments, like the rest of the army, must be the very reverse of comfortable; nor is their conduct always such as to merit the very high regard of the inhabitants of the city. There are also, in general, several native infantry regiments here, whose health is naturally more adapted to the place though even they, being natives of Hindustan and not of Bengal, suffer a good deal from the climate, especially during the hot and rainy seasons.

Between the fort and the principal ghat, or landing-place, there are no buildings. The latter consists of a fine flight of steps, and is called "Chandpal ghat," from having been first erected by a native of that name. A fine, broad carriage-way, shaded, in some places, by rows of trees, runs, for a considerable distance, along the bank of the river. This is called "the Strand," and is the principal place of resort for all the Magnates of Calcutta to take their morning or evening airings, either in carriages or on horseback. For this purpose it is exceedingly well adapted, as it has a fine view, on one side, across the large, open plain, of the best portion of the city, and, on the other, an interesting prospect of the river and its opposite banks, [46] and the whole of the shipping at anchor in the stream, and the numberless small vessels of every kind in motion on its surface. The whole plain beyond this is intersected both by carriage-roads and foot-paths, and, especially in the morning and evenings, is covered with all sorts of conveyances, and almost every description of equestrian and pedestrian seekers of exercise and fresh air, the latter of which is often not easily obtained. As soon as the sun sets, the cool of the evening begins, or is hoped soon to begin—though it sometimes does not begin at all—it would seem as if the entire population, from the lowest shopkeeper up to the Governor-General, (should he happen to be in Calcutta, which he seldom is now,) made a simultaneous rush into the open air. Every sort of conveyance is there, from the splendid carriages of the great, down to the creaking karanchies, or native cabs, of the Bengalee shopkeepers, with bamboo or rope springs, and every kind of horse, from the splendid Arab and stately Turki, down to the lowest class of native ponies, whose knees incessantly knock against each other, and whose four limping feet seem all going in contrary directions. Scores of saises, or grooms, are running along, at full speed, by their masters' carriages, shouting with all their might, "Hat jao! hat jao!"—get aside! get aside!

and giving other similar warnings to all who are in, or not in, their way. The occupants of the carriages, as well as those in palanquins, on horseback, or on foot, are of almost every nation under the sun—English, Scotch, and Irish; Dutch, Germans, French, Americans, Portuguese, with every shade of admixture between these and the natives; Armenians, Greeks, Arabs, Persians, Jews, Afgans, Chinese, Malays; with Hindostanees and Bengalees—the proper natives of the country, of all the different castes and sects, both Hindoo and Mussulman, swell this heterogeneous assemblage. Their costumes are as various as their colours, features, and languages. Every conceivable form of dress would seem to be here, or, at least, almost every form yet invented or made by tailor, milliner, or amateur artist, since Adam's first suit was made; and, perhaps, even the exact pattern of that, is here to be seen. Notwithstanding all this diversity, there seems to be a wonderful degree of familiarity [47] between the parties, so evidently remote from each other in origin, language, castes, and habits. There, in the same carriage, rides an European gentleman, dressed in the last Parisian fashion, with a fat, sleek Bengalee Baboo, who has neither hat, turban, coat, vest, trousers, shirt, nor clothing of any kind, save a piece of common cotton cloth, of some yards in length, passed round his loins, and reaching half-way down his thighs; but yet that nearly naked man seems perfectly at his ease in that fine carriage, and familiarly and politely salutes the most respectable of those whom he passes, and appears to converse freely with his highly-dressed European companion.—What is he? and what is the connexion between two men, in external appearance, so very different from each other?—That man, whose garment now worn, is not worth three shillings, is, notwithstanding the meanness of his appearance, a great native capitalist, and is extensively engaged in trade. Those horses, and that handsome English-built carriage, are his; and the well-dressed European gentleman is the managing partner of a large commercial house, the whole capital of which actually belongs to that Bengalee with the one piece of cheap cloth for his whole dress. But, do you ask, Is he a miser that he does not wear better and more decent clothing?—No; he is not. If he were that, he would not have that carriage, these fine horses, and these grooms. If you go to his house, you will find it is a large and handsome building, in the Anglo-Indian style, well

furnished, and swarming with servants, and even the abode of princely hospitality. This scanty dress and shabby appearance are quite voluntary, as may easily be guessed from his sleek, well-fed, rotundity of person. Habit, with him, is everything, and he has not been accustomed to wear many clothes, and, in this hot climate, is more at his ease and comfortable without them. At home, he may have plenty of fine clothes, and a great deal of very costly jewellery, but he uses these only on great family occasions and public festivals, when sometimes he will dress like a prince ; or they may be kept merely for the pride of having them and showing them sometimes to friends or guests, though he scarcely ever puts them on. This is a singular peculiarity of many of the [48] greatest, and most wealthy men in India. Though they may dress very highly on some great occasions, and, especially, appear almost covered over with jewellery, they will often be content to appear in public in the same dress as that of a common labourer, whose whole income is less than a six-pence a-day. I have, on several occasions, been received by native Rajas, who, though they had more than a hundred servants in attendance, most of them well dressed, had not themselves on so much as ten shillings worth of clothing. Generally, however, while their clothes are of the lowest value, they will have on some diamond rings, or gold necklace, or other ornament, richly set with precious stones, sometimes worth many thousands of rupees.

Fronting the plain, stand the Government House, the Supreme Court, and most of the principal public offices. The first of these is a palace of considerable extent, and a great ornament to the city, though its architecture has not escaped criticism. It was built by the Marquis of Wellesley, when Governor-General, who got small thanks from his masters in Leadenhall Street, who grumbled much at its expense, as interfering with the amount of their dividends. It is the court, in place of fashionable resort, for the people of Calcutta and visitors from all parts, none being considered as quite in society, who have not been introduced at Government House, or invited to parties often held there. An introduction here is not, however, remarkably difficult to obtain ; and the Calcutta aristocracy has a basis perhaps sufficiently broad, if an exclusive privilege is to be retained at all. When the Governor-General is here, he holds levees, at

which he receives both Europeans and natives of rank, and in his absence they are held by the Governor of Bengal, or the President of the Council. Though the natives are not excluded from the levee held principally for Europeans, there is another held, more especially for them, in the oriental fashion, called the Durbar. The Governor-General is now rarely in Calcutta, or in any part of Bengal, as the more difficult civil, military, and political interests of the very extensive north-western provinces, require more of the presence and attention of the supreme head of the empire. He, [49] therefore, very often spends the hot season at Simla, on the lower range of the Hamalaya mountains, and most of the cooler months in visiting the most important places, especially near the north-western frontier. The supreme civil power in India has, therefore, become somewhat like that of the Bishop—of an itinerant character, and is probably, on this account, more efficient than if always fixed in one place. It, at all events, enables the Governor-General, in some measure, to see personally what the country is, and better to learn its wants, than he could do, were he to sit stationary in his palace in Calcutta. The Governor of Bengal, whose authority extends only over the lower provinces, or the President in Council, conducts the local government during the absence of the Governor-General, and resides either at the Government House, in Calcutta, or in the country one, at Barrakpur, which bears to the former much the same relation as Windsor Castle does to Buckingham Palace.

CHAURANGI

At some distance on the plain, in front of the Government House, there is a high monument to the memory of Sir David Ochterlony, in the style of the monument of London. From the top of this, one of the best views of Calcutta is obtained, and also from the Fort, from which is seen to great advantage, what is called "Chaurangi Road," on the other side of the plain, along which the residences of many of the principal Europeans are situated. These houses are, most of them, fine spacious and airy buildings, and have a very pleasant prospect of the open plain, with the shipping and the Fort in the back ground. In this district of the city, which consists of many streets running off

from the Chaurangi Road, a great part of the European population is to be found. The more prosperous classes occupy the principal streets, most of them opening at one end towards the plain, and the other running towards what is called the "Circular Road," from its encircling what once were the limits of Calcutta. A ditch once bounded the city, which, from its being first made to keep off an attack of the Mahratta army, was called the "Mahratta Ditch," and from which the denizens of Calcutta are generally styled in India, "the Mahratta ditchers." The new cathedral, in the erection of which, Bishop Wilson has been labouring [50] with so much zeal for some years, is near the Chaurangi Road, and when finished, will form a conspicuous object, as viewed across the plain from the river, or Fort William.

The portion of Calcutta which is most occupied by European commercial establishments, is that situated behind the Government House, and the other principal public buildings. This may be called the centre of Calcutta, as far as the Europeans are concerned; but the native city continues to stretch along the river side, for several miles farther up. It gradually contracts in breadth, till it ends in scattered residences of a suburban character, and villages, extending to a great distance, and succeeding each other so closely, that, to one going up the river, it is somewhat difficult to say where Calcutta terminates, and the country begins.

This great city has risen from a mere village, during the last century. It owes its origin and existence solely to the English Government and commerce; and unless the seat of government should be removed, and the commerce find a more convenient channel—events not all improbable—it may continue still rapidly to increase in wealth and population, till it rival the greatest cities in the world. Even now its population is estimated at more than four hundred and fifty thousand, while the country in every side, and especially along the banks of the river, is almost covered with populous towns, and villages, often so closely joined, as scarcely to be distinguished from each other. It has been supposed by men whose opinion is likely to be well founded, that within a circuit of some twenty miles around Calcutta, there can be little less than three millions of people. Whatever may be the actual amount of the population, there can be little doubt of its being immense, and still rapidly on the

increase, while the wealth of the community, notwithstanding of no little poverty among the lower orders, is still greatly advancing.

Chapter III

Calcutta continued.—observations on European and Native society, &c.—Missionary and Educational institutions. (pp. 51-71)

[51] It is not my intention to give any thing like a particular description of Calcutta, either as it respects its people, or its various institutions. My own acquaintance with it is too limited to qualify me for such a task, nor is it necessary, as Calcutta has been often described, and, from being the great resort of Europeans of every class, is better known than any other place in India. So much indeed is this the case, that it stands usually in the minds of most people as the type, or representative, of India in general, and causes a great deal of misconception respecting the country and its people; for of all places in India, Calcutta is the *least Indian*. Most of its inhabitants are, it is true, purely native, but there is so great a mixture of every thing foreign, in one shape or other, as to make it quite unlike any other place in India. There is nothing to be seen, indeed, that seems purely European, but then, on the other hand, there is as little that is purely native, and a person who has seen only Calcutta, can very rarely distinguish between what is foreign and what is indigenous, in the manners and customs even of the real natives. The residents even of pure descent, imitate the Europeans in so many things, either important or trifling, that neither their habits nor sentiments, are entirely Indian, while the English of every class, who are at all permanently settled, have involuntarily adopted so much of Indian customs and modes of life, that they have become much more Indianized than they are aware.

BENGALI LANGUAGE

In landing from a ship, at Calcutta, one has to employ a sort of wherry, called a *Dinghi*. It is rather flat or round in the bottom, and tapers towards the bows, but is wider near the stern. It has a [52] sort of shed, into which one may creep for shelter from the heat of the sun, composed of bamboos and matting, something like the little huts used by the gypsies. It is generally

rowed by two very rascally looking fellows—either Hindoos or Mussulmans, who speak a dialect as unintelligible to all but themselves, as that of the builders of Babel, or the unknown tongues of Edward Irving. It is neither Bengalee, Hindostani, nor, as far as I have heard, any other language, used in India, but a sort of jargon peculiar to themselves.

When one reaches the shore, a great many sets of palanquin bearers, with their vehicles on their shoulders, are waiting to see if they may be required. Six or seven set of them rush up to the knees into the water to meet the boat, each set praising their own, and abusing their neighbours' palanquins. He wants to get into one to keep his feet from being wetted in the mud, but it is sometimes no easy task. There they are, abusing each other, and furiously wrangling and struggling, every one determined to have the passenger, and if he cannot speak a word of Bengalee or Hindostani, he scarcely knows what to do. But if he is accustomed to them and can speak the language, he jumps into the first palanquin he can reach, and quietly tells the bearers where to take him, and all trouble is at once at an end. The clamour ceases, and the mob disperses in an instant, or all run away to some one in another boat, while the set employed quietly trot off with their passenger to whatever place they may be directed to go to. If one is ignorant of the language, and can give but imperfect directions, it is sometimes no easy matter to get to his destination. They will often seem as if they understood perfectly where they are ordered to, and yet take the very contrary direction, unless the person conveyed knows the way himself, and stops them in time.

As with the boatmen, so with the palanquin bearers. Even a person familiar with India, and the ordinary languages of the provinces, is often at a loss in Calcutta. Most of them, I believe, are natives of Urissa and other districts on the coast, and therefore speak languages, or dialects, almost entirely different from those used in towns. Living for the most part by themselves in small [53] clubs, or confederacies of individuals from the same district, they probably converse but little with the other natives, resident in the place, and thus retain the peculiarities of their language and manners, while it is most likely, that, many of them remain here for too short a time to enable them to pick up the more current languages of the city.

As Calcutta is the capital of the province of Bengal, the principal language spoken here is, of course, the Bengalee. A rude jargon of corrupt Hindustani is also much in use in the Bazar, but not in the ordinary intercourse of the resident population. It is barely intelligible, however, to a real native of upper India, whose tones and accents are as easily distinguished in the streets of Calcutta, as those of a Londoner in the streets of Aberdeen. The Bengalee is a language of considerable compass and power of expression, and is generally admitted, in some respects, to be superior to the Hindustani, or, as it is more properly called, the Urdu. The latter, however, has the immense advantage of being, with some variations, the lingua franca, or general medium of intercourse, not only of all north-western India, from Assam to the Indus, and from the Hamalaya mountains to the Dekhan, but it is in some measure used even as far as the island of Ceylon, while it is the language of commerce and navigation, both on the eastern and western coasts. It is also the connecting link between the languages of India and those of Affghanistan and Persia, and even of Arabia and Turkey, and is in fact the only spoken language in India, that is not provincial. It might be too much to say, that it is destined to displace, or absorb the other languages now spoken in the north of India. Its literature is yet too limited, and its proper style is too unfixed, to give any expectation of an early ascendancy; but its literature is now daily increasing, and its style is fast becoming more conformed to a settled standard of taste, than it has ever yet been.

The infusion into it of Christian truth, now rapidly going on, as well as of a more varied knowledge of every description, most necessarily, though it may be slowly, expand this most important language, and render it more plastic, by giving it new forms of ex-[54]pression, and new powers of combination and variety of diction of every kind, which its former meagre literature did not require, and therefore, failed to render classical. The language of people can never advance in actual use, further than their knowledge of things, whatever may be the amount of the philological materials latent in itself, or in the sources from which its vocables are derived. Men cannot have words, or forms of speech, to give utterance to thoughts, or ideas, unknown to them. A sentiment, or feeling, must first have its existence in the minds of the people, before it can have a symbol, either in spoken or

written language ; but then, perhaps at first, by circumlocutions, or definitions of various kinds, new thoughts have been distinctly conveyed to their understandings, and have become part of their stock of sentiments or opinions ; they at once construct from existing elements of speech, long familiar to them, suitable vocables, generally of easy comprehension, to communicate to others whatever is interesting to themselves ; or they very easily adopt from cognate, or locally proximate, languages, any word that may be found absolutely necessary for their purpose. This latter advantage is possessed in an especial manner by the Urdu, which, though based on the original Hindui and Sanscrit, is itself a composite language ; drawing most of its vocables from the Persian and Arabic, and admitting, occasionally, even of English words, the incorporation of which, with its indigenous materials, is likely to be greater in future than it has yet been, in consequence of the accelerated progress of English science and literature. The Urdu has, therefore, as it gradually absorbs the Hindui, or supersedes it, in the provinces where they are both spoken, every prospect of becoming, at no distant period, peculiarly adapted to answer all the purposes required in the language of a great civilized people ; and should the Anglo-Indian empire long endure in a consolidated form, almost every other language in northern and western India, is likely to sink gradually to the class of more vulgar or rustic dialects. The Bengalee, indeed, would seem more likely to retain its hold, than any other of the provincial languages in the north of India. It has been more cultivated than the rest, and has [55] much more refinement and a more extensive literature. But it makes no progress to the westward, but on the contrary is constantly receding, great inroads being made upon it, both by the Hindustani and the Hindui, which, being both essentially one, are too strong on the borders of Bengal to be long resisted with success, especially when one of them has a partial hold of all the principal cities even in the interior of Bengal proper. On the other hand, the great and increasing demand for English, among the upper and middle classes of natives, in the cities of Bengal, especially in the parts contiguous to Calcutta, withdraws the attention of educated men from the cultivation of literature in their native tongue, and thus retards its development as a classical language,

though it may not prevent it entirely, and may even ultimately promote it.

Most of the houses inhabited by the better classes of Europeans, in Calcutta, are spacious buildings, with large and lofty rooms, rendered very desirable by a climate, where a great deal of ventilation is so essentially necessary to health. The houses are, for the most part, surrounded by rather high walls, by which they are separated from each other, and have a gate to the street, or road, with a Darwan, or porter, to open or shut it when any one calls. Within the enclosure, or as it is called, compound, there is a kitchen, separate from the house, as cooking would be a great nuisance if carried on within the house itself. There are also some small houses for the servants, and also stables, coach house, &c., within the walls. Many of the servants, however, do not live at their master's house, but go home to their own more humble dwellings to their meals, during the day, and also to lodge at night. They are paid monthly wages, but get no food, being allowed to go home for several hours each day. This is the case in India generally, only that in the interior, most of the servants live in their master's compound, where, though he does not provide them with food, he gives them small houses, in which they and their wives and children live. Female servants are never employed in India, unless to take care of mere infant children, or to wait on ladies as tirewomen, &c. Even children are kept, and the cooking done, by [56] men servants. Even ladies' clothing is made, not by women, but by male tailors. Mantua maker and tailor are, in India, one business; and the gentleman's coat, and lady's gown, are made by the same useful functionary, who is usually kept as a household servant, and sometimes, in addition to making and mending garments, he acts as dry nurse to the children, or, as they are called, baba log, (baby people,) especially in families, where many servants cannot be afforded. A person of any consequence in India, has, usually, a considerable number of men servants of various kinds, so that his compound constitutes a sort of village, or small municipality, of which he is chief authority, and lord paramount. The sahib, or master, is therefore always a sort of magistrate in his own petty domain, and few in it are bold enough to question his authority, or the extent of his prerogatives. It is not always, however, quite an easy task to rule

his subjects. Quarrels and rebellions sometimes take place, beyond his ability to settle, and he is under the necessity of calling for the interposition of the more formidable civil power of the regularly appointed magistrate, of which his dependants stand in the utmost awe. Such is not often, however, the case, as by those who are well acquainted with their habits, the people of India are generally not difficult to manage, if they are sufficiently firmly dealt with.

With regard to European society, in Calcutta, in general, it is of a very mixed and fluctuating character, being composed, to a large extent, of persons who come here for commercial purposes, and have no permanent interest in the country. There is a strong tendency to gaiety and extravagance among them, even when these can be but ill afforded. The character of the city, generally, is marked by a considerable amount of dissipation, though, in this respect, it is very greatly improved, from what it was many years ago; and, it is to be hoped, it is still farther improving. One of the worst features, hitherto, of the European society of Calcutta, is its regardlessness of the best interests of the natives. There are many of the European community, however, to whom this remark can in no possible respect be applied, as there are among them the [57] most distinguished and devoted friends of the natives, and men whose efforts for their improvement it would be utterly impossible to overrate. But still it is a fact, that the greater part of the English, and other Europeans in Calcutta, evince no regard whatever to the real interests of the natives, either spiritual or temporal, provided they can accomplish their own worldly objects, and leave the country with the least possible delay. Hence they are never at the trouble to inform themselves about either the country or its people, and are, therefore, no judges of its affairs, unless any thing in them should affect their own interests. The measures of the government, are, by such, objects of praise, or of censure, merely as they may happen to affect the interests of the small class to which they belong; and if their opinions take the form of kindness to the natives, it is generally only when the interests of both classes happen to be the same. It is well for the natives that this is now more generally the case, and that European and native prosperity, can now scarcely ever be separated by any amount of selfishness in either class. The Euro-

peans engaged in commerce, are, to a large extent, the dependants of the natives, who are the real capitalists, while they are, for the most part, only agents in carrying on the commerce of the country, or partners, not originally possessed of either money, or credit of their own.

ADVENTURERS

Many young men have gone out to India with most extravagant expectations of making fortunes. A great part of them have been ignorant of the fact, that most of the men who have made such fortunes, either in commerce, or in the public service, were only the few survivors out of a large number, who struggled long and hard without ever reaching their object. Comparatively few men are possessed of the persevering steadiness, absolutely necessary for being successful in almost any pursuit, requiring talent and energy, in India, where every influence of climate and circumstances is against them. Hence it is that so many die, or retire in the prime of life ; leaving the field of promotion, or of success, both in the Government services and in the commercial world, completely open in all its grades and advantages of either station or gain, to the very [58] small number of men whose health and habits, both of body and mind, enable them to continue long in the country, and indefatigably at work. This is necessarily the case in the Government services, both civil and military, from the principle of seniority on which they are constructed, as all the highest and most lucrative offices are reserved for the more talented of the seniors of both services ; while even the retiring allowances of the other seniors, apart from their savings, are equivalent to a moderate fortune. In the mercantile community, it is also very much the same ; unless where, as it sometimes happens, even at home, a man may succeed in realizing a great deal by some large, prudent, or accidentally successful adventure, and have the good sense to retire in time with his gains. As the capital is principally native, the Europeans of the commercial class are merely intelligent men, of good business habits, whose knowledge of the principles of commerce, and their superior tact in the management of every enterprize requiring general information and skill, qualify them for conducting commercial affairs with an energy and success

of which the natives, however shrewd in small matters, are quite incapable. Such men, if they remain long in the country, naturally acquire influence, and the command, directly or indirectly, of a large amount of capital. They, in time, become partners in great houses of business, and should their health enable them to remain long in the country, and they should meet with no great reverses, they now and then succeed in acquiring large fortunes. Still, however, the number of such successful men is small, indeed, compared to the number who toil in vain; and out of that small number the greater proportion only reach their independence after it is too late in life to enjoy it, either in India or on returning home, with their habits of life entirely altered, and their friends no more. A great many Europeans in India have been so unsuccessful that they cannot come home at all, as they are fully aware that they are not now fit for home pursuits, and have not the means for their future support in their native land. Some of these would be in great difficulty for the means of subsistence, were it not that there is in general, among Europeans in that country, a very laud-[59]able spirit, which often leads them to sustain each other in adversity, and sometimes, in a variety of ways, to uphold, even in a respectable position, individuals of their number who have been less successful in life than themselves. Hence, also, widows and orphans, in the Anglo-Indian community, are generally well taken care of, both in the Company's service and among mercantile men. Both the civil and military services of the East India Company have funds for the respectable support of their widows and orphans, the security of which is guaranteed by the Government, by which also provision is made for the support and education of the orphans even of all common soldiers, while pensions also are given to their widows. Without such a general disposition to assist each other, especially to support each other's widows and orphan children, in a land so distant from relatives, the state of many Europeans in India, especially those with large families, would often be one of very great anxiety. Feeling themselves to be strangers in a strange land, far remote from their common country, they require to stand by each other, and though there may be many exceptions, they generally do so with a considerable degree of kindness and generosity. and few Europeans of good and well known respectable character, however unsuccessful-

ful in the world, are ever left in India to suffer any great want of the necessities of life, whatever may be their rank in society.

MISSIONARY SOCIETIES

There are in Calcutta seven churches belonging to the Church of England, six Roman Catholic, two Presbyterian, viz. one of the established Church of Scotland, and one of the Scotch Free Church, two Independent and two Baptist churches. Besides these, in which the worship is, for the most part, if not entirely, conducted in English, there is a considerable number of Chapels belonging to the missions of different denominations, where the congregations are purely native, and the services are entirely in the native languages, the preachers being either European or native missionaries. The missionary body in Calcutta and its neighbourhood is now large ; but to give any general view of its operations either in the city itself, or in the surrounding country, would take more time, and space [60] than our limits permit. The Baptist and London Missionary societies, whose missionaries take the lead in the department of preaching and general labour among the adult population, while those of the Church of Scotland, and Free Church do the same in the educational efforts that are now being so successfully made through the medium of the English language, are the largest bodies.

The Baptist and London Missionary societies have about twelve native churches, several of them in the city, but most of them in the villages some way from town, and especially in the districts to the south, where there are now some thousands of people professing the Christian faith.

The Church missionary society is not strong in Calcutta, having in general only two or three European ordained missionaries, and a few European teachers and native catechists. The mission of the society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, has here a more extensive mission, especially in the vicinity of the Bishop's college, (which is connected with it,) and also in the districts to the south of Calcutta. The romanizing, or Puseyite tendency, however, of some, if not of the general body of its agents, greatly dissevers it from other communions, and makes it, in some respects, even antagonistic to protestant institutions in general ; while the weakness of the more orthodox

missions, belonging to the church missionary society, gives it too much the appearance of representing the church of England as a whole, at least in this part of the missionary field. The unscrupulous character of some of its agents, in the means which they are reported to employ, in order to bring the converts of other denominations under the authority of the church of England, or, rather, of the semi-Popish section of that church, have produced very bad consequences on the minds of the native Christians generally, and even of the heathen, by whom they are surrounded. Unless they are greatly belied, they have, through the medium of their native agents, employed, not only corruption and bribery, but even, at times, club law, to bring the poor and comparatively feeble professors of Christianity, connected with other missions, under their control, and priestly domination. By [61] such means, they have, in various instances, succeeded, to the no small disturbance of the infant churches, and to their own great disgrace, in sowing dissension. They have thus become the agents in most effectually preparing the way for the successful operations of their more consistent brethren of the church of Rome, by inculcating the same principles in a slightly modified form. The Roman Catholic missions have been greatly strengthened, during the last few years, by the accession of some able, intelligent, and well educated men, both in the higher offices of their church, and in its subordinate grades. New churches, schools, convents, &c., are being gradually raised, with persevering energy, while, with the exception of a few pious clergymen, labouring, for the most part, among English inhabitants, the church of England has no adequate representation. Bishop Wilson opposes Puseyism with great zeal; but as far as the work among the natives is concerned, in and about Calcutta, his influence is much too limited. The agency at his command is but feeble, while his authority over many in his own church, as well as over Bishop's College, does not seem to be sufficient, notwithstanding his well known and published sentiments, to enable him effectually to resist their Romanizing tendencies. Many have thought, that his own partiality for ecclesiastical display, and his consequent tenderness towards those, whose fundamental errors led them to go much farther, in the same direction, than himself, rendered him somewhat inattentive to the beginnings of the evil, till, like other malignant

diseases, it had made such progress, as to have become utterly incurable. The doctrinal errors of the party he had always most distinctly and emphatically denounced ; but most of the liturgical errors, and high clerical assumptions, with which they are inseparably connected, and out of which they spring, do not seem to have been nipt in the bud, nor was any vigorous attempt made to eradicate them, till they had grown to sufficient rankness to shelter any practice, or doctrine of Popery, that might spring up under their shade. The church missionary society was not strong enough to affect any thing by itself, though its agents, I believe, without exception, in northern India, are men [62] of strictly evangelical principles, as well as of consistent Christian character. It is high time, however, that the church missionary society, as the organ of the evangelical part of the church of England, should take up its Calcutta mission with renewed and increased vigour. It cannot be pleasing to pious evangelical men, who are still a strong body in the church, to leave the missions of that church in danger of becoming mere auxiliaries to those of the church of Rome ; but nowhere are they more likely to be so than in the metropolis of British India, unless great care is taken. Eight or ten soundly evangelical, and thoroughly Protestant church of England missionaries, would have a most favourable influence, in supporting the church to which they belong, not by high and unsustained clerical assumptions, but by the exhibition of Christian doctrine and principle, such as must command the real respect of Christians who may differ from them on points of ecclesiastical polity, but who hold all the same essential truths of the gospel. It is no credit to the committee of the church missionary society, that its mission in a city of such importance, and where it has so many very exemplary and pious, as well as liberal lay members, at least, as far as European agency is concerned, be weaker than almost any other mission in the place. Whatever may be the opinion of the writer with respect to the Church of England as a whole, these remarks are made in the most friendly spirit towards that portion of it represented by the missionaries of the church society, with some of whom he has not only had much Christian intercourse, but has often been associated in evangelical labours for the cause of Christ in India ; and, with respect to whose devoted zeal, he is always happy to bear testimony.

Calcutta being the greatest English settlement, and the principal emporium of British commerce, as well as the seat of government, where all the higher courts of justice, and other governmental establishments are to be found, the value there, in a wordly point of view, of the English language, and of European knowledge in general, to the higher and middle classes of natives, is very great, and they have, therefore, become objects of intense desire to all who [63] have the means of acquiring them. As the desire of English education, a number of years ago, gradually arose, schools of various kinds, as well as an institution called the Hindu College, supported principally, by the government, were established, and the missionary bodies, likewise, taking advantage of the increasing demand, began to teach English, and through its medium, the doctrines and precepts of Christianity. Large schools, conducted in English, though not to the entire exclusion of the native languages, have now existed for many years, in connexion with all the principal missions. The most extensive and successful institution of the kind, is that originally connected with the church of Scotland, and founded by Dr. Duff, and still most efficiently carried on by him and his able colleagues. Though it has met, at different times, with much opposition on the part of many of the natives, on occasions, especially, when some of its pupils have openly embraced Christianity, it has weathered every storm, and not only maintained its ground, but steadily advanced. Though attempts have been made by the natives to raise rival institutions, with the same educational advantages, none have succeeded. It contains, I believe, not less than a thousand pupils, many of whom are very far advanced, not only in literary and scientific knowledge, but in the evidences and doctrines of the Christian faith. A great many of the pupils have repudiated the ordinary Hindoo superstitions, while some have come out entirely from their castes, and openly, amidst much persecution and loss, professed themselves believers in Christ, by baptism.

On the disruption of the Church of Scotland, the whole of its missionaries, both in Calcutta and other parts of India, considered it their duty to join the Free Church. The feeling of opposition between the two parties, was, no doubt, too strong to admit of their going on any longer together, in the support and conduct of their missionary operations, otherwise, it does

not seem, to a looker on, to have been absolutely necessary for them to carry the separation into India, as no radical change was made in their doctrine or discipline ; and the question of the intrusion, or non-intrusion of mini-[64]sters, on congregations or parishes, did not practically affect their missions. The missionaries, however, on conscientiously taking the non-intrusion side of the question, had to leave the fine commodious college, which, with its library and its valuable apparatus, had been raised by the zealous and indefatigable exertions of Dr. Duff. Their pupils, however, left with them, leaving the Church of Scotland only the empty building, and the material machinery for teaching, but carrying all that was really valuable with them. The building has since been occupied by the agents of the Church of Scotland, who have succeeded in collecting a number of pupils equal to what had previously attended, so that they have every prospect of success. The disruption, therefore, in the case of Calcutta, has only led to the furtherance of the cause of Christian education. The missionaries sent forth by the Church of Scotland, since the disruption, to take the place of Dr. Duff and his colleagues, are spoken of as very efficient and excellent men, though, of course, it will be some time before they can have the experience of their talented predecessors. It would have been more becoming, perhaps, in that Church, to have allowed the men, by whose laborious and talented efforts the institution had been raised, to retain the building as it stood, especially as the funds had been, for the most part, if not almost entirely, contributed by those who became members of the Free Church. The claim of the Church of Scotland might be legal enough, but it would have been more honourable to have waived it, or at least, to have entered into some compromise. It is gratifying, however, to know, that the missionaries of the Free Church, and their supporters, have lost only that of their labours, that had been spent on the material building, while the still more important structure of sound knowledge, religion, and morality, which it was their principal object to rear, and on which they have put forth so many zealous efforts, is still continuing to rise. They have already had some very interesting converts, and it is hoped, that in future they will continue to increase more and more rapidly, and that many of them may turn out to be qualified, both by sincere piety and talent, as [65] well as education, for proclaim-

ing the gospel of Christ, with much zeal and genuine success, to their fellow countrymen.

The London Missionary Society has a similar institution in another part of the town, on a smaller scale. From this also some interesting and respectable youths have recently been received into the Christian Church*. The Church, and Baptist Missionary Societies have likewise schools of the same nature, though none of them are so extensive as that of the Free Church, nor do they form in any case, as in that, the entire work of the missionaries. The Free Church mission, from being so exclusively devoted to education, and having no regular system of preaching in the native languages, may be said to act, for the most part, as an auxiliary to other societies, especially to the Church of England, into which some of its converts have already gone, and others are likely to go, in the absence of Christian native congregations in connexion with their own mission. It is highly desirable that the Free Church mission, should be so increased as to enable it to carry on more extended operations in preaching, as well as to go on with increasing energy in the educational department. While secular education is so much in demand, and in one shape or another, is being widely diffused, especially in Calcutta and its neighbourhood, it is most important that it should be, from the very outset, combined with the religion and moral principles of the Bible; but unless there are Christian churches, and public and regular ministrations, to retain, or acquire, a hold on the minds of adults, the religious knowledge and impressions received in boyhood, or early youth, are apt to be soon effaced by the cares of life, or the pleasures and temptations of heathen society. There are probably in and near Calcutta little fewer than 8000 native youths receiving instruction in European and other knowledge. These are certain, in after life, to exercise no small influence on native society in general. How important, therefore, that Christianity should be brought fully to bear on their minds, before they imbibe [66]

* This institution has nearly 800 pupils and is about to be greatly extended, funds having been obtained for the erection of a suitable building, and for the purchase of scientific apparatus adapted to a regular collegiate course of instruction.

prejudices against it, in consequence of sinking down into indolence of mind and corruption of morals, by falling back on the licentious habits and associations connected with idolatrous customs ; or, on the other hand, become vitiated in their principles, by sentiments, adopted from European infidelity, into which they are in so much danger of falling, when they escape from the foolish and superstitious, traditional notions of their ancestors.

Already European infidelity, with its malignant hostility to Christianity, has made inroads among the natives, who, having been set loose by education from the trammels of superstition, so that the fictions of the Shasters of Hinduism, have given place to the fictions of materialism. Parties of young men are to be found, belonging to the more respectable classes of natives, sometimes called "Young India," or "Young Bengal," who have thrown off the ordinary restraints of Hinduism, such as attending to the usual rules of caste, and abstaining from beef, wine, &c. They have adopted the worst habits of Europeans, such as drinking brandy, wine and beer, without imitating any thing among them that is good. The transition from gross superstition to a purer system, is often attended with much danger to morals. One class of restraints gives way, and loses all hold on the mind, before another obtains possession of the heart, or becomes powerful from habit. However defective may be the moral restraints of Hinduism, the customs of society and of domestic life which it inculcates, interpose certain obstructions to the free and open indulgence of the passions and appetites. When these are removed without the substitution of religious and moral principles, of a higher order, they must leave the mind destitute of any power to resist evil, or any commanding motive to prefer what is morally good. Unless in the schools and colleges of the missionaries, religion is entirely left out, in the system of education pursued in India. The government education is neutral on the subject of religion, but as the teaching of European science must necessarily destroy the credit of both the Hindoo Shasters and the Koran of Mahammed, it is obvious that this neutrality can only be nominal. It is such neutrality as pulls a man's house about his ears, and leaves him to [67] build another, or to live in the open air, unless some one else should come to his assistance ; or which sets fire to an unhealthy, or ill constructed town, in hopes that when the people shall be able, with or without,

assistance to rebuild it, they are sure to erect a better. It is some consolation at least to think, that while the government system of education in India goes on the principle of the worthy Quaker, who, on being asked to give something to build a new Methodist chapel, replied,—“Friend, I cannot, consistently with my principles, give thee any thing to build a new chapel, but here is something to help in pulling down the old one :” the missionary bodies are under no such restraint, and the increase of knowledge in any shape must be favourable to the progress of the gospel, however much evil may flourish in the state of transition now commencing in India. A system morally worse, as a whole than Hinduism, it is difficult to conceive to be possible, and any thing that lessens its influence, or disenthral the people from its bondage, though in itself not of the character that the missionary can approve, and in its effects falling infinitely short of the great spiritual result which is his highest object ; may be hailed, nevertheless, as an agency working towards the production of a state of society, more favourable to the real progress of the gospel. There have been some instances, and I fear not a few, however, in which the teaching in government schools has not, as the professed principle of their institution enjoins, been quite neutral on the subject of religion, but more or less antagonistic to Christianity ; or at least, all religions, including Christianity, have been treated as equally false. The government has enjoined religious neutrality in the teaching, but not in the personal profession of religion by the teacher. It does not require the teacher to say to his pupils in the class, that he does not believe in the divine authority of the Christian scriptures, nor to forbear from explaining them, or reading them to others out of the schools ; but it is generally an admitted fact, that instead of being quite neutral, some of the government teachers, labour diligently to keep their scholars from falling into the hands of the missionaries, and thus foster in the minds of their pupils the opinion, that all religions are [68] mere superstitions, against which, and especially Christianity, they are to be on their guard. They are quite afraid of them perusing Christian books, but very willing to help them to the works of Voltaire, Hume and others, whose bitter hatred of Christianity are almost their only recommendation, being inaccurate as historians and unsound as philosophers, while the most useful works on almost

every subject, are kept as much out of view as possible, because written in a spirit of favour to Christianity. But do as they may, it is impossible to teach the history of the world without that of Christianity, unless on the plan of playing the tragedy of Hamlet, with the character of Hamlet left out ; hence on this branch of learning, as well as in every thing else, save mere physical science, which is not education any more than plough making is agriculture, the missionary schools—such as Dr. Duff's and others of the same grade, are certain to take the precedence of the Hindoo college, and other government institutions, in everything deserving the name of a real education, calculated to form the character of the rising generation of natives in India. Even the people themselves are perfectly aware of this, and where other influences are not at work, prefer sending their children to the missionary schools, and were their agency and funds sufficient, these schools might, in most of the more important places, almost monopolize the education of the rising generation, to the exclusion of the government please-all, but please-none-system. Besides the government and the missionary schools, the natives have many of their own ; but in general they do not succeed so well, nor are they so popular as the former.

Besides the Missionary Societies, and other institutions of a local nature, for religious purposes, there are also in Calcutta. Bible and Tract Societies. These, though called auxiliaries of the parent societies of the same name in London, are only nominally so, as their committees "do what seemeth good in their own eyes." The home societies assist them, by making grants of money, books, or paper, which they can, of course, withhold if they are dissatisfied with their operations, but they do not farther interfere, than by occasionally giving advice.

[69] For some time, the British and Foreign Bible Society had an agent in India, to look after its interests ; but the Rev. Dr. Haebertin, who, for a time, held the office, has, I believe, retired from it, and, as far as I know, no one has succeeded him. Those book society committees in Calcutta have the general character of being clumsy, and ill-working machines, though, perhaps, in the peculiar state of society in that city, better could not be constructed out of the existing materials. No doubt, each member, very honestly and conscientiously, does what he thinks best for the cause ; and the liberality manifested by most of them, in

devoting to it as much time as possible, and a great deal of pecuniary aid, shows sufficiently the reality of the zeal which induces them to engage in the objects contemplated by these institutions. The utility of such large committees, is, however, very questionable, especially for objects involving literary discussions, with which most of their members are quite incompetent to deal. Their natural tendency is obstructive, and has ever been so, to the very work they are designed to promote. A great deal has been done by the Calcutta Bible Society, no doubt, in the circulation of the scriptures, but it is much to be questioned whether more might not have been done without it, had the missionary societies, by whose agents the versions have generally been made, retained them in their own hands, (as the Baptist body have done generally with theirs) and plentifully supplied them through the instrumentality of their own organizations. Bible societies neither make the versions nor distribute them, but interpose themselves between the sympathies of the christian public and the real agents, as monopolizers of the funds, and controllers of work which they cannot do themselves. As a guarantee for the character of versions, such societies are worth nothing, as there are no translations in existence inferior to some which they have issued, and none more unsatisfactory than some for which they are entirely responsible, having completely overruled the translators by their own sub-committees.

Two-thirds of the members of these Bible and Tract committees are almost entirely ignorant of the nature and requirements of the [70] work to be done, though, personally, worthy Christian men, most anxious to do good. But all are never present at once, and the work is sometimes done by four or five, who may not have been at the former, and may not be at the next, meeting, at which any subject is discussed. They are, therefore, constantly undoing, and going over again, the same work in some different way. Many of the members are gentlemen engaged in important and very laborious offices, and who, having any leisure, can give only the merest fragments of their time and attention, to the objects in view. Their opinions would, no doubt, deserve respect, were they not so often hastily formed on imperfect information, and expressed with little reflection; the hour given, now and then, in the midst of many other pursuits, to the meeting, being all they can spare to the considera-

tion of the subjects to which it refers. Of all committees, those having to do, either with versions of the scriptures, or books of any kind, ought to be small, compact bodies, not of mere men of business, but of literary men, who have leisure for the work, and will give close attention to it, as an object of importance and responsibility. Even were some of them paid agents, it might be better, in an economical point of view, as it might prevent the issue of so many works of an incorrect character, as have hitherto been published, both by Bible and Tract Societies.

The principal defect in the working of these societies has, no doubt, arisen from the most laudable zeal for doing as much good as possible. Had those of Calcutta confined their attention to Bengal, they were well enough qualified for judging of the translations and books required, and were able to put into operation suitable means for giving them circulation ; but, by attempting, like the Serampur missionaries and their successors, to prepare books for the various nations, and in the many languages spoken, in other parts of India, they are obliged, like them, to trust to the judgment of men professing, indeed, to know those languages, and who, generally, do know them in a certain way, but who, never themselves having been religious instructors, are utterly unacquainted, unless by mere sound, with the current language of religion and abstract sentiments, [71] and are utterly ignorant of the simple methods by which either moral or religious doctrines, may be made perfectly plain and intelligible, to the minds of the ordinary classes of native society. The Calcutta book committees have practically distrusted, in general, the missionaries of the interior, but have put the most implicit confidence in any civil or military officer, whose knowledge of the language mostly consisted in an acquaintance with Persian and a technical jargon, formed between it and the Vernacular, and used in the courts of law, &c., while of the language of the main body of the people, and, more especially, that used most in religion, their knowledge was meagre in the extreme. The missionaries of the north-western provinces have, therefore, become dissatisfied, and desirous of acting in such matters by themselves, in conjunction with such friends as are more familiar with the sphere of their labour, and the requirements of the people of those provinces. It might be well for the Calcutta Bible and Tract Societies to confine their own direct operations to the districts of Bengal

proper, where they have an ample field, forming, with the societies of the north-western provinces, merely a fraternal connexion, and making a mutual interchange of publications where needed, but leaving each society to act without any control from the other—free to communicate with the societies in England, and to obtain contributions, or other aid, as it may best be able. In this way, a great deal more work might be done, and in a more efficient manner, than formerly, and with much more comfort and satisfaction to all the parties concerned.

Anything like a Calcutta monopoly in the funds derived from European and other sources, or in the direction of the operations, in general, of these societies, will always produce dissatisfaction among the missionaries and other friends of the cause in the provinces, as it has done before, even were these matters much better managed than they have yet been, or than it would be reasonable to expect in future, from the present construction of the committees; and it is desirable that the important common object, should be pursued in such a way as to occasion the least possible discontent and with the greatest possible harmony and mutual confidence. (Here ends Chapter III)

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DAK TRAVEL FROM CALCUTTA

... [73] By the most direct route, the distance from Calcutta to Benares, is about 420 miles. A good road has been made by the government, on which no tolls are paid. There are, however, no coaches, or public conveyances of any kind, and no inns, as in Europe, for the entertainment of travellers. Small mail carts have now been introduced; but till lately the mails were carried by men, who ran at the rate of from five to six miles an hour, with the letter bags on their shoulders, each man running a stage of about seven or eight miles. The mail carts now used on this, and a few other roads, take no passengers, but go at rather a rapid pace, carrying merely the letters and papers for the different stations, or towns, on the line of road. As yet, the quickest conveyance for passengers, is the palanquin dakh, a mode of travelling post by a palanquin. The traveller provides his own palanquin, and obtains relays of bearers, at each stage of his journey, from the post office. He has to pay

before hand, at the place from which he sets out, and has also to lodge a certain amount above the fee, to meet any extra charge should he detain the bearers by the way, but to be returned to him, on producing a certificate from the post master, of the place where his journey terminates, in proof of his having arrived there in the specified time allowed for the distance. An order is sent on by the daily post, before him, or by express, to each post master, directing him to have the requisite number of bearers in waiting by a given time, at each stage in his district. The traveller may stop anywhere, as long as he pleases by the way, only he must give information of such purpose beforehand, that the time of his departure from each place may be duly arranged, and provided for. Should he be too late in reaching his destination, the sum lodged as "demurrage" will be forfeited, to remunerate the bearers for the time lost in waiting for him, unless he can show that his detention was occasioned by any want of proper arrangement on the part of some of the post masters, or by any misconduct in the bearers.

Four of these bearers are required to carry a palanquin ; but on a journey at least eight are necessary, besides one, or more, to carry [74] luggage. At night, one of them bears a torch, for which the traveller has to pay something extra, besides the discomfort of being almost smothered for the whole night, by its oily smoke, which, as the torch bearer persists in running on the windward side, is blown into the palanquin, full in his face. If his party consists of eight, four carry, and four run on unencumbered, alternately. On one party being tired, they shift the palanquin to the shoulders of the other, without setting it down, and in this way, if the relays are all right, at their respective stages, one is often carried thirty or forty miles, without being once set down ; unless he himself desires to get out for a little, to stretch his limbs, or the bearers should request leave to stop a few minutes, to get a drink, on passing a well. Each set expects to receive a bakhshish, or gratuity at the end of their stage, the amount of which is the only standard by which they judge of the rank, or wealth, of the traveller. As the one party always tells the next what they have received, or hold it up for ocular demonstration, the liberal traveller is regarded as a "barra sahib," or great gentleman, and is consequently carried along with the greatest cheerfulness, and the utmost respect, every

possible effort being made to please him, and to accelerate his journey; while the "scurvy fellow" is supposed to be some "chhota sahib," or little gentleman, and is treated with bare civility. The bearers, of course, get their regular hire from the post office, from which they are employed for the job, but the bakhshish, though an extra, "is not in the bond," is such a regular "dastur," or custom, that no man of sense would neglect it, though he may give it grudgingly, and screw down its amount as low as possible.

The dakh bearers are not, in general, entirely dependant on this sort of work for their livelihood, but are, for the most part, common villagers along the line of the road, having fields of their own; but are glad to earn a little ready money in this way. There are, generally, sufficient numbers of them to be found, unless during seed time and harvest, when they are busy in their fields. At such seasons, the post office, and police, agents have no little trouble in collecting them, especially in the more thinly peopled districts [75] through which the road may pass. Only a limited number of travellers can, therefore, be provided for at the same time, and private individuals must sometimes give way to the officers of government, travelling on duty. The bearers are, generally, a contented, and cheerful race of people, but, like all their countrymen, they require to be managed with a little tact. In running along with their burden, they usually make their trotting pace keep time to a sort of song, or rather, chaunt, which, especially when they are tired, sometimes degenerates into a sort of grunt; but, at other times, they seem in wonderful spirits, and though bathed in perspiration, covered with dust, and running at the top of their speed, they continue laughing, shouting, and making jokes, not always, indeed, of the most delicate nature, either at the expense of each other, or of those whom they pass on the road.

According to this mode of travelling, it takes, usually, about five days to reach Benares, without any other stoppages, either by night or day, save what may be necessary for refreshment. The distance accomplished per day, is rather less than a hundred miles. During the extremely hot months, travellers generally make an arrangement which enables them to stop and rest during the heat of the day, and go on during the night, and the cooler parts of the morning and evening. It is even dangerous

for Europeans to travel, by almost any kind of conveyance in the middle of the day, during the hottest part of the year, which, in northern India, lasts from the beginning of April to the end of June ; when the rains generally commence and lower the temperature. Many Europeans, who, either from necessity, or temerity, have travelled in the middle of the day, and exposed themselves to the sun, during the hottest months, have fallen victims to the severity of the climate.

To one well used to the peculiar motion of a palanquin, the mode of travelling by dakh, is on the whole, easy and pleasant, though on long journeys it is rather tiresome. One may sit, or lounge, read or sleep, or enjoy the scenery through which he passes. If he is well acquainted with the language, he may talk with those of the bearers who trot along by his side, and who are always ready to tell him all [76] they know about the country, or anything else, with which they either may, or may not be acquainted ; and in their turn to ask him all sorts of questions, answerable, or unanswerable. The missionary, in travelling, may have many opportunities, both in going along the road and at the halting places, of directing the attention of the people to the "life and immortality brought to light by the gospel," and of giving tracts and portions of the word of God to such as can read. The last time I travelled by this road, I distributed hundreds of tracts, which were thankfully received, especially by Brahmins, most of whom were going on, or returning from, pilgrimages to the holy shrines of Benares, Jagatnath, and Gaya. One morning, in passing some groups of these pilgrims, who were crowding the road in great numbers, I gave away a few Hindui tracts. A Brahman, who seemed to be one of a considerable party, on receiving one of these tracts, looked at it and said, "Do you give this for nothing, and is it about religion?" "Yes," I replied, "it is about the true religion." He thanked me, making a very respectful salam, and not being able to keep up with my bearers, fell behind, and commenced reading. After, however, I had got several miles farther on the road, the same Brahman and some others with him, came running up to me in breathless haste, exclaiming, "O sir, This is such excellent doctrine in this small book, will you be so kind as give us some more like it?" I gave them several more tracts, and after making their salam, and wishing me a prosperous journey, they all

began to read. The seed thus scattered by the way side in India, has not been all lost, as not a few instances have come to notice, of genuine fruit being produced.

The proposed railway, in the direction of this line of road, has already occasioned a discussion among the orthodox Hundoos, on the question, as to whether or not going by rail on a pilgrimage, to Benares, will destroy the virtue of an action so holy . . .

DAK BUNGALOW

[82] Along the whole line of road from Calcutta to Benares, and thence all the way to Allahabad, Agra, Delhi, &c. there are Bungalows, or small houses, for the accommodation and refreshment of European travellers. These are generally ten, twelve, or fourteen miles from each other. Attached to each of them, there are, generally, three men servants. They can always, on very short notice, prepare a meal, which usually consists of fowls, and curry, the standing dish of all English travellers in India, as that which can be most readily and universally obtained, and cooked indoors, or out of doors, by man, woman, or child; and when neither fowl, flesh, nor fish can be had, the curry can still be made, with the hot spiceries and never failing ghee, or clarified butter so essential to the existence of every native of India. The servants receive, at these Bungalows, payment for the articles which they furnish. The traveller pays also a rupee for the use of the place, and inserts his name, the place of his destination, and also the sum paid by him, in a book. He is not entitled to stay in one of the Bungalows, more than one night, should any one come and require his place; but otherwise he may remain as long as he chooses. There are no articles of furniture, but tables, chairs, and bedsteads. Formerly there was no charge made, and the traveller had merely to give something by way of bakhshish to the servants, but now they make a charge to keep up a fund for repairs, servants' wages, &c. Any complaint against the servants, is written down in the book, which they themselves have to show monthly, when they go to receive their wages, at the nearest post office. Not being acquainted with English, they do not know what is written by any one, but generally try to find it out from the next traveller who comes, so that it is probable they [83] usually know, before they

go for their month's salary, what is the verdict recorded in the book. They are, in general, however, very civil and attentive ; and, perhaps, some of those who have put down the worst character of them in the book of their fate, have themselves been very irritable and ill to please—two qualities very common, but very troublesome to travellers in India, where of all countries practical stoicism would seem to be most required . . . [85] The new method of going by steam is now rapidly superseding, and rendering antiquated, the old and slow process of going by budgerows, and ordinary boats

NATIVE VESSELS

[86] . . . The boats used for going up the country, by Europeans as well as natives, are of various classes, the most respectable being called pinnaces. These latter are usually rigged with two masts, like an English brig, or Schooner, and have two or three cabins of considerable size, so as to afford accommodation for a family, with [87] servants, and a tolerable portion of furniture and luggage. The cabins are, on both sides, furnished with venetian blinds, and some of them, also, with glass windows. To prevent the smoke, and other nuisances connected with cooking, most parties take along with them, also, another small vessel, which answers the purpose of a floatting kitchen, and is brought alongside at the times required for meals. Sometimes, indeed, this useful attendant is lost sight of, in consequence of taking a wrong channel of the river, or from some other cause or mistake of the people, which occasions an involuntary fast. I have had to go without dinner till ten o'clock at night ; and a friend of mine, with his wife and family, were once two days without theirs. Old travellers, however, take care to provide against such accidents, by keeping part of their stores on board their own boat.

The pinnaces are used chiefly by the higher classes, who can afford them ; but the budgerows are in more general use, being neither so large nor so expensive. They are almost flat bottomed, on account of the shallows in the river, being wide towards the stern, and tapering to the bows. They are fitted with venetian blinds all round the cabins, the same as the pinnaces. In addition to the difference of shape, they are distinguished by

having merely one mast, with square sails, and no bowsprit. They have an enormous helm, stretching several yards astern, into the water. The number of oars of these vessels varies from eight to twenty; not that they row so many at once, but they profess to have that number of men, exclusive of the manjhi, or master, who acts as helmsman. Though he is often, in whole or in part, owner, his authority over the crew is very small, as every one thinks himself quite entitled to dispute his orders, or scold him for mismanagement. The crews are sometimes Hindoos, and sometimes Muhammadans, but rarely mixed, as their religion and social habits, are so diverse as to destroy all harmony.

These vessels are exclusively for passengers, but those used for trade are occasionally employed for the same purpose. The latter are of many varieties both of build and size, and are exceedingly [88] numerous, in almost every part of the Ganges, and by means of them, an immense inland traffic is carried on.

Preparations for proceeding to the upper provinces are sometimes not very easily made. The Europeans settled in Calcutta, may in general be regarded as the cockneys of India, and however long they may have been in the country, they are almost as ignorant of it as the new comer himself. This does not make them the less willing to give advice, but, as is useful in such cases, increases their confidence in proffering it; but before taking any advice about his journey, the stranger should enquire if the adviser has travelled much, or been himself a resident in the interior; at least a hundred miles from the city of palaces. The kindness and hospitality of the European residents of Calcutta are unrivalled, and one feels at home among them at once. Whatever part of the world the stranger may have come from, if he has any thing like a respectable introduction, he is received and treated in a kind and generous manner; and every reasonable assistance is cheerfully given him. If a man has no connexions, and no introductions of respectable nature, he has no right to complain of not being treated with confidence; and considering the great number of Europeans, of various nations who come to Calcutta; with a rather respectable appearance, but with no known character, it is no wonder if some of them should not meet always with a cordial reception. But complaints are made that the people of Calcutta, are too ready to receive all comers, and introduce them to their friends with better re-

commendations than they received with them, or than their real characters deserve ; so that others have sometimes suffered for their excess of good nature, and liberality.

The best directions for going up the country are generally to be had at the hotels, (where many are to be met with, who have often gone the way) and not from private friends, to whom one may have been introduced, and whose personal knowledge of India, very likely, if not bounded by the Mahratta ditch, extends little beyond it. . . .

MRS. WILSON'S SCHOOL

[95] . . . About seven miles above Calcutta, there is an important institution, for the education of native orphan girls. It was founded by Mrs. Wilson, who, for many years, devoted herself with great zeal to the promotion of female education in India. For a considerable time, she carried on, with much success, what was called the "Central Female School," in Calcutta, and which, in general, had several hundreds of pupils ; but, after finding the orphans among them, for whom she had provided a home at the institution, greatly increase, she resolved to separate them entirely from the heathen day scholars, in order that they might be educated more entirely as christian children. She, therefore, commenced this institution on the banks of the Hughli, at a place called Agrapara. By her influence and perseverance, funds were raised for the erection of suitable buildings, and for the support of about a hundred girls, who are lodged, clothed and fed, as well as educated. Not stopping here, however, Mrs. Wilson went on and built a handsome church, a house for a missionary, and others for a boys' school and schoolmasters ; so that Agrapara may now be called a Christian village, and a centre from which the knowledge of the gospel may spread over, and influence, the surrounding district. A missionary of the Church society now labours here, who has established a school for heathen boys, which, from the last account seen by me, is reported [96] to contain 150 scholars, of whom, during the preceding year, several had embraced Christianity, and then baptised. The excellent foundress of this institution, so well calculated to improve the character of native female society among those professing Christianity, has, much to the regret of

many of her friends, adopted the sentiments of the Plymouth brethren, in consequence of which she has retired from the sphere of her former usefulness, and returned to England. Her loss to the cause of female education, has been deeply felt, both by churchmen and dissenters, for she belonged to both ; and to mark their sense of her great worth, a subscription was made, by all parties, to provide for her during the rest of her days. The Institution is still carried on as she at first formed it, but whether with the same efficiency or not, I am unable to say. Few female agents can be found so eminently qualified for the work, as Mrs. Wilson was.

The church built by her, holds about 500 people, and the school is calculated for 400 children. The church and all the other buildings have been made over to the Church missionary society, and if efficiently conducted, these institutions may do great good. In 1846, the number here professing Christianity, was reported at 70, and the communicants at 22, of both sexes

[97] . . . A little above the Agrapara Institution, on the same, or eastern bank of the river, is the military station of Barrakpur, where the country residence, and park, of the Governor-General are situated. Between these and Calcutta, but a little inland, is Dum Dum, which may be called the Woolwich of northern India, being the head-quarters of the Bengal artillery, and chief depot for military stores.

CALCUTTA IN 1858*

By William Howard Russell¹

January 28th (1858).—Last evening's sun set over a wide waste of yellow waters, the bounds of which, low and desolate-looking, could just be made out on both sides of the ship. As the river contracts, the commercial greatness of the mighty stream and the port it feeds developes itself in hundreds of ships of the first class, magnificent clippers, weight-carrying Indiamen of the old school, fleets of country boats which, working up and down through the many tortuous channels, gave an appearance of life and activity to the scene which could not be surpassed by the Downs. The native shipping, in rigging, masts, sails, and hull, are odd-looking and dilapidated, and the only craft which they at all resemble, as far as I can remember, are the boats of the Turkish Black Sea ports with the high sterns. The crews of those we approach are thin slight men, nearly black, and very poorly attired. On our starboard quarter, towards evening, we have Saugor Island, much haunted of tigers, who feast on the deer abounding in the jungle, and keep the lighthouse people in a state of constant alarm; for there is a lighthouse on the island, the attendants on which [94] are sustained by various artificial devices to supply the absence of water, and to compensate for the presence of wild beasts. *Non meus sermo, sed quoque procepit O'Fellius—abnormis sapiens.* A grand idea of the Midasian magnitude of our Indian appointments was given to me this

* From *MY DIARY IN INDIA IN THE YEAR 1858-9* by William Howard Russell, LL.D., Special Correspondent of "The Times" in two volumes, London, 1860, volume I., Chapter VIII. (Chapter headings.—The Hooghly.—Hindoo Temples.—Garden Reach.—Floating Hindoo corpses.—The Bengal Club.—The City of palaces.—The Fort.—Simon, once Allagapah.—The Esplanade.—A drive in the dark.—Europeans and Indians.—The Auckland Hotel.—Proposed objects for investigation.—Musquitoes and jackals.—pp. 93-109).

morning early, when, in order to account for all the buttons, and bands, and aureate trappings of the pilot, O'Fellus further informed me that the pilots *reure* on pensions of 700*l.* sterling per annum. Why don't Lincoln's, Gray's and all the Temples emigrate, and force their way into the Indian pilot service? The only drawback O'Fellus could suggest was, that few of them lived to enjoy these pensions. They put in many hard nights, and the climate is unfavourable, and their duties are arduous; "therefore," quoth O'F, "in order to induce some of them to live, the high pension is put forth."

This morning the noble river—for all rivers are noble which are big, dirty, and have plenty of ships, though this stream is as full of danger as the Mississippi is of snags—has narrowed considerably. We lay-to during the night to suit some phase of the tide on bank, and now we are screwing up against the very muddy boiling current, increased in force by an ebb tide. Here we are amid "The Silas E. Burrowes, of Boston, U.S.," "The Marquis of Tweeddale, of Glasgow," "Rustamjee Puckerjje, of Calcutta," "Les Trois Freres, Bordeaux," and several native vessels of large tonnage, which are trying, by the aid of a light wind, to beat up against the tideway, and the hands at our wheel must be strong and quick. And there, in effect, with real straw hats, under which are curled long tails which would enrapture Marsh or Truefitt, in neat clean [95] toggery, bul-necked, square-shouldered, and strong-legged, stand the four Chinese helmsmen, conned by the English quartermasters, upping with the helm and downing with it, and—letting her go about or round, or keeping her just within a few yards of the Parsee's quarter—we scrape through and screw on, and by-and-by the banks on each side strike out bodily to meet us, and the faint verge of green, which refreshed the eye last night, turns into a belt of cocoa-nuts worthy of Ceylon. Villages there are also up muddy creeks, which put one in mind of tide-deserted cyots at Chiswick suddenly tenanted by quaint boats, and people who had just bathed in the Thames and had not scraped the black mud off them. There is one building, certainly, near to most of those villages, we should not see near the Thames. Heavy-domed, squat, and to my mind, ungraceful, the Hindoo temple, surrounded by a clump of trees, raises its white cupola amid their tops, but has no beauty of elevation, and is utterly deficient

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By William Howard Russell¹

January 28th (1858).—Last evening's sun set over a wide waste of yellow waters, the bounds of which, low and desolate-looking, could just be made out on both sides of the ship. As the river contracts, the commercial greatness of the mighty stream and the port it feeds developes itself in hundreds of ships of the first class, magnificent clippers, weight-carrying Indiamen of the old school, fleets of country boats which, working up and down through the many tortuous channels, gave an appearance of life and activity to the scene which could not be surpassed by the Downs. The native shipping, in rigging, masts, sails, and hull, are odd-looking and dilapidated, and the only craft which they at all resemble, as far as I can remember, are the boats of the Turkish Black Sea ports with the high sterns. The crews of those we approach are thin slight men, nearly black, and very poorly attired. On our starboard quarter, towards evening, we have Saugor Island, much haunted of tigers, who feast on the deer abounding in the jungle, and keep the lighthouse people in a state of constant alarm; for there is a lighthouse on the island, the attendants on which [94] are sustained by various artificial devices to supply the absence of water, and to compensate for the presence of wild beasts. *Non meus sermo, sed quoe procepit O'Fellius—abnormis sapiens.* A grand idea of the Midasian magnitude of our Indian appointments was given to me this

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be in league with the overland trunk and portmanteau makers, and permit several of the *employes* of the latter to live down in the hold and break up the luggage at their leisure. Meanwhile, the river narrows, and the navigation becomes more dangerous. The masts of a full-rigged ship, which rise above the surface close to us, at an obtuse angle, point out the place where one vessel was lost a few days ago. The tides and currents are so very strong and rapid, that if a ship touches the bank they capsize her the moment her keel strikes, and the suddenness of the exploit is in proportion to the fineness of her lines and the depth of the keel.

GARDEN REACH

About noon we have advanced to a more civilized country; the villages are larger, the fields better cultivated. After a time detached houses, with high sloping roofs like those of the older Swiss farm-houses on the Bernese overland, came into view, mostly on the right bank of the river. A few of them are two-storied, and the sides are protected by deep verandahs and porticoes. They are painted white and buff, or light-bluish grey, and stand in detached gardens, fenced in by trees, plantations, and shrubberies. I make my first bow to a "pucka" house. In the balconies, sheltered from the sun, are groups of Europeans—mostly women, for the bread-winners have gone up to Calcutta—who salute imaginary friends and wave their handkerchiefs as the vessel surges upwards. Then the houses become more dense and continuous, and appear on both sides of the stream. Plantations and fences grow down to the water's edge; the throng of drifting vessels, the number of stalwart little steam-tugs, carry-[98]ing off their big ships as ants run off with a grain of corn, impede our progress. A bend of the river shows us the stream, higher up, interlaced with hulls, and masts, and rigging, which, in the distance, blacken and harden, as it were, into impassable *chevaux-de-frise*. While houses, as close set as the villas at Richmond, run into lines of streets on the upper banks, which are fringed with trees, and with a broad walk covered with natives and carriages. Out of a green bank dotted with black teeth, a flag-staff carries aloft the union-jack. Close at hand, on the right, is a long wharf, whereat lie many ships. Inside the wharf,

gardens, hedge-rows, and fine houses, mostly two stories in height, and behind them a few spires, which do not, however, appear very distinct, owing to the haze caused by the heat.

"And about the dead Hindoos in the river?" said I to my friend, as we were going off in our boat towards the ghaut, a landing-place in a strong muddy tide-way, gurgling through cables and hawsers of many ships. "The dead Hindoos in the river? I declare to you," quoth he, with much gravity, "it's all stuff. I have been for years in Calcutta, and never saw half-a-dozen in my.—" "Whew!" interrupted I, "what a dreadful smell! God bless me! Look at that thing!" And down with the smiling tide came towards us, bloated, face downwards, with arms outstretched, a human body, bleached white where it was exposed to the air, and serving at once as a banquet and a perch to half-a-dozen crows and buzzards. Our rowers lazily lifted their oars to let "it" float past, without a word. As we neared the landing-place we saw two more, dreadfully decomposed, churned about in an [99] eddy. My friend was disconcerted a little. See how oddly the laws of evidence and observation often run. Had I come ashore at a few minutes earlier or later, I might have said "the gentleman who accompanied me, and who has lived for a long time at Calcutta, assured me he had never seen half-a-dozen bodies in the Hooghly in ten years' time; and I am bound to say that I saw none in my voyage up the river."

BENGAL CLUB

We drove to the Bengal Club², where I had been kindly put up and elected as an honorary member. The benefit and advantage of the courtesy were all the greater that, in the Indian clubs, members can have bedrooms if they are vacant; and one had been secured for me. Although it was January the heat was very great on board the steamer and along the road, which had not been watered. The delights of that club bed-room were great; for attached to it was a dark latticed room, in which stood many large red earthen pitchers of water, and a glorious tub. It is the one constant luxurious necessity that one regrets in India—that universal bath-room!

"And what do I think of Calcutta?" Well, I am fairly puzzled to say whether it most resembles Moscow or Nicholaëff; but assuredly it does make a Muscovite impression upon me. Parts of it remind one of the Neva banks at St. Petersburg. Then, again, the white houses, surrounded with walls, provided with green verandahs and small porticoes, the *porte-cochere*, the courts and enclosures, and the low elevation of the dwellings, and the width of the streets, and great open spaces suggest Moscow; whilst the trans-Hooghly district, seen through a mass of spars and shipping, looks like the view of Nicolaëff (Nikolaev, if you [100] like it better), as seen from the right bank of the Boug. Garden Reach, and the fine broad causeway by the wide river, lined with trees, look well; so do the green parapets of the Fort, with its bastions and curtains rising sharply above the verdure of the glacis. On the land side of the Fort is a beautiful lawnlike sheet of grass, intersected by roads studded with trees, and fenced in by a line of shining white houses, elaborately porticoed and colonnaded, which sweep round from Government House on the left to the regions of Allipore on the right of the fort, as we look from the buggy. And pray, what is a buggy? It is a gig with a hood. The European drives, the Syce runs by the horse's head with a fly whisk in his hand, or perches up behind, at the back of the hood. Seen thus, with the light falling in the houses of Chowringhee—not too near, pray—whilst the grass of the glacis and plain is still green, and the trees are clothed in leaves, the first aspect of Calcutta is agreeable. But "the City of Palaces?" Well, well! As to palaces, we really must see! The Fort to me is the most interesting edifice of all. It was impossible to survey without emotion the spot of ground where, a century and a half ago, a doubtful little colony took possession of the *piéd-a-terre* presented to them by the pet son of the great Aurangzebe, and in fear and trembling at the boldness of their step across the Hooghly, where they were flourishing well enough, made their first settlement and the native villages assigned to them. Here was the work commenced by Clive, after Plassey, and which, but a few short months ago, was the refuge of the Europeans of Calcutta from what they feared would be a fate worse than that which befell the victims of the [101] Black Hole. The Fort looks stout and solid, and is constructed after the best principles of fortification of the last century, on which, as far

as I know, there has been no improvement, except Ferguson's untested system be one. The embrasures are too much crowded, I think; and the armament, though numerous, is light, as opposed to modern siege guns. The defences against vertical fire are by no means perfect. But I am getting far beyond my notes . . .

Let us return to that cool club, with its open court, shaded passages, and well-blinded windows, where not a sound is heard but the twittering whistle of the kite, or the thirsty caw of the Indian crows. Inside there is equal silence, broken now and then by "the rustle of a newspaper," the pop of a cork, the click of billiard balls, or a feeble "qui-hye" from a distant sofa. It is January; but no one goes out in the sun. As I doze away in the cool shade of the darkened room a shadow in white glides before me—a small, bright-eyed slight-limbed man, with a curl of grey hair escaping from under his enormous turban. He salaams to the Sahib, and says, "My name Simon! me master's servant." Then, standing with his arms folded across his breast, he waits till I have read the certificates to his character and attainments, which are placed in a little pile before me. He has been engaged for me before my arrival; and though his wages are very high for India—25 rupees a month—as he speaks English, and has travelled over most of India several times, I am glad to get one who is well recommended. Among his papers is one to the effect that he was once a heathen, named Allagapah, but that he was baptized by a missionary of St. Francis [102] d'Assisis, and is now a Christian, Simon by name. Installed, he at once set to work to open all my boxes, to take possession of all my keys and effects, and to make an inventory of the same—for his own satisfaction, I presume. When it was getting dark D. came round for me in his buggy, to perform the great ceremony of Calcutta life—to take the evening turn on the Esplanade, or on the Course. The Esplanade lies in front of Chowringhee, and it is therefore in front of the Club. In the midst, on the right of us, is a bad imitation of the Nelson monument, a Trafalgar Square, with Nelson removed from the top. Before us is the Fort.

Is this a limbo in which all races, black and white, are doing penance on the outside of strange quadrupeds and in the interior of impossible vehicles? The ride in Rotten Row, the dreary promenade by the banks of the unsavoury Serpentine, the weary gaiety of the Champs Elysees, the Bois de Boulogne, and the Avenue de St. Cloud, the profound austerity of the Prater, are haunts of frivolous, reckless, indecorous, loud-laughing Momus and all his nymphs—Euphrosyne, and Phryne, and others—compared with this deadly *promenade a cheval et a pied*, where you expect every moment to hear the Dead March in Saul, or to see the waving black ostrich plumes sprout out of a carriage top; not that there is not frivolity, recklessness, indecorum, and laughter here, too, but Momus wears a white hat and has launched at the club; Euphrosyne's husband is weary, and she is obliged to be quiet, as the Melpomenes are in town; and Phryne is going to be married to old Rhadamanthus next [103] week, after the heavy case is disposed of. These are, indeed, solemn processions, which not even youth and beauty, or their stimulants, can make gay. The ground is well watered—no dust rises beneath the tramp of the many hores. But darkness has set in on the faces of the multitude. The moment the sun made a decided bow to the horizon, out came carriages, phaetons, and horses; but scarcely have they revolved twice in their course, ere that sun has vanished into darkness. Phoebus and Nox have here a sterile union; and the sturdy long-lived Crespuscule of our southern climes is unborn and unknown here.

YOUNG BENGAL

It really was little more than ten minutes from the time we got on the course, ere the darkness to me destroyed all the attractions what, for a brief period, was a very interesting and novel scene. But imagine a drive in the dark—not twilight—but darkness so profound, that lamps must be lighted to prevent collision. For the ten minutes or so it was a very gay, a very curious, but not a very satisfactory or assuring sight. I think the most stern and patrician of Roman consuls must have something of an uneasy feeling when he saw the plebeians in the Via Sacra, presuming to walk forth in purple and fine linen among the offspring and relatives of the Conscript Fathers. But here

on this esplanade, or race-course, or corso—whatever: it is—there is something more than such pretentious equality. It is, that there is such insult offered as the arrogance of the most offensive aristocracy—that of complexion—can invent to those who by no means admit themselves to be the plebeians of the race. See: there is a feeble young man dressed in white, with a gilded velvet cap in his [104] hand, trying to drive a vehicle, which looks like a beehive, from the cluster of his attendants on points of it. That is Chuck-el-head Doss, the great little young Bengal merchant, the inheritor of old Head Doss' money, and the acceptor of the less doubtful gain of a Germano-Hindoo-Christianic philosophy, which teaches him that, after all, whatever is best, and that the use of the senses is the best development of the inner man. Is he a bit nearer to us because he abjures Vishnu, accepts Providence, and thinks our avatar very beautiful? Ask "Who he is." "He's one of those nigger merchants—a cheaky set of fellows and d—d black-guards, all of them." Then there is a morose old man in a chariot drawn by four horses, with two well-dressed fellows with their backs to the horses, outriders, and runners, and a crowd of servants. He is a handsome, worn-out-looking man, with a keen eye, lemon-coloured face and gloves, dressed in rich shawls and curious silks. Who is he? A few Europeans bow to him. "He is the Rajah of Ghose—a great rascal. None of us know him; and they say the Company were jockeyed in giving him such an allowance." You feel some historic interest when you are shown Tippoo Sultan's son and grandson; but your friend is too busy, looking at Mrs. Jones, to give much information on these points, or to direct your attention to anything so common-place (to him) as the appearance of some natives on the course. And indeed, to tell the truth, the pretty fair face of Mrs. Jones is, perhaps, better worth looking at, in the abstract, than those bedizened natives. Still it is striking, for the first time at all events—but I suppose the impression soon dies away—to see the [105] metaphysical Mahratta ditch which separates the white people, not only from the natives, but from the Eurasians. The drive and ride in the same throng, apparently quite unconscious of each other's presence. The only spectators by the sides of the drives are Europeans. Perhaps a few sleek fat young baboos, with uncovered head, white robes which allow the brown calf and leg

to be seen, and the foot thrust sockless into a patent-leather shoe, are walking about with umbrellas under their arms; but it is evidently for the walk, and not to look at the Sahibs. The high-capped Parsees, who are driving about in handsome carriages, are on better terms with the Europeans, as far as the interchange of salutations go; but the general effect of one's impressions, derived from a drive in the Calcutta Course, is, that not only is there no *rapprochement* between the Indian and the Englishman, but that there is an actual barrier which neither desires to cross. There are some few good horses and many very good carriages on the esplanade. A turn-out worthy of the best days of Long Acre, with adjuncts of turbaned coachmen, and crowds of black footmen, looks rather odd at first; but the liveries are very picturesque, and sometimes in very charming taste as to colour and combination.

Just as night falls, the lamps are lighted, the scene resembles a little bit cut out of the Champs Elysees avenue at the height of the season; lights gleaming and moving in all directions, carriages and horses passing indistinctly in the dusk, and gay dresses, feathers, and plumes caught at intervals as the lamps flash upon them, and then vanishing into darkness. Round and round they drive till dinner hour comes. [106] The variety and splendour and number of the equipages would give one a great idea of the immense wealth of the European community at Calcutta; but it must be remembered, that the high functionaries of Government, of the law, and of many branches of the Administration, are here that there are professional men who make large income in law and physic: that the Church has its representatives; that there are wealthy merchants of all nations settled here, bankers and traders. But it is not considered quite proper for shopkeepers to drive on the Esplanade. "Whose is this magnificent carriage, with the gold liveries?" "That? Oh, that's Bumkum; he is a merchant who has broken several times—but they don't think much of breaking in Calcutta. It's very easy to pass the court, and they come out as strong and as bright as ever." It is, indeed, a fact, that Calcutta commerce has been subjected to many crises and panics; but a certain proportion of the houses has always passed through the ordeal with credit.—which is as much as can be said for London or Liverpool. There is an impression, however, that the relief given by the

bankruptcy and insolvency courts is administered too largely and too carelessly, where every clerk keeps a buggy, every merchant has a carriage, and lives in a style which speaks of enormous profits, or little conscience. It's lucky the weather is too hot for an Italian opera and a French company, or the increment to expenditure would be considerable in the matter of boxes, millinery, &c. The habits of the city life are traditionally expensive; the whole scale of living is large; and the merchants of Calcutta are celebrated for a frank and liberal hospitality, which [107] dates from the time when every European hung up his hat in his banker's or his agent's house on his arriving in the country. The greater influx of Europeans rendered this a heavy item in the expenses of the mercantile class, which was rapidly augmented by steam; and hotels then sprung up, which took the pressure off private resources.

GREAT EASTERN HOTEL

One of these hotels, the Auckland, is a wonder in its way; at least, I have never seen anything like it. In one large house there is an attempt to combine a tailor's, a milliner's and dress-maker's, a haberdasher's, a confectioner's, a hardwareman's, a woollen merchant's, a perfumer's, a restaurateur's, a spirit and wine merchant's, a provision dealer's, a grocer's, a coffee-house keeper's establishment, with a hotel, and with a variety of other trades and callings. I should say, from my own experience, the hotel suffers in the amalgamation; but it is a great advantage to have at your feet all you want, although, I must confess, I could not manage to get a chop one morning for breakfast below stairs. Mr. D. Wilson, who created this establishment by his energy, ability and industry, has made a large fortune; and, judging from the zeal with which he advertises all over India, is bent on making it larger.

Dinner at the club—a kind of *table d'hôte*, very well served. A battalion of native domestics in the club livery in attendance, almost one behind each man's chair. After dinner a very abrupt, good-natured, and energetic attempt was made to carry me off. There and then, or at dawn next morning, by a Calcutta barrister, whose practice is not confined to the courts, with the object, as far as I could ascertain, of showing [108] me “the worst road

in the world, that I might judge of the way the scoundrelly Company developed the resources of India." But I successfully pleaded the nature of my mission, the importance of my getting up to the front immediately, and the utter unfitness of my unworthy self for the duty the gentleman proposed to me. Indeed, upon that evening it was proposed to me to examine the working of our legal system, with which object I was to go and live with the proposer somewhere up country for as long as I liked—to expose the ruinous land system, as affecting the introduction of British capital, for which task the same means and facilities were afforded to me; to go through all the missionary schools, ditto, ditto; to "show up" the iniquities of the government of the Company generally; to investigate the system of non-canalization, non-irrigation, non-road-making, non-railway constructing; to hold up to public obloquy the partial and defective administration of various courts, by which the Europeans were harassed, and natives unduly protected. Such were a few of the objects proposed to me; *my* object, in the present state of my knowledge of India, being merely to give an account of the military operations, and to describe the impressions made on my senses by the externals of things, without pretending to say whether I was right or wrong. There are few men in the world qualified to execute any one of those tasks—perhaps scarcely one, unassisted by the labours and councils of competent men.

I was glad to go up to bed after such a fatiguing day. Opening my door, I fell across a soft roll, which lay on the floor. It was Simon, who was [109] asleep across the doorway. The room contained a few articles of furniture; a bed, shrouded in mosquito curtains. Ere I sat down, Simon had commenced to undress me, pulled off boots and socks, made a desperate attempt to rub the soles of my feet with a rough towel, which I rejoicingly defeated, and at last salaamed, and left me to the mosquitoes. Three or four of the blood-thirsty little beasts managed to get into bed with me, and punished me greatly. Just as I was going to asleep, there sounded in the night air, a scream, as of a dying woman close at hand, which chilled the marrow of my bones. It was repeated, mingled with cries and barks, which swept past the club-house. It turned out to be only a pack of jackals running over the Esplanade in the moonlight.

CHAPTER VIII

A delightful rush at clear, clean, cold water.—Black washerman.—The Ochterlony monument.—Government House.—Absence of English domestics.—Interview with Lord Canning.—Hospital for sick and wounded officers.—Kindness of the ladies of Calcutta.—The "upper ten" at Lucknow.—The Southwark of Calcutta.—Paucity of white faces.—A row by moonlight.—Burning Ghauts.—Indian official papers.—General Dupuis.—A ball at Fort William. (pp. 110-129).

January, 29th.—Woke up about six, by a storm of "qui-hyes," from the windows. The club is getting up. All the shaded jalousies are thrown open. Simon glides into my room with a cup of tea, and a cheroot; opens the windows; pretends to kill the mosquitoes, which, gorged to treble their usual size with my blood, are hanging on by the curtains, sleeping like aldermen. I take a prompt vengeance on them. "Master's bath ready!" After that fuzzy, stewy, muggy, clammy ship. how delightful it was to rush at all that clear, clean, cold water! Simon is mourning over my trunks. "Many things master got no use! Master not got things which much use." And so I believe, indeed, it was. The first washing shrivalled all my flannel shirts into jerseys, too small for wear; seams opened and buttons disappeared from all my garments; my canteen was pronounced to be no good at all, and my clothes were said to be "no use for wear, for not bear washee." To washee, however, the large ship's bag, containing the spoils of the voyage, was sent; for as Simon was speaking, "dhoby-[111]man" was waiting outside, and in a few moments made his appearance—a black washerman, dressed in cotton, which, as a proof of his skill, was decidedly unsatisfactory in colour. It is now seven o'clock only, but the horizontal rays of the sun are unpleasantly hot. Simon looks at my hat and cloth clothes with infinite earnestness and compassion. "Master must buy sola topee and loite jacket." He was rapidly making himself master of the situation. So I was obliged to check him in mid career, and to tell him that I knew better than he did what was necessary for India; a statement that made him open his eyes and shut his mouth.

ATOP OCHTERLONY MONUMENT

There was just time ere breakfast to do one of the sights of Calcutta, and to climb to the top of the Ochterlony monument. Fortune did not favour me in the result, for the greater part of the city was shrouded in a grey mist ; but the course of the broad river laden with ships, the Government House, the Fort, and the European part of Calcutta were distinctly visible, and formed rather an agreeable *ensemble*, in which there was, however, nothing altogether compensating the toil of the ascent. It is always the way with high places. I never knew one that I was not glad to get down from, not from any dizziness, for my head is not affected by height, but because I felt it was uncomfortable to be there, and take so much pains for nothing. The Mount Blancists—now tolerably numerous—must confess that the view and their raptures are impostures. Whoever went twice into the ball of St. Paul's? or twice up to the top of Salisbury spire, or of Milan, or Antwerp steeples? So I returned sorrowing to breakfast.

[112] As the Governor-General is going to Allahabad at dawn to-morrow, I drove over to present my letters early in the afternoon, to Government House, a residence not altogether unbecoming the Viceroy of India, but at the same time by no means overwhelming, splendid, or in faultless taste. The general effect is nearly spoiled by a huge dome, perfectly "bald," rising out of the centre of the roof like a struggling balloon. Once on a time, Britannia, I believe, with trident or spear, shield and helmet, sat on the apex of the dome and kept it in order, but the lightning frequently smote her, and the Snow Harris of Calcutta did not know how to get over the difficulty. The goddess—for is she not as good (much more real and practical certainly) as Juno or Athene?—was taken from her high estate and put away in some lumber room. Placed in the midst of a large open space, with green lawns, not very extensive, but covered with clean-shaven sward, and aqueducts around it, and almost within an arrow-shot of the Hooghly, the Government House should be as cool as any house can be in Calcutta ; and the great number of windows on the side-elevations, give it an appearance of airiness, which the "sunny side" by no means deserves. If that dome could be removed, or put straight, or got something to sit

on it, taking it all and all, as seen from the exterior of the fine gateways which lead to the entrance, the Government House reflects great credit on the engineer officer who designed and built it, at a cost of (St. Stephen protect us) just £ 150,000. At the gateways, with nothing more formidable than canes in their hands, were real sepoy—each “in shape and hue” so like a [113] British soldier, when his back turned, that at a sudden view he would beguile; tall, broad-backed, stiffset, but with lighter legs than the Briton, and a greater curvature in the thigh. There he is, doing his regulation stride, saluting every white man who enters, civilian or soldier, dressed after the heart of army tailors, pipe-clayed, and cross-belted, and stocked, and winged, and facingsed, every button shining, every strap blazing, and each bit of leather white as snow—the sepoy, of whom his officers and those around him, contenting themselves with that fair outer show, know as little, if we are to believe what we hear, as they do of the Fejee Islanders. They cleaned the outside of the platter and cared little for what was within. Having whitened their sepulchre, they were satisfied. But it was not the outer portals of Government House only that were trusted to sepoys. At the doorway, at the reception rooms, in the corridors, paced up and down the old troopers of the body-guard, dressed somewhat like our lancers; tall, white-mustachioed veterans, on whose hearts glittered many medals, clasps, and crosses won in action against Sikh and Affghan. I am not sure whether my own feeling of mild surprise, that at the Viceroy’s palace, not a single English domestic was visible, would not be shared in by most of our countrymen. White-turbaned natives, with scarlet and gold ropes fastened round the waist, glided about in the halls; and some of the more important added to the dignity of their appearance by wearing large daggers in their cummerbunds.

SEPOY MUTINY

At half-past six o’clock I waited upon Lord Canning, whom I found immersed in books and papers, and [114] literally surrounded by boxes, “military”, “political”, ‘revenue,’ &c. I had never seen him before, to my knowledge; but the striking resemblance of the upper portion of his face to the portraits and busts of George Canning would, I think, have told me who he was.

His Excellency, was kind enough to explain to me at great length, and with remarkable clearness, the actual state of affairs at that time in India ; to show me on the map what had been effected, and what yet remained to be done, in order to re-establish our power ; and to indicate generally what the operations would be by which that object was to be effected. In doing so, it is true, Lord Canning took for granted I was in ignorance of what had happened ; but, though a little time might have been lost, there was certainly no room left for misunderstanding upon my part. Looking at the map, the work seemed heavy. In Oude, Bundelcund, Goruckpore, Rohilcund, and portions of Central India, the British rule had ceased to exist for many months, and the rebel leaders almost fancied they were secure in their new possessions. He seemed proud—and am I not bound to say with justice?—of the exertions of his Government, to forward the troops up country with comfort and despatch, and to provide for them when sick and wounded ; but it struck me that he over-estimated the amount of work that can be effected by any one man, however zealous and self-sacrificing, unless indeed he be such an administrative giant as Caessar or Napoleon. I was not astonished to find a Governor-General of India at such a time worn-looking, and anxious, and heavy with care ; but when I learned incidentally, and not from his [115] own lips, that he had been writing since early dawn that morning, and that he would not retire till twelve or one o'clock that night, and then had papers to prepare ere he started in the morning, I was not surprised to hear that the despatch of public business was not so rapid as it might have been if Lord Canning had a little more regard to his own ease and health.

I told his Lordship that I was going to start for Cawnpore as soon as I possibly could ; and he said he could and would facilitate that object by ordering a dak to be laid for me, though he could not at all answer for what Sir Colin Campbell, as Commander-in-Chief, might do when I got to his camp. On that point I had but very small misgivings : for I could not but think that the excellent judgment and good sense of the Commander-in-Chief would lead him to the conclusion that there was no evil to be dreaded from my presence in his camp which he could not control, and which did not exist in greater force before my arrival ; and that the advantages to be derived from a truthful

narrative of what was done placed before the public, who would be scarcely satisfied with the short official reports that leisure and precedent prescribed to generals, in detailing the operations of war, would be considerable, whilst that narrative acted as an effectual antidote to the erroneous statements which were made in India out of ignorance or malice, and thence reached England, where they caused great anxiety and misapprehension. Lord Canning told me that, whatever might be the views of Sir Colin Campbell—and on that point he could not speak, though he thought it probable I should find no diffi-[116]culty there—he would let me have a letter which would show the General that there was no desire on the part of the Government to prevent my being in the British camp. In case of any difficulty, however, his Excellency assured me that I would find every facility in accompanying the head-quarters of Jung Bahadoor with the British commissioner. In this and subsequent conversation that evening on the subject of the mutinies, the causes of them, the extent of the atrocities perpetrated by the sepoys, the stories of mutilations and outrage, the Governor-General evinced a remarkable analytical power, an ability of investigation, a habit of appreciating and weighing evidence, a spirit of justice and moderation, and a judicial turn of mind which made a deep impression upon me. His opinions once formed seem “inebranlables ;” and his mode of investigation, abhorrent from all intuitive impulses, and dreading, above all things, quick decision, is to pursue the forms of the strictest analysis, to pick up every little thorn on the path, to weigh it, to consider it, and then to cast it aside or to pile it with its fellows ; to go from stone to stone, strike them and sound them, and at last on the highest point of the road, to fix a sort of granite pedestal declaring that the height is so and so, and the view is so and so—so firm and strong that all the storm and tempest of the world may beat against it and find it immovable. But man’s life is not equal to the execution of many tasks like these : such obelisks so made and founded, though durable, cannot be numerous.

HOSPITAL FOR SICK

January 30th.—When after breakfast with Hume (Dr.), formerly principal Medical Officer of the Fourth Division in the

Crimea, and visited the hospital for sick [117] and wounded officers at No. 1, Little Russell Street, a large detached house, standing, as do all the houses of the British residents in this part of Calcutta, in an enclosure within high walls, with a bit of green and a few trees around it. The rooms were large, airy, and sweet, and I was glad to see so few wounded men there. Some were old friends, and their wounds and sickness gave them little concern now they were "going home." Pets there were plenty—mongoose, monkeys, and birds. There was a kind of reading-room supplied with books and papers; the meals were good and wholesome. Dr. Ligertwood took the greatest pleasure in showing all the means and appliances he had contrived for the comfort of his patients in this establishment, which is nearly self-supporting, owing to the payments received from the officers. The latter told me that nothing could exceed the kindness of the ladies of Calcutta, who sent them books and luxuries, and took them out to air in their carriages. Not one of them could tell me of a single mutilation of any woman to which they could depose of their personal knowledge. Delafosse, one of the two survivors of the Cawnpore massacre (at the boots), was, as well as I can recollect, in this hospital, but he was asleep, and I would not disturb him. I say as well as I recollect, for my Diary, which was sent to London for this month and part of February, was lost in the *Ava*, and I have only a few rough notes in some odd leaves of pocket-books here and there to remind me. From Russell Street, drove over by a very dusty road, which encircles the plain and fort glacis, to the Orphan School at Kidderpore, which has been converted into an hospital for soldiers, [118] and is under the charge of my old friend Longmore of the 19th, with Charnegau of the Rifle Brigade in charge under him. The rooms are very large and lofty, and the men had plenty of room, but the heat, in some places, set at defiance all efforts to prevent close smells. The sick of the 54th, the regiment which had acted so nobly when their ship *Sarah Sands* took fire, are here, many suffering from diarrhoea and dysentery. There are here, also, a number of wounded men from recent fights at Lucknow, Cawnpore, &c.; several with legs and arms carried away by round shot. I passed one poor fellow with a stump outside the clothes. "Was that a round-shot, my man?" "No, Sir, indeed it was not! that was done by a sword!" On inquiry, I

found that a great proportion of the wounds, many of them very serious and severe, were inflicted by the sabre or native tulwar. There were more sword-cuts in the two hospitals than I saw after Balaklava. The men were cheerful, and spoke highly of the attention paid to them. By each man's bedside, or charpoy, was a native attendant, who kept the flies away with a whisk, administered the patient's medicine, and looked after his comforts. There is something *almost* akin to pleasure in visiting well-ordered hospitals, and I renewed my old sensations with interest, but it is a feeling which I would fain combat and remove. There is a morbid and unwholesome excitement about it, after all.

Paid a visit to Sir Robert Garrett, whom I was glad to find looking just as well as in the old days when he used to trudge past my hut with his "trench-stick" in his hand. He is going to take his command at Umballah, but I think the old soldier would be [119] better pleased if Sir Colin gave him a division in the field. There was in the room a lady who had been besieged in the Residency at Lucknow, and who had just arrived in Calcutta. From her I heard some strange tales respecting the internal condition of the garrison. Whilst some were starving, half fed on unwholesome food, and drinking the most unpleasant beverages, others were living on the good things of the land, and were drinking Champagne and Moselle, which were stored up in such profusion that there were cartloads remaining when the garrison marched out. There was a good deal of etiquette about visiting and speaking in the garrison! Strange, whilst cannon-shot and shell were rending the walls about their ears—whilst disease was knocking at the door of every room, that those artificial rules of life still exercised their force; that petty jealousy and "caste" reigned in the Residency; the "upper ten" with stoical grandeur would die the "upper ten," and as they fell composed their robes after the latest fashion. It is a pity that our admiration for the heroism of that glorious defence should be marred by such stories as these, but I felt the lady was speaking the truth.

There was a kind of grand dinner at the Club to-day, and a very good one. Among others there I met Fairholme, of the Navy, who did me a great kindness without knowing it once, for which I now thank him. He carried over to Kamiesh, one

day that I was more dead than alive, my despatch for the mail, containing a description of the attack on the Redan. The mail had started from headquarters, when after thirty-six hours of excitement and hard work and want of sleep, I rode across to the huts, but Lieutenant Fairholme [120] had just started with his little escort and the despatches for the mail; from the rising ground at the back of head-quarters I could see the cloud of dust which enveloped them, and digging spurs into poor old Bob, I managed to come up with him, and, thanks to his courtesy, to save myself a journey—a saving which I converted into the sweetest sleep I ever enjoyed.

These dinners at the Bengal Club are by no means so good as they are thought to be; that is, they are not equal to a dinner at Philippe's, or the Maison Doree, or the Clarendon, or at a good club, but they are undoubtedly very cheerful contrasts to the meals on board ship, or to the banquets at the dak bungalows, which latter are, on the whole monotonous. The Bengal Club is cunning enough in its liquors. The wines are admirably iced—the champagne dry and good, and the sherry wholesome. Curry of prawns, I will none of you! Away those pleasant fictions, but the giant prawns come from a salt-water lake into which the Hooghly or its horrors never flow! Soup—never so pleasant as when 'tis hot in hottest weather; soup almost gelatinous in its strength, and gram-fed mutton and a fowl-curry; there, one is enough for me, but the gentlemen around me eat everything. They had tiffin at two; hot lunch and ale and brandy-pawnee. *Hinc perfervidum jecur!* A very social and agreeable sort of men, but their conversation is of mint, and anise, and cummin of Calcutta, which is to me of interest limited by amount of knowledge. A rubber terminates the evening—*igneus est ollis robur*—and causes discussion, in which the aid of the deities Hoyle, Major A—, and Major B—, is angrily invoked.

[121] *January 31st.*—Had many visitors. Among them General Michell, who is going to his command at the Bombay side, General Dupuis, Colonel Adye, &c. Throwing myself in the kindness of my friends, and throwing two of them over, I went off with Mr. Meredith Townsend, of *The Friend of India*, to Serampore. Crossed the river by boat near the railway station, where a carriage awaited us, and thence drove through thick

woods of cocoa-plantains, &c., lined with native huts and miserable villages—the Southwark of Calcutta—for some sixteen miles to the village or station of Serampore, which is on the right bank of the Hooghly, opposite the station of Barrackpore. The latter, with its pretty park, in which is the Governor-General's summer residence, and the snow-white houses of the station, makes a fair show from the opposite bank. Serampore—which still retains traces of its Danish origin is a certain neatness and rigidity of outline, and in substantial houses, one of which belonged to my host, and was decorated with portraits of honest-looking Holsteiners—is famous in the annals of missionary enterprise, and, let me add, of missionary devotion, if not of success, in India, and the records of the good men's lives who made it the scene of their labours possess an enduring interest for all Christians. When we arrived, my attention was directed to several matters of a controversial, or, at least, of a discussionable character. However, I had not got my eyesight sufficiently clear in this Indian sun to examine the objects set before me.

But what I was looking for, and had been seeking as we came along, as an antiquary would hunt for an [122] inscription, or a botanist for a new plant, was a white face amid these leagues of black and brown fellow-creatures, with scant attire, who are swarming in and out of their miserable dwellings. I see not one, not one till I enter Mr. Townsend's house. It was the first impression made on my mind as to our numerical nothingness amidst the people. All the splendour of Calcutta carriages could not efface it. When I crossed over to Barrackpore, instead of looking at the fine trees in the park, or admiring the outside of the Governor-General's country house, or the lawn and bungalow and officers' quarters, I was looking out for white faces, and here at last I found them. Under every shady clump of trees, at every lazy corner, were groups of great, well-made six-foot soldiers, in red coatees (for the tunic cannot be enumerated among the causes of the sepoy mutiny), but their faces were black. I never set eyes on men who had more the look of soldiers when their backs were turned. These were the men of the disarmed regiments, two of which are stationed at Barrackpore, held in watch and ward by one English regiment. The men saluted us as we passed, but my companions made a point of *not* returning their salutes, or taking the least notice of the men. Several of them

were doing a mockery of sentry's duty, with canes instead of firelocks. It is said they have recently become civil—almost abject in their demeanour. A few weeks ago they were insolent and haughty enough; even now the officer in command (the veteran Hearsey) is frequently alarmed by reports of plots and conspiracies, and the Europeans are ever on the alert. The guards on the governor's house were Europeans. They, and a few officers lounging about near their [123] bungalows, owned the white faces to which I have adverted. I could only wish the owners were better employed, but there is doubtless great difficulty in the question. If these men were dismissed at once, no precautions in our power could prevent their joining the rebels if they were disposed to do so. And little else would have been left to them to do. Being mostly men of Oude, now occupied by the enemy, they would have been treated everywhere with suspicion and distrust. It seems an absurd way of paralysing a portion of our much-needed Europeans, to keep them watching sepoy who cannot be trusted. The remedy is not so easy. One was suggested—that "the sepoy should be let break loose if they liked, and that then our men should dispose of them." But we in India, are a Christian people, and the Government adopted another course. It has cost money, and it has, to some extent, deprived the army of the services of soldiers much wanted. It has also created anxiety and alarm, but the question was full of difficulties, and I have not yet seen any solution of it proposed by those who grumble the most loudly, nor indeed any plan open to the Governor-General except that which he followed.

If I were to stop here and describe Serampore and Barrackpore, which, by the bye, I should be little competent to do, I shall never get up to camp, and the news is that Sir Colin will move immediately. It is the opinion of some people in Calcutta that he might have taken Lucknow the other day. What would have become of Windham, of Cawnpore, and of the women and children?

Late at night, and with some difficulty, we managed [124] to get a boat—the "we" being a gentleman who was, I think, Principal, or one of the professors of the Doveton College, and myself; and, I am bound to say, that we did not, in getting the conveyance, act quite like Israelites in whom there was no guile. Standing on the muddy and slippery shore of the river, now run-

ning with stream and ebb tide fast towards Calcutta, we hailed boat after boat of the many which were gliding down noiselessly in the moonlight; but as soon as the boatmen heard what we wanted, being bound most probably for some intermediate ghaut, they shot out from the bank and left us lamenting. At last craft prevailed. A boat ran in, in reply to a mild hail, and the moment her bow came to the bank, sliding and slipping through the mud, we boarded her. At the words 'to Calcutta,' delivered in the vernacular, a loud wail was raised by the boatmen, who declared they could not go; but we were now the masters, and evading an attempt to leave us in the boat by pushing her off from the bank before the boatmen could reach it, we pushed off into the stream, and there was nothing left for the grumbling natives but to take to their oars and talk of "backsheesh". This little act of piracy was avenged by many insects, which immediately came out of the cabin of the boat and the woodwork, or flew off from the shore, and devoured me, at least, with avidity. Under other circumstances, I should have much enjoyed that long moonlight slide down the great river, which ran along with a soft gurgling song, as though rejoicing in its coming liberty. In the indistinct light the wooded banks softened into a velvet forest, amid which shone out at intervals the white houses of merchants. The [125] noise of tom-toming in the village, the braying of innumerable dogs, and the wild choruses of the jackals as they swept along the shores, gave the scene its true character, and effaced the impressions of civilized life produced by white palaces and park-like woods. For more than two hours we glided on, the boatmen rowing to the sound of a wild and not quite unmusical strain, and guiding the boat as the current was strongest, from bank to bank or in mid stream; and at last we became aware that the villages on shore were running as it were into a continuous line; that big native boats, with uncouth rigging, were moored in clumps here and there off the banks; that the dogs barked louder, the jackals yelped less frequently, and the hum of voices and the noise of drums waxed stronger, and now and then great budge-rows crossed our path, or lay anchored in the tideway. Some distance before us, as we swept close in shore, a red light streamed upwards into the air, through a cloud of smoke, which looked black and heavy in the moonlight. As we got nearer, I could make out some seven or eight fires, all together, some blazing

fiercely, with sparks flying upwards, others in a dead red smoulder. The glare fell on the black faces and white turbans and dresses of a small crowd of natives, who were busied among the fires. Some threw fresh logs, or moved the piles to make them burn quicker; others sat round the fires silently; others ran about in an excited way, tossing their arms as if in frantic joy or grief. All around were the black walls of the houses, which set, as it were, the fires and their attendants in a framework, completed by the river, across which the flames cast long black shadows, as the figures passed [126] to and fro, conquering the moonlight in their power. It was a most wonderful and striking picture—nothing I have ever seen came near to it for variety of effect. The black figures, streaked with white waistbands and turbans—the contrast between the repose of the groups seated near each fire with the energetic, active, and ceaseless movement of those who were running about—the fires slumbering out quietly, or glowing with the dull red of charcoal, or blazing, hissing, and splintering into sparks, which rose from the many tongues of flame that cleft the dark clouds of smoke rolling out heavily towards us in the night wind—the mighty river rushing by like a torrent of quicksilver, striving in vain to carry off the shadows which ever dented it from the ghastly bank—those wild weird men dancing like demons.—“Pooh! what is this dreadful smell—like—like—like coarse roasting meat? I glanced at my companion, who was holding his nose, and in reply to my look, he said, “It’s one of the BURNING GHAUTS!” ‘Boatmen! boatmen! pull for your lives!’” It wanted very little to make me sick to death. I remember such another horror in an old book of travels—“cannibals feasting by moonlight.”

Not very long after we passed those incremations I was seated in the drawing-room of the Bengal Club, with mirrors and lights, and tables covered with books and papers all around me, whilst skilful cooks were preparing supper, and the wine was getting *frapped* artistically. In India, indeed, extremes meet. Heard dreadful stories of these ghauts, and of the deeds supposed to be done at them. How the last offices are sometimes complicated with parricide and murder, how the old are brought down to die, and are smothered [127] with the filthy mud which is thrust into mouth and nostrils, the screams of the murdered being overwhelmed in the infernal din which is raised in mockery of grief,

and such like tales that make one's blood run cold. And we are the legislators, the law executors, and the teachers of this people! If the vices attributed to the Hindoo by the English exist to their full extent as described—if youth is made unexpressibly corrupt, and age is a maximized villainy—if infanticide and parricide are practices and customs of the people—how is it that the race itself maintains its vitality—that it increases whilst the Mussulman declines—that its numbers show no mark of diminution and sign of physical deterioration?

February, 1st.—This morning to Mr. Cecil Beadon, who have me an order for a post dak (or, what in Russia would be called *padarodijnie*), which I had to communicate to the postmaster, and which will entitle me to one of the daks, or relays of horses, for Wednesday next. The Government has hired all the vehicles and horses of the private companies, and every sort of quadruped and carriage on the main trunk road, for the public service. Mr. Beadon, who is a man of great importance, as Secretary of Government in Lord Canning's absence—and otherwise—is said to be a man of ability, though his name is not much known out of India. I found him courteous. He is far above the middle height; has a god head; clear, intelligent eye; straight, vigorous figure; and, altogether, is as unlike the popular notion of an old Indian as man can well be. If you met him in England, you would say he lived a good deal by the cover side, and that his hunters cost him a great deal [128] of money. What wonderful piles of papers Indian officials get about them! I have been in all the great public offices at home, and have seen the interior of ministers' workshops, but never did I behold out of Calcutta such heaps of despatch boxes, such mounds of record boxes, such vast fabrics of pigeon-holes, such *abandon* of red tape!

Thence to lunch to my old acquaintance, Major-General Dupuis, where I met Colonel Adye, a name well known in the Crimean camp, and in the corps to which he belongs, as that of a most excellent soldier and thorough good fellow. In the course of conversation I heard enough to make me believe that the officers of the Royal Artillery in India—and certainly those in the higher ranks—thought they had not been quite well treated by the Commander-in-Chief. General Dupuis, for instance, was sent out by the Commander-in-Chief to command the Royal Artillery in India. When he saw Sir Colin, he was told to remain

some time at Calcutta to superintend the disembarkation and arrangements connected with the force at his command. Colonel Adye, as his brigade-major, of course being with him. As soon as a considerable force of artillery had landed, and gone up to Sir Colin, then preparing for his relief of the Residency garrison, the general went up to Cawnpore, and was by no means well received by the Commander-in-Chief. Whereupon Dupuis sent in his resignation, but he withdrew it on the understanding that he was to be permitted to accompany the field force. However, it would seem as if he did something which displeased the Commander-in-Chief, for in a day or two Sir Colin sent him orders to go to Calcutta, as the Governor-General [129] had informed him the head-quarters of artillery was to be at Dum-Dum, or Barrackpore. Ere he could get down, however, the Gwalior Force attacked Windham, and both Dupuis and Adye rendered services which were warmly acknowledged by that officer on the day when our troops were obliged to retreat into the *tete-de-pont*, and lost their camp. In their opinion Windham was placed in the most difficult circumstances, and did the best he could—an opinion which is fortified by Sir Colin's last despatch in reference to the action. The whole truth of the affair cannot be made public yet; and, indeed, it would at any time come with bad grace from the lips of any officers of rank, who would find themselves in telling it obliged to make painful accusations.

Dined at the Advocate-General's (Mr. Ritchie), where there was a small and agreeable party, and went afterwards to a ball given in Fort William by Colonel Mundy and the officers of Her Majesty's 19th, at which I met many old friends and acquaintances. The arrangements were admirable. The rooms—curious, quaint, old barrack chambers—were well lighted, decorated with flags, flowers, and fire-arms; bowers and pleasant arcades were improvised in the open. Dancing vigorous, music good. The supper-rooms gave one an exalted notion of the resources of Calcutta and one could not help asking himself, "Has there been a mutiny at all? Is this a delusion? Do the enemy still hold Oude, Rohilcund, Jhansi, Calpee, and vast tracts of Central India?"

NOTES

1. Sir William Howard Russell (1820-1907), was correspondent; educated at Trinity College, Dublin; reported for *The Times* the Irish general election, 1841, and episodes in repeal agitation in Ireland, 1843; called to the bar (Middle Temple) 1850; war correspondent for *The Times* in Crimea, 1854; applied phrase 'the thin red line' to the British infantry at Balaclava; called attention to the sufferings of English army there through the winter of 1854-5, and inspired the work of Florence Nightingale; hon. LL.D., Trinity College, Dublin, 1855; acted as *The Times* correspondent in Indian Mutiny, 1853, and in American Civil War, 1861-2; wrote a frank account of battle of Bull Run (July, 1861), which made him unpopular in America; founded *Army, and Navy Gazette*, 1860; only occasionally worked for *The Times* after 1863; saw battle of Koniggratz, in Prusso-Austrian war, 1866; also served in Franco-German war, 1870, and (for *Daily Telegraph*) in Zulu war, 1879; accompanied Edward Prince of Wales, through Near East (1869) and India (1875-6), and published accounts of both tours; Knighted, 1895; C.V.C., 1902; published, besides experiences as correspondent, accounts of Travels in Canada (3 vols., 1863-5) and the United States (2 vols., 1882). (*The Concise Dictionary of National Biography*, part II, 1901-1950, Oxford University Press, 1961, p. 377).

2 The Bengal Club was functioning from 33 Chowringhee Road when Russell stayed there.

32 MISCELLANEOUS ACCOUNTS

CALCUTTA IN 1827*

By Mrs. Hofland

... [77] Leaving this rich island (Ceylon), which is of an oval form, sixty miles wide and two hundred and forty long, they entered the Bay of Bengal, and, being favoured by the weather, soon achieved the long desired voyage, and found themselves entering the Hooghly, a branch of the sacred Ganges, that river which the Hindoos considered capable of conferring immortality and eternal happiness.

On the eastern bank of the Hooghly, about one hundred miles from its mouth, rises the city of Calcutta. If Madras be striking [78] its strong walls and fortified air, rising from a stern sandy soil, infinitely more so is this Eastern city of palaces, and the reach of the ruin near it, called "Garden Reach" from the number of beautiful villas and gardens, shrubberies and lawns which bespangle it, seem a neat frame for such a noble picture. Calcutta is built only of brick; but it is so covered with the beautiful white chanam, that the effect of marble is produced; and as the government-house, the fortress, and esplanade, open to the eye, are seen in conjunction with a magnificent spread of river enriched by shipping, and animated by a diversity of light vessels rapidly

* From "*THE YOUNG CADET*"; or Henry Delamere's Voyage to India, His Travels in Hindostan, His account of the Burmese war, and the Wonders of Elora" by Mrs. Hofland, London, 1827 (John Harris, corner of St. Paul's church-yard, pp. xii+232, illustrated, 1/8th size). The full name of the author seems to be Barbara (Wrecks) Hoole Hofland. (This book seems to be an arm-chair travelogue). The description of Calcutta is taken from chapter VI, pp. 75-90.

Chapter headings (Description of Ceylon.— Voyage to Bengal.— Enter the Hooghly River.— Calcutta.— Letter to John.— Description of the inhabitants.— Black Hole, and Governor Holwell's sufferings.— Jewish congregation.— Barrackpoor.— Howdah Elephants.— Letter concluded.) are omitted.

moved by natives in gay and various costume, nothing can exceed the magnificence, vivacity, beauty, and interest of the objects it presents. No European city can vie with Calcutta in the striking effects, the pleasurable emotion it excites in a stranger.

Nor does landing destroy the charm of novel-[79]ty and beauty which thus seizes on the senses, but rather increases it ; for on every side the traveller beholds all that entrances him with surprise as being *new*, united with that which is endeared to him by being *familiar*. Coaches, chariots, tilburies, and barouches, are seen driving along and reminding him of dear old England ; whilst black drivers in muslin wrappers and turbans, tell him that he is far from thence ; and when he sees Armenian and Gentoo merchants dressed in shawls, and lolling in landaus made in Long Acre, he cannot forbear to think how extraordinary a scene he is witnessing, in thus beholding his countrymen residing in the land of another people, at once in a state of close union and complete division ; exercising the command which belongs to power where they had once no claim but that of permission, and blending conjunctly the benevolence of protection, and the tyranny of assumed right, over a weak but unchanged population.

[80] Though Henry was received in the most kind and courteous manner by the family who expected him, and was exceedingly delighted with all around him, yet he could not fail to be sorry to part with the captain and his fellow-voyagers, for they seemed to him a part of his own country ; of course, he did not neglect to write when the vessel returned, and we therefore transcribe his letter to his brother.

‘My dear John,

“Depend upon it, Calcutta is the finest place in the world. I know there are towns with far larger and grander buildings ; but then they are not half so clean, and new, and beautiful, as this bride-like city. I have been standing on the roof of the house the last half-hour for air, and, as it was midnight, had an opportunity of seeing all the gay company returning from an entertainment at the government-house ; and I assure you I never witnessed any thing that [81] could compare with the splendour and gaiety exhibited. Whilst the torches of servants were flying about in all directions, lighting the coaches and palanquins, I started at the cry of the jackals, and remembered that Calcutta,

with all the show of population and grandeur, is yet surrounded by a jungle where the tiger prowls for his prey, and too frequently seizes on the defenceless native ; that the palaces by which you are surrounded are little more than the growth of half a century.

"Here, as in Madras, there is a Black Town as well as a White one ; indeed, the place seems to me a home for all the people of the earth. Chinese, Arabs, Persians, as well as Armenians, and every tribe of Hindoostanee origin, may here be met with, and the Black Town literally swarms with population. The difference between the domestic servants here and those of Madras is striking, as they are here completely covered by a loose robe with wide sleeves, full trowsers, [82] slippers, and a flat turban half shading the face and neck : in speaking, they join their hands and lift them forward with a respectful, deprecating air. They are delicately clean in their persons and graceful in their motions, and it is from these qualities and their humble manners that they have established the character many writers give them : but, in fact, the Brahmins of India are the proudest people I ever met with, and the most cruel and insolent to their own countrymen of inferior caste.

"I have been here a week, and, as you may suppose, have run all over the town, or been run with by others ; but the truth is, that I have been taken by Mr.—, my kind friend, in his curricule. The government-house is very splendid, but I was more delighted with the venerable form of the Marquis of Hastings than all the trappings of state by which he was surrounded. I was delighted with the museum, where I saw an amazing number of war instruments from all [83] parts of India, together with specimens of their sculpture, and some very beautiful ones of the nutmeg and clove plants, with other oriental curiosities.

"There are two establishments for the education of natives under our protection, being colleges for Mahomedans and Hindoos, who are taught by Moonshes and Pundits, that they may be qualified to fill the place of petty officers in the Company's service. In the former, I was exceedingly pleased by the intelligent looks of both teachers and learners ; in the latter they appeared to be stupid-looking fellows, not likely to make much progress.

"There are many charitable institutions in Calcutta, and a noble reservoir of water, which is supplied by springs ; near to

which is a monument erected by Governor Holwell to the memory of those unfortunate persons who perished in the Black Hole,—a circumstance you remember, my dear father, mentioning to us. It [84] is now little more than sixty years since the Nabob Sarajah Dowlah crammed one hundred and forty six of our countrymen into a hole of eighteen feet square (amongst whom was a lady), to die by most horrible sufferings ; whilst 70,000 Moorish troops were encamped around them. What a change has taken place since then ! indeed that change was soon effected, for the victors held their vantage ground only for a short space, and no one can regret their removal.

“There is also a fine Botanic Garden belonging to Calcutta, with which I have been much pleased, on account of the novelty and beauty of all I saw, and the extraordinary fragrance of the flowers ; but if I had understood botany, I should have had more pleasure a great deal. Knowledge of any subject increases its interest ten fold, and I hope henceforward to get rid of any school-boy haste in despatching lessons of [85] any kind, and to study for the sake of improving my mind instead of finishing my task.

“I was much struck with the Armenians at Madras, and now admire the women as well as men. They are very pale, but their eyes are large, dark and expressive, their features full of intelligence and pensive softness. They wear on their heads a cap with jewels in front, like a tiara, over which they throw fine shawls, which descending in graceful folds, veil their forms, yet add to their dignity. I have been to the Armenian church, and was much pleased with the air of deep devotion apparent in all the worshippers ; but the assumed splendour in the dress of the priests, and the ceremonies of wrapping the Gospel in gold tissue, did not suit my taste, from being used to the plain good sense and simplicity of our own establishment ; nevertheless, there was much to admire and approve in all that I beheld, and the church [85] itself is a neat plain building well calculated for a Christian temple.

“I have also seen a little Jewish congregation ; which was very striking, for I could have fancied that the Patriarchs themselves, in a state of Babylonish captivity, had been placed before me. Their long silver beards, handsome but marked features, and the kind of half-lighted, dungeon-like room where they assembled to read the Old Testament from an ancient manuscript volume,

favoured this idea ; and as I gazed upon them, my very heart ached with the intense desire I felt that they would come to that light which our Lord brought to a benighted world, and was offered *first* to their forefathers—that instead of skulking in holes and corners to worship the true God, they would add to that worship, faith in his Son, and gratitude for his great sacrifice.

“What a contrast was afforded, in both these places of worship, to a Hindoo pagoda and its [87] hideous idols ! Compared to them the Mahometan worship is really respectable ; and the veneration these people entertain for Abraham and Moses, seems to me a kind of connecting-link between them and us, which one can never feel for the Gentoo idolators, who, whilst they adhere with the most obstinate stupidity to their religion, yet appear to know its folly and frivolity, as the makers of idols continually recommend them to the English, with “Please to buy them for the children, masters.” Surely this is the height of folly !

“At this time, the Holy Scriptures are printing here in no less than sixteen different dialects, so that we may hope, in the course of another century, knowledge of the most important truths will become general in this immense country, especially as upwards of an hundred schools are established by the Company.

“The Governor has a beautiful seat at Barrackpoor, about fifteen miles from hence, on the [88] banks of the Hooghly. Our kind friend took me there in his budgerow, as I preferred going by water, to traversing the fine road which leads to the park. I was much pleased with the whole scene, which combines the character of an English nobleman's residence with that of an Eastern prince ; but nothing struck me so much as seeing the Howdah elephants carrying out the Governor's domestic party for their evening airing. Near the park is a cantonment for five thousand Sepoys, with several streets of neat-looking bungalows for the officers.

“But I must now say something of myself. I have been received every where most kindly, and find I am shortly to be sent to Benares, the very place I so ardently desired to see, as the—Regiment is now in the neighbourhood, to which I am to be attached. Mr.—thinks that I shall get a commission very soon ; but whether that is the case or not, I hope I shall see service and I learn my duty. He has given [89] me much good advice, particularly on the subject of not attaching myself too strongly

to young officers of whose character I am ignorant : and I mean, therefore to find my pleasure rather in observation on the country and the inhabitants, than in society. This resolution is the more necessary for me, because you well know, dear John, that I was always given to hasty friendship, and got into more scrapes at school that way than any other boy, as you may remember, for you had no little trouble to get me out of them. Ah ! my brother, when the remembrance of your kindness, or that of my beloved parents, comes over my mind ; when my happy home, the haunts of my childhood, or even the images of our dogs and horses, rise in my memory, for a time it completely overpowers me, and I feel as if I would give the whole wealth of the Indies twice told, to be with you again, and never leave you more. But do not be uneasy on my account ; these acute recollections do not [89] last long ; and I soon shake off my sorrow, look round on the new world before me, and feel delighted with all it presents, and impatient to see more.

“You shall hear from me as soon as I am stationary ; and in the mean time, with my duty to my parents and love to all the dear young ones, I am, my beloved John, affectionately yours.—
HENRY DELAMERE.”

CALCUTTA IN 1854*

By Edward Thornton

[318] CALCUTTA.—The principal place of the presidency of Bengal, and the metropolis of British India. It is situated on the left bank of the river Hooghly, a branch of the Ganges, regarded by Hindoos as the continuation of the sacred stream, and is distant by the river's course about a hundred miles from the sea.¹ Its extent along the river-bank from north to south is about four miles and a half, and its breadth from thence to the Circular Road measures about a mile and a half; the entire site, which comprises an area of nearly eight square miles², being inclosed between the river and the line of the old intrenchment known as the Mahratta Ditch. This circumvallation, now almost obliterated, was intended as a defence against [319] the incursions of the Mahrattas, and was commenced in 1742. It issued from the river in the north, and proceeding in an easterly course for the distance of half a mile, curved to the south-east, in which direction it was carried for about three miles and a half when, taking a south-westerly direction, it was designed again to communicate with the river, and thus entirely to invest the city on the land side. The section of the ditch at the south-western angle was, however, never completed. Beyond the Mahratta Ditch, running parallel with the present Circular Road, the environs of Calcutta are studded with numerous suburbs, the principal of which are Chitpore in the north; Nundenbagh, Bahar-Simlah, Sealdah, Entally, and Ballygunge, on the east and south-east; and Bhowaneepore, Allipore, and Kidderpore, on the south. On the opposite side of the river lie the villages of Seebpore, Howrah, and Sulkeah, containing the salt-golahs or warehouses of the government, and several extensive manufacturies, but depending for their prosperity chiefly upon their dockyards and ship-building establishments.

* From the *GAZETTEER of the territories under the Government of The East India Company and of the Native States on the Continent of India*, by Edward Thornton, in four volumes, London, Wm. H. Allen & Co., vol. I (pp. 318-324).

The approach to Calcutta by the river from the sea is marked by a series of elegant mansions at Garden Reach, surrounded by lawns which descend to the water's edge. Off this point anchorage is afforded to the magnificent steamers plying between Suez and Calcutta, by means of which the semi-monthly communication with Europe is carried on. A little to the north of Garden Reach are situate the government dockyards; above these, the canal designated Tolly's Nullah forms a junction with the river. To this succeeds the arsenal and still higher up is Fort William. From this point the appearance of Calcutta becomes grand and imposing.³ Heber, writing thirty years ago, describes the scene from the fort as striking, "having on the left the Hooghly, with its forest of masts and sails seen through the stems of a double row of trees. On the right is the district called Chowringhee, lately a mere scattered suburb, but now almost as closely built as, and very little less extensive than Calcutta. In front is the Esplanade, containing the Town Hall, the Government House, and many handsome private dwellings, the whole so like some parts of Petersburg that it was hardly possible to fancy myself anywhere else." Above the Esplanade, on the river-bank, [319] is Chandpaul Ghaut, the principal landing-place of the city; and from this point a noble strand extends northwards, along which are many fine buildings, including the Custom-house, the new Mint, and other government offices. Many ghauts, or landing-places, communicate with various parts of the town, and finally the Circular Canal bounds the metropolis at its northern extremity, and separates it from the suburb of Chitpore. A line intersecting the city eastward from Bebee Ross Ghaut, on the river-bank of the Upper Circular Road, may be regarded as the boundary between the native and the European divisions; the northern portion including the area appropriated to the native population, and the southern comprehending the space occupied by the European community. One point of difference, however, observable in the two localities is, that a considerable part of the European division is inhabited by "natives, chiefly Mussulmans and the lower castes of Hindoos, while very few Christians have their abode in the native quarter⁴." In this last mentioned division the streets, as in most oriental towns, are narrow, though the houses of the wealthier classes are lofty. Some few are built in the form of a hollow square,

with an area of from fifty to a hundred feet each way, which, when lighted up on the occasion of festivals, has a handsome appearance. The other division is European in character and appearance, as well as in population. It has its city and its court end, the one intersected by several noble streets, and the other adorned with the residences of government functionaries and opulent merchants. In this latter quarter, which is called Chowringhee, the houses are constructed in the Grecian style of building, ornamented with spacious verandahs; and down their imposing exterior Calcutta has not unusually been dignified by the appellation of "City of Palaces". Between Chowringhee and the river an extensive space intervenes, designated the Esplanade, in which is situate Fort William. This fort is stated to surpass every other in India in strength and regularity. Its form is octagonal, five of its sides being landward, and three facing the river. Its foundations were laid by Clive, who commenced the works soon after the battle of Plassey; and its completion dates from the year 1773. The fort mounts 619 guns. Owing to its brackish character, the water of the river is generally [320] unfit for general use, and the chief dependence for a wholesome supply of this necessary of life rests upon artificial tanks, which obtain their stores from the periodical rains. The number of these reservoirs, public and private, which have been constructed in various parts of the city, amounts to 1,043.⁵ Fifteen of them are public tanks. The largest and best of this class is situate in Tank Square, and is replenished from the river during the freshes, in the month of September, when the water is sweet to the sea: the majority of the remainder are filled during the rains. The supply required for watering the streets, and other purposes, is raised from the river by means of a steam-engine. Attempts have been made, from time to time, to obtain water by boring through the strata in search of subterranean springs, but none were reached⁶ at a depth of 481 feet; and at this point the boring operations terminated.

No accurate census of the population appears to have been taken until the year 1850. Various estimates were made from time to time, differing widely from each other, and bearing in no instance even a tolerable approximation to the truth. According to the census of May, 1850, taken by order of the Chief Magistrate, the population is as follows:—

Europeans	..	..	6,233
Eurasians*	..	..	4,615
Armenians	..	..	892
Chinese	..	..	847
Asiatics	..	..	15,342
Hindoos	..	..	274,335
Mahomedans	..	..	110,918
			<hr/>
			413,182

The number of residences amounts to 62,565, consisting of 5,950 one-storied houses, 6,438 of two stories, 721 of three, ten of four, and one of five stories; and 49,445 huts. Among the public buildings are the Government House, erected by the Marquis Wellesley in 1804, at a cost of £ 130,000; the Town Hall on the Esplanade, built in the Doric style of architecture; the Supreme Court of Judicature; the Madrissa and Hindoo Colleges; La Martiniere, an institution in which twenty boys and [321] thirty girls are educated from funds bequeathed by General Claude Martin, originally a common soldier in the French army, but subsequently a major-general in the East-India Company's service; Metcalfe Hall, erected by subscription, as a public testimonial of the estimation in which the character of the late Lord Metcalfe was held by the population of Calcutta, the Ochterlony Monument, raised in honour of Sir David Ochterlony, and designed in the Saracenic style, to mark the friendly feeling which the general always showed towards the followers of the Prophet. At the south-west angle of the fort is a ghat, erected to perpetuate the memory of James Princep, one of the most eminent men of his age; and at a short distance from it is the monument commemorative of the victories of Maharajpore and Punniar, constructed from the cannon captured on those fields⁷. There are also the rooms of the Asiatic Society, an institution founded in 1784 by Sir William Jones; St. Paul's Cathedral, recently erected, through the exertions and munificence of Bishop Wilson, aided by the grant of £ 15,000 from the East India Company⁸; the Scotch church in Tank Square; Writers' Buildings in the

* Progeny of white fathers and native mothers.

same locality ; and the theatre in Park Street, Chowringhee. In Calcutta are also located the Bank of Bengal, the Union Bank, and the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. On the opposite side of the river, and facing Garden Reach, is Bishop's College, situate to the north of the Botanical Gardens. This institution was founded for the purpose of instructing native youths and others in the doctrine and discipline of Christianity, in order to their becoming preachers, catechists, and schoolmasters, under the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

CHINESE TEMPLE

The Hindoos have 167 buildings devoted to their religion ; the Mahomedans 74. There is also a Chinese temple. Other religious denominations, holding faith and practising worship more or less pure, have also places of assemblage. The Jews have a synagogue ; there is one Greek and one Armenian church, three Baptist chapels and two belonging to Independents not Baptists ; while the adherents to the Church of Rome have five. Of the places of worship connected with the national churches, the Church of England has eight, the Established Church of Scotland one, and the Free Church of the latter country one.

[322] Among the charitable institutions are St. James Schools, instituted by Bishop Middleton ; the European Female Orphan Asylum, established for the education of female European orphans ; the Benevolent Institution, designed for the instruction of indigent Christian children ; the Free School and Church ; the Church Missionary Almshouses ; the Leper Asylum ; and the General Assembly's Institution.

About three miles below Calcutta are situate the Botanical Gardens, occupying the north-west bank of the Hooghly at Garden Reach. These gardens were established on the latter part of the last century, for the purpose of improving the botanical productions of India, and promoting the interchange of plants with other countries.

The highest spring-tide in the Hooghly at Calcutta, between the 1st November, 1844, and the 30th November, 1847, appears to have occurred on the 28th August, 1847, when it rose twenty-three feet and a quarter above the sill of the entrance-dock at Kidderpore. Under the influence of storms and hurricanes, the

tide in the Hooghly has occasionally greatly exceeded its ordinary level. An instance occurred on the 20th and 21st May, 1833, when the embankments of the river were destroyed, and great devastation ensued. In the beginning of March the river is at its lowest; and the freshes are at their height in September, when the tides are scarcely visible, and the river-water is sweet to the sea. Should there be any foundation for the suspicion that the channel of the Hooghly is gradually silting up, and will ultimately cease to be navigable, it has been suggested that the river Mutwal*, flowing about twenty-five miles more to the eastward, is well calculated to supply its place, and might be connected with Calcutta by a ship-canal or railway.⁹

The most elevated part of Calcutta is on Clive Street, where it is thirty feet above the sea-level at low water.

Immediately opposite Clive Street and the Custom-house, but on the opposite bank of the river, and in the suburb of Howrah, is the terminus of the East-India Railway. At this point the width of the river barely exceeds that of the Thames at Waterloo bridge, and a ferry has been found to suffice for the maintenance of the more limited communication which has hitherto subsisted between the city and its western suburbs. But a different state of [323] things is about to spring up. A section of the railway, twenty-two miles in length, between Howrah and Bandel, and passing through Serampore, Hooghly, and Chinsura, is on the eve of completion, and will probably be opened previously to the close of the present year (1853). Upon this event taking place, a stream of population will be daily pouring into Calcutta, while another will be seeking egress from the city; and a less tedious mode of crossing the river will be then indispensable. Railways and a ferry are not links of the same chain. The latter will doubtless give way, and its place be shortly occupied by a substantial bridge thrown over the river in the immediate vicinity of the terminus.

A company has been formed for the purpose of providing the chief cities of India with gas. Calcutta is to be starting-point for its operations; and it may be confidentially expected that a very brief period will be permitted to elapse before the present

* *Read Matla*—P.T.N.

defective system of lighting the city with oil-lamps is entirely superseded.¹⁰

The mean temperature at Calcutta is about 66° in January, 69° in February, 80° in March, 85° in April and May, 88° in June, 81° in July, 82° in August and September, 79° in October, 74° in November, and 66° in December.¹¹ The annual fall of rain during six years, commencing with 1830, averaged sixty-four inches.¹²

In 1852 an act was passed, authorizing an assessment on the owners of houses and landed proprietors, and directing the appointment of commissioners, to be elected by the rate-payers, to apply the proceeds in cleansing, improving, and embellishing the town.

Calcutta owes its origin to Governor Charnock, who transferred the Company's factory from the town of Hooghly to the opposite side of the river. In 1700, certain villages, occupying the site whereon Calcutta now stands, were assigned to the Company in recognition of a present made by them to Azim, a son of Aurungzebe.* They were forthwith fortified, and the new British settlement, in compliment to the then reigning king of England received the name of Fort William. Calcutta was the name of one of the villages transferred; and hence the appellation by which the capital of British India has since been known: thus humble was its origin in the last year of the seventeenth century. [324] At the commencement of the succeeding century, it was the place whence strangers from a far-distant country gave law to a large part of India, and half a century more brought the entire country under their control. For a long period no one expected such a result, and circumstances gave little promise of it. In 1756, Sooraj-oo-Dowlah, the then soubahdar or nawaub of Bengal, whose hatred of the English was extreme, having captured the English factory at Cossimbazar, proceeded to attack Calcutta, which, little prepared for such an assault, and abandoned by some who ought to have been foremost in its defence, yielded after two days' siege. The Company's servants of course became prisoners of war, and were treated with a degree of barbarity hardly to be expected from such a ruler as was the soubahdar

* Read 1698 for 1700 and grandson for son.—P.T.N.

of Bengal. It will be unnecessary to give details : the horrors of the Black-hole have obtained a place in Indian history, which will not allow of their being forgotten. Vengeance, however, followed from Madras, though somewhat tardily. Clive had just arrived there from England, and on him happily devolved the duty of commanding the force despatched for the recovery of Calcutta, it being no less happily aided by a squadron under the command of Admiral Watson. Calcutta was retaken, and peace with the soubahdar restored. The disputes between the English and French, however, caused the renewal of war not after, and the well-known battle of Plassey terminated in a manner fatal to the hopes of the soubahdar. From this time the English continued to increase in power and influence. In 1765 the emperor of Delhi conferred upon the East-India Company the dewanny of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, Orissa. The duties of dewanny consisting in the collection and management of the revenues, the gift of dewanny was substantially the gift of the provinces. Thus did this part of India become absolutely British, and in this manner originated that mighty empire which in less than ninety years has been matured into that which it is now seem to be. Calcutta is in lat. $20^{\circ} 34'$, $88^{\circ} 25'$.

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CALCUTTA IN 1857*

By R. Montgomery Martin

[64] CALCUTTA.—This important city, the principal seat of the government of British India, is situated on the eastern bank of the river Hooghly, a navigable branch of the Ganges, at a distance of about 100 miles from the sea. Its geographical position is found in lat. $22^{\circ} 33' 54''$ N., and long. $88^{\circ} 20' 17''$ E. From Calcutta, in a north-easterly direction, the travelling distances to the three chief seats of recent rebellion, are as follow :—From Benares, 428 miles ; from Lucknow, 649 ; and from Delhi, 976. The spot chosen for the site of the capital is by no means the most favourable that might have been selected, as the surrounding country is flat and marshy ; and extensive muddy lakes, with an immense forest, stretched in close proximity to the town, and produced a deleterious influence upon the general health of the inhabitants. Much has been effected, within the last few years, to obviate some of these local disadvantages, by draining the streets, filling up the stagnant pools, and clearing the jungle ; but the air is still considerably affected by the vicinity of the marshy district called the Sunderbunds ; through which, in many channels, the Ganges pours its mighty stream into the Bay of Bengal. The Hooghly, at Calcutta, is about a mile in breadth at high water ; but, during the ebbs, its opposite side presents an unsightly range of long, dry sand-banks.

The city of Calcutta affords a remarkable instance of rapid advancement from comparative insignificance as an obscure village, to a state of almost imperial splendour as the capital of an immense empire, originating in the following accidental and somewhat romantic incident of the 15th century' :—"Jehanara, the favourite daughter of Shah Jehan, in retiring one night from the imperial presence to her own apartment, set her dress on fire while passing one of the lamps which lit the corridor ; and, fearful of calling for assistance while the male guards of the palace were within hearing, the terrified princess rushed into the

* From Martin's *Indian Empire*, vol. III, London.

1. Martin's *Indian Empire*, vol. I, p. 214.

harem, enveloped by fire, and was fearfully burned before the flames could be extinguished. The most famous physicians were summoned from different parts of the empire : and the surgeons of the English ships then at Surat, having obtained considerable repute for cures performed on some Mogul nobles, an express was sent to that place for one of them. A Mr. Gabriel Broughton was selected for the occasion ; and having, fortunately, been conspicuously instrumental in aiding the recovery of the princess, was desired by the grateful father to name his reward. With rare disinterest-[65]edness, Broughton asked only for advantages to the Company of which he was the servant ; and, in return for his skilful treatment of the suffering princess, and his subsequent attendance upon the household of the emperor, and Prince Shuja, the governor of Bengal, he obtained a licence to the company of English merchants trading to the East Indies, for unlimited trade throughout the empire, with freedom from custom dues in all places except Surat, and permission to erect factories, which was speedily availed of, by the establishment of them at various places ; and of which one was at Hooghly, on the western bank of the river. At this factory the Company continued to trade until 1696, when the emperor Aurungzebe permitted them to remove their establishment to the petty native village of Govindpoor, on the eastern bank ; and, in the following year, to secure their possession by a small fort. So slow was the early progress of the new settlement, that up to 1717, Govindpoor—the site of *Calicata*, or Calcutta, now the “City of Palaces”—remained an assemblage of wretched huts, with only a few hundreds of inhabitants ; and even so late as 1756, it had not more than seventy houses in it occupied by Europeans. In 1742, it was found necessary to augment the means of defence against the incursions of the Mahrattas, who had become troublesome ; and the fort was surrounded by a ditch—a precaution that was found utterly useless when, in June, 1756, the subahdar, or viceroy of Bengal, Surajah-ud-Dowlah, made an attack upon the factory, of which he obtained possession, and immortalised the memory of his conquest by the wanton destruction of the European residents by suffocation in one of the dungeons of the fort.” The catastrophe is thus related :—“Upon the soldiers of Surajah-ud-Dowlah entering the fort, after a well-sustained resistance, by which they had lost many men, the inhabitants surrendered

their arms, and the victors refrained from bloodshed. The subahdar, notwithstanding his character for inhumanity, showed no signs of it on this occasion, but took his seat in the chief apartment of the factory, and received the congratulatory addresses of his officers and attendants with extreme elation; all angry feelings being merged in the emotions of gratified vanity at the victory he had achieved. The smallness of the sum found in the treasury (50,000 rupees) disappointed him; but when Mr. Holwell, a member of council (upon whom the defence of the factory had devolved after the troops had deserted the place), was brought into his presence with fettered hands, he was immediately set free; and notwithstanding some expressions of resentment at the English for the defence of the fort, Surajah declared, upon the faith of a soldier, not a hair of their heads should be touched. The conference terminated about seven in the evening, and Mr. Holwell returned to his companions in captivity (146 in number), while the question was discussed by their captors, how they were to be secured for the night. No suitable place could be found; and while the guards were searching about, the prisoners, relieved from fear by the unexpected gentleness of Surajah Dowlah, stood in groups conversing together, utterly unsuspecting of their impending doom. The chief officer at length reported, that the only place of security he could find was the garrison prison—known, in military parlance, as 'the Black Hole'—a chamber eighteen feet long by fourteen broad, lit and ventilated by two small windows secured by thick iron bars, and overhung by a verandah. Even for a dozen European offenders, this dungeon would have been insufferably close and narrow; but the prisoners of the subahdar numbered 146 persons, the greater part of whom were English, whose constitutions could scarcely sustain the fierce heat of Bengal in the summer season, even with the aid of every mitigation that art could invent or money purchase. These unfortunates, in their ignorance of Mahratta nature, at first derided the idea of being shut up in the 'Black Hole,' as being a manifest impossibility; but their incredulity was of short duration. The guards, hardened to the sight of suffering, and habitually careless of life, forced them all (including a half-caste woman, who clung to her husband) into the cell at the point of the sword, and fastened the door upon the helpless crowd. Mr. Holwell strove, by bribes

harem, enveloped by fire, and was fearfully burned before the flames could be extinguished. The most famous physicians were summoned from different parts of the empire : and the surgeons of the English ships then at Surat, having obtained considerable repute for cures performed on some Mogul nobles, an express was sent to that place for one of them. A Mr. Gabriel Broughton was selected for the occasion ; and having, fortunately, been conspicuously instrumental in aiding the recovery of the princess, was desired by the grateful father to name his reward. With rare disinterest-[65]edness, Broughton asked only for advantages to the Company of which he was the servant ; and, in return for his skilful treatment of the suffering princess, and his subsequent attendance upon the household of the emperor, and Prince Shuja, the governor of Bengal, he obtained a licence to the company of English merchants trading to the East Indies, for unlimited trade throughout the empire, with freedom from custom dues in all places except Surat, and permission to erect factories, which was speedily availed of, by the establishment of them at various places ; and of which one was at Hooghly, on the western bank of the river. At this factory the Company continued to trade until 1696, when the emperor Aurungzebe permitted them to remove their establishment to the petty native village of Govindpoor, on the eastern bank ; and, in the following year, to secure their possession by a small fort. So slow was the early progress of the new settlement, that up to 1717, Govindpoor—the site of *Calicata*, or Calcutta, now the “City of Palaces”—remained an assemblage of wretched huts, with only a few hundreds of inhabitants ; and even so late as 1756, it had not more than seventy houses in it occupied by Europeans. In 1742, it was found necessary to augment the means of defence against the incursions of the Mahrattas, who had become troublesome ; and the fort was surrounded by a ditch—a precaution that was found utterly useless when, in June, 1756, the subahdar, or viceroy of Bengal, Surajah-ud-Dowlah, made an attack upon the factory, of which he obtained possession, and immortalised the memory of his conquest by the wanton destruction of the European residents by suffocation in one of the dungeons of the fort.” The catastrophe is thus related :—“Upon the soldiers of Surajah-ud-Dowlah entering the fort, after a well-sustained resistance, by which they had lost many men, the inhabitants surrendered

and resentment for his pecuniary disappointment became now the dominant feeling. Mr. Holwell, unable to walk, was carried into his presence, and harshly interrogated regarding the treasure of the Company, which had been removed previous to the capture of the fort. As no satisfactory answer could be given to his inquiries, the few surviving victims were lodged in miserable sheds, fed on grain and water, and left to endure, as they might, the crisis of the fever consequent upon their imprisonment through the night of the 20th of June. Several did survive; and their release was eventually procured through the intercession of the grandmother of Surajah Dowlah, and a native merchant named Omichund. Upon the return of Mr. Holwell to Europe some time afterwards, that gentleman and a Mr. Cooke, a sharer of his sufferings, gave a painfully-interesting account of the whole catastrophe before a committee of the House of Commons.² In October, 1756, Calcutta was recovered by a force under General Clive, after a siege of two hours only; at the end of which the Mahratta chief and his garrison sought their safety by flight. The "Black Hole" was afterwards converted into a warehouse; and an obelisk, fifty feet high, raised before the entrance, commemorates the names of the victims that perished within its fatal enclosure.

CHAMPAUL GHAT

Passing by the gradual development of this now important city until it had taken rank among the capitals of empires, it may be observed, that within little more than half a century from the event above-mentioned, the inconsiderable village and fort of 1756, which merely covered a few acres of land, had grown into a magnificent city, extending for more than six miles along the river side, and penetrating inland, in some places, to nearly the same distance. The authoress of *Scenes and Characteristics of Hindoostan*, when exercising her pleasingly-descriptive pen upon reminiscences of Calcutta, says—"The approach to the 'City of Palaces' from the river is exceedingly fine; the Hooghly, at all periods of the year, presents a broad surface of sparkling water;

2. Parl. Papers (East India Company), 1772.

and as it winds through a richly-wooded country, clothed with eternal verdure, and interspersed with stately buildings, the stranger feels that banishment may be endured amid scenes of so much picturesque beauty, attended by so many luxurious accompaniments." The usual landing-place, Champaul Ghaut, is formed by a magnificent flight of stone steps, ascending from the water to a noble esplanade, which opens to the town by a triumphal arch of fine proportions, and supported by columns of elaborate design. Passing beneath this ornamental structure, a wide plain (or meidan), occupying a spacious quadrangular area, is intersected by broad roads which lead towards the interior. On two sides of this quadrangle, a part of the city and of the fashionable suburbs of Chowringhee extend themselves. The houses are, for the most part, detached from each other, or are connected only by long [67] ranges of raised terraces, surmounted, like the flat roofs of the houses, with balustrades. In many instances pillared verandahs extend the entire height and width of the buildings, only intersected by spacious porticos : the architectural effect of the interminable clusters of columns, balustered terraces, and lofty gateways, occasionally intermingled with brilliant foliage and shrubs of surpassing loveliness, is indescribably beautiful. The material of the houses is termed *puckha*—brick coated with cement of dazzling whiteness ; and although the claims of the "City of Palaces" to high architectural merit have been questioned, and there may be many faults discoverable when tested by the strict rules of art, there is still sufficient to inspire the stranger with unmingled admiration at the magnificence of the *coup d'oeil* that is presented from the Champaul Ghaut, from which point the eye embraces a wide range of the city, diversified by palaces and temples, spires and minarets, domes and towers, whose sharp, clear outlines are thrown into bold relief by the umbrageous verdure with which they are intermingled.

The magnificent building erected by the Marquis Wellesley for the residence of the governor-general of British India, is situated on one side of the spacious quadrangle mentioned ; and in a line with it, on either side, is a range of handsome buildings occupied as offices of the government, and the abode of the higher class of officials in its service. The governor-general's palace consists of a rustic basement, with a superstructure of the

Ionic order. A spacious flight of steps, on the north side of the edifice, extends over an arch by which carriages approach the principal entrance ; and the south side is decorated with a circular colonnade, surmounted by a dome. The wings contain the private apartments of the palace, which are connected by circular passages, arranged to have the advantage of the air from all quarters. The central portion of the building contains several magnificent apartments for state occasions, and the council-chamber of the governor-general.

The principal square of Calcutta, called Tank-square, occupies a quadrangular area of about 500 yards ; in the centre of which is a large tank, sixty feet deep, surrounded by a wall and balustrade, and having steps descending to the bottom. The square contains the old fort of Govindpoor (the original *Calicata*) and the custom-house—a noble building, in front of which a handsome quay has been formed. This portion of Calcutta is called “The Strand,” and extends hence more than two miles along the bank of the river. During the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, from 1813 to 1823, much was done to improve the sanitary state of the capital by drainage and ventilation. A street sixty feet wide was opened through the centre of it, from end to end, and several squares were laid out, each of which, like the one already mentioned, has a tank in the centre, surrounded by planted walks. The southern part of the city is chiefly inhabited by Europeans ; but a view of Calcutta limited to that portion only, would give a very erroneous idea of the whole of the metropolis of British India.

The portion principally occupied by the natives is called Black Town, and lies northward of the European quarter, to which it presents a marked contrast. In extent it comprises about three-fourths of the entire space built over ; the streets and avenues being narrow, dirty, and unpaved. Many of the houses of the better class of inhabitants are built of brick, two storeys high, with terraced roofs ; but the far greater number of habitations are either mud cottages, or huts built of bamboo, or other slight material, and swarm with an excess of population in proportion to the accommodation they are calculated to afford. From the close contiguity, and fragile material used in these buildings, fires are frequent and destructive in the Black Town, but do not often affect the European quarter. Upwards of twenty bazaars, well

supplied with merchandise from all parts of the world, and with provisions in abundance, offer to the inhabitants all that is requisite for their consumption.

Besides the government-house and the old fort, the other public buildings of note in Calcutta are the town-house, the courts of justice, the theatres and assembly-rooms, and numerous places of worship adapted to the various rituals that flourish under the tolerant rule of Britain. Amongst them are two churches belonging to the English—one of them being the cathedral of the diocese of Calcutta; other edifices, dedicated to Christian worship, belong to the Portuguese, the Armenians, and the Greeks; and there are also several temples and mosques belonging to the Hindoo and Mohammedan inhabitants.

[68] Fort William stands about a quarter of a mile below the town, and has been considered the strongest fortress belonging to the English throughout their possession in India. In form it is an irregular octagon, built at a cost of £ 200,000, after a design approved by Clive soon after the battle of Plassy, in 1757. The five sides of the octagon next the land are extensive, and are mounted with a formidable armament for the protection, or, if necessary, for the destruction of the town, or any adverse force in possession of it: the three sides towards the river completely command the approach to the town in that direction. The interior of the fort is open, and affords a vast space for military parades, besides well-arranged and shaded promenades, kept in excellent order. The barracks, which are bomb-proof, are sufficiently large to accommodate 10,000 men; and it would require, with its 619 pieces of cannon in position, and adequately manned, as many troops to garrison it as would form an army capable of taking the field. Besides the quarters for the men, Fort William contains only such buildings as are absolutely necessary for the convenience of the establishment: a house for the commandant, officers' quarters, and the arsenal, which is kept well supplied with military stores. The entire cost of this fortress, since its construction in 1757, has exceeded £ 1,000,000 sterling.

As the seat of government, Calcutta possesses also the supreme court of judicature for the presidency of Bengal. This court is under the control of a chief justice and two puisne judges, appointed by the crown. The native courts of Sudder Dewanny

Adawlut, and Nazamut Adawlut (the former for civil, and the latter for criminal causes), are courts of appeal from the provincial courts in all parts of Hindoostan.

Calcutta was erected into a diocese under the prelacy of the Rev. Dr. Heber in 1814 : and the annual stipend of the bishopric is £ 5,000, with an episcopal palace. The religious, educational, literary, and scientific institutions of Calcutta are numerous, and of a high order. A Sanscrit college, a Mohammedan college, and an Anglo-Indian college are severally supported by grants from the government, which also affords aid to many establishments for instructing the native children, and those of the poorer classes of Europeans. The college of Fort William (founded by the Marquis Wellesley) is chiefly directed to the completion of the education, in native languages, of cadets and *employees* of the East India Company, who have been partially educated at Haileybury. The opulent inhabitants of Calcutta, both native and European, also contribute liberally to the support of charitable foundations of various kinds.

Besides the five libraries of the public institutions, such as those of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (founded by Sir William Jones in 1784), Fort William College, the Botanical Society, the Agricultural and Horticultural Societies of India, the Calcutta Literary Society, &c., the capital is amply supplied with excellent subscription libraries and reading-rooms. Of these, the Calcutta Public Library is entitled to the first rank. A Mechanics' Institute has also been established, and is well supported by the class for whose benefit it was designed.

The Botanical Gardens are situated on a bend of the river at Garden Reach, the favourite summer residence of opulent Anglo-Indians ; and are within about half-an-hour's row from Champaul Ghaut. This noble establishment of the government is at all times open to visitors : it contains all the varieties of vegetation known throughout Hindoostan ; with a vast collection of exotics, chiefly from Nepaul, Pulo-Penang, Sumatra, and Java ; besides contributions from Brazil, the Cape, and other regions of the Americas and of Africa, as well as from Australia and the islands of the Southern Ocean. Above this magnificent garden is a large plantation of teak—a wood which is not indigenous in this part of India, but is most invaluable in ship-building ; a branch of

national industry that is carried on at Calcutta to a considerable extent.

One of the great inconveniences of Calcutta arises from its great deficiency of water. It has not unfrequently happened, in and about the city, that after boring to a depth of more than 150 feet, no springs have been reached : the water-supply of a great portion of the inhabitants is therefore dependent upon *bheesties* (or water-carriers), who are attached to almost every establishment.

MANGO-FISH

The markets of Calcutta are profusely supplied with butchers' meat, venison, game, fish, vegetables and fruits, all of which, are generally to be obtained at moderate prices. The game consists of hares, wild ducks, teal, ortolans, snipes, &c. Amongst the water products is the mango-fish—which derives its name from appearing in the river only at the [69] season in which the mangoes ripen ; and is regarded as a great delicacy. Pine-apples, melons, oranges, peaches, guavas, loquats, strawberries &c., are produced in infinite variety, and are of the most exquisite flavour.

Amongst the luxurious abundance beneath which the tables of the upper class of public servants at the seat of government literally groan, it is amusing to find that the recognised delicacies of an entertainment chiefly consist of hermetically-sealed salmon, red-herrings, cheese, smoked sprats, raspberry jam, and dried fruits : these articles coming from Europe, and being sometimes difficult to procure in a desirable state, are frequently sold at almost fabulous prices.

The population of Calcutta, exclusive of the suburbs, was, in 1850, estimated at 413,182 ; that of the entire place, with the districts adjacent, comprised within a circle of twenty miles, was computed by the magistrates, a few years since, at 2,225,000 persons ; and the numbers have progressively increased to the present time. Besides the human crowds which people the capital and its suburbs, the swarms of animal life, of an inferior order, that are attracted by the enormous quantity of viands, of every kind, that are daily thrown into the thoroughfares, are remarkable. The exceeding waste of animal and other food by European

families at this place, is partly accounted for by the fact of the religious prejudices of the native servants, who will not partake of food prepared by others than of their own *caste*. The lower order of the Portuguese, who constitute the bulk of European society of their class, and to whom much of the wasted abundance might be serviceable, cannot consume the whole, and their inefficiency is accordingly made up for by amazing flocks of crows, kites, and vultures; which, undisturbed by man, live together, and, at times, almost cover the houses and gardens. In their useful occupation as scavengers, the kites and crows are assisted, during the day, by the adjutant-bird, or stork, and, after sunset, by pariah dogs, foxes, and jackals, which then emerge from the neighbouring jungles, and fight over their garbage, making "night hideous with their discordant noises."

Calcutta, from its position and local resources, was not likely to be materially affected by the insurrectionary outbreak that carried fire and sword with desolating fury through the fair provinces of which it was the capital; and many reasons conspired to secure this immunity. For instance, there were, on all occasions, more Europeans at Calcutta than in any other city in India, who could present a formidable barrier to the efforts of the disaffected: there was the immediate presence and influence of the viceregal court—objects of great weight upon the native mind; the head-quarters of all authority was concentrated in the city, ensuring the promptest measures that, in any exigency, might be required: and besides all this, it was the port of debarkation for successive arrivals of European troops—a fact which alone would have sufficed to quench the aspirations of the most sanguine amongst the rebelliously inclined of its native population. Yet the capital was not altogether free from causes of disquietude, nor was the government regardless of the necessity for unremitting vigilance. Two important measures, however, that were considered requisite for the safety of the state—namely, a bill restraining the exuberant tone of the press, and for the registration of arms—met with much popular clamour. A great cause of uneasiness also arose from the fact that, at the time of the outbreak scarcely any English troops were quartered in Fort William; while the proximity of the military stations at Barrackpore and Dumdum (the first being sixteen miles, and the latter only eight miles from the seat of government, and, at the

time of the mutiny, chiefly occupied by native troops), was a circumstance well calculated to inspire alarm : fortunately, beyond alarm, no immediate evil result afflicted Calcutta society, in connection with the revolt. The first occasion for disquietude arose on the 17th of May, immediately after intelligence of the outrages at Meerut and Delhi had reached the government. Some men belonging to a native regiment, encamped on the esplanade between the Goolie Bazaar and Fort William, were reported as having made mutinous overtures to the soldiers on duty at the fort ; their object, in the first instance, being to obtain ammunition, and then, in conjunction with the sepoys, to take possession of the fort during the night ; and after putting the Europeans within the walls to death, to turn the guns of the fort upon the shipping, to prevent intelligence being conveyed from the country ; and then to play upon the city while the European population were massacred, and their property destroyed. Having effected thus much, the city was to be given up to pillage. [70] and the native troops, laden with spoil, were then to march to Delhi, and join the standard of the Mogul. However much or little of truth there might be in the report, it was at once conveyed to the fort-major by the men to whom the alleged design had been revealed, and steps were immediately taken for the protection of the fort and city. The drawbridges at Fort William were raised, and ladders of communication withdrawn from the ditches ; the guns on the several bastions were shotted, and additional guards placed over the arsenal. European sentinels were stationed at the officers' quarters, and on the ramparts ; while patrols were kept on duty through the city, to report the first symptom of active outbreak. The night, however, passed over without any attempt to disturb the peace ; and on the following day a sufficient European force was moved into the capital, and the regiments on the esplanade were then quietly disarmed.

About the middle of June, circumstances transpired that rendered it expedient to remove the ex-king of Oude (who had, for some time previous, occupied a residence at Garden Reach, a suburb of Calcutta) from the native influences that surrounded him ; and it was determined that, for a time, his majesty should become an inmate of Fort William, to which he was accordingly removed, under the following circumstances :—At daybreak on the morning of the 15th of June, a detachment of the 37th regi-

ment, which had just arrived at Calcutta from Ceylon, was marched down to Garden Reach, with two guns ; and, before its approach was observed, had surrounded the palace. The officer in command then demanded an audience of his majesty ; and, reaching his presence, respectfully announced his mission, and, at the same time, delivered an autograph from the governor-general, addressed to the king, in the following terms :—

“Fort William, June 15th.”

“Sir,—It is with pain that I find myself compelled to require that your majesty's person should, for a season, be removed to within the precincts of Fort William. The name of your majesty, and the authority of your court, are used by persons who seek to excite resistance to the British government ; and it is necessary that this should cease. Your majesty knows that, from the day when it pleased you to fix your residence near Calcutta to the present time, yourself, and those about your majesty, have been entirely free and uncontrolled. Your majesty may be assured, then, that it is not the desire of the governor-general in council to interfere needlessly with your movements and actions. Your majesty may be equally certain that the respect due to your majesty's high position will never be forgotten by the government or its officers, and that every possible provision will be made for your majesty's convenience and comfort.—CANNING.”²

The surprise was so perfect, and the arrangements so well carried out, that not the slightest chance of successful opposition to the measures existed. No resistance was offered ; and, at seven o'clock in the morning the king of Oude, accompanied by two commissioned officers of the governor-general's staff, was quietly conveyed a prisoner to apartments prepared for his reception in Fort William.

Numerous arrests followed this decisive step ; and the subsequent conspiracy for a general rising in the city and suburbs, as well as in other parts of the province of Bengal, and the late kingdom of Oude, became known to the government in ample time to enable it to adopt measures for the security of the capital.

3. *History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. i, p. 586.

CALCUTTA IN 1857*

By Anonymous

[127] Though the maintenance of peace be proclaimed by the powers of the old world, its society is living in perpetual warfare. Stability and progress, tyranny and self-government are the watchwords of the contending parties, of princes and nations. If the auguries of my prophesying heart prove true, the hour will be soon born, that sets the old continents, trying to end their process of social transformations, in flames and blood. The impulse toward change penetrates all quarters. It has become as irresistible in Asia, as it has been in Europe since the commencement of this century, and all eyes are now directed toward India, where the past ten years have brought about great events, and prepared still greater ones. The two rival-powers, Russia and England, have overstepped their boundaries. The British trident is planted on the Persian borders, and for a long time, a Russian army, eager for conquest, keeps steadfastly fixed its eyes upon the Turcoman steppes. Russia and England, till lately separated by a space of five hundred geographical miles, and by independent states and nations, are now divided by the narrow interval of a hundred and twenty miles, and by a kingdom, where despotism, anarchy and weakness join in ruining the state and the people. Persia cannot inspire either respect or fear. Where will [128] the antagonistic movement of the two giants end? A final collision between them is unavoidable. Upon the high table-land of Central-Asia, where the primeval tribes of the human race stand forth like the ruins of the older crusts of the earth, from the superincumbent strata of younger nations, will it be decided, whether the despotic Slavonian, or the free Saxon element is to complete its march of victory and conquest over the eastern Hemisphere. Under these circumstances, Calcutta, the Capital of the Indo-British empire, acquires an unusual interest.

* From a book (25×17½ cms.), the title of which is missing; probably printed after 1857.

Calcutta is situated in the Delta of the Ganges, upon the deep Hoogly, or western arm of that celebrated river. Its distance from the sea is about a hundred miles.

We will make our journey by the overland-route via Alexandria and Cairo and take the steamer at Suez. Babel-Mandeb is behind us ; we pass cape Guardafui ; we bid a last farewell to Africa, and, favored by the Monsoon, our boat glides like an arrow over the Arabian sea, towards the Bay of Bengal. After a short stay at Bombay, Ceylon, the isle of the traditions of Paradise, is the first land we again behold. At a distance almost of thirty leagues from the shore, we spy the mythic Adam's peak, gleaming like a bright cloud on the horizon. It is gradually stepping into the foreground like a giant, till, as the steamer leaves the coast, it takes the shape of a cloud once more, and at last disappears. We do not make land again before we reach the height of Orissa, off the coast of Bengal. The shore is desolate ; it stretches out in flat monotony ; but in bright weather we may clearly descry from the steamer's deck an immense building, imperishable as the monuments of Tentyra and Luxor, and striving with them for preeminence in vastness of proportions. It is the temple of Jugernaut, as famous as it is infamous, where avaricious priestcraft slaughtered thousands of human victims to the Idol every year.

The steamer carefully avoids the coast, for it abounds with shallows and sandbanks. The nearer we approach the end of our voyage, the greater are the dangers that attend it. A signal is hoisted to inform one of the pilot-boats, that cruise near the mouth of the Hoogly, [129] that its assistance is needed, where-upon a small boat makes toward us, with a pilot on board, who undertakes to steer the vessel over the bar, a precaution, to the neglect of which a large number of vessels continually owe their destruction. Within the bar the river is a league in width, and its numerous smaller outlets enclose a flat, alluvial Delta, which, at high tide, scarcely lifts itself above the surface of the waters. Upon one of these islands, close to the bar, fortifications are thrown up, and batteries erected ; a telegraphic line extends from here to Calcutta. Some hundred yards around the station of the telegraph, the thicket of tall cane has been cleared and a few houses are visible, dwellings of officers and clerks, with neat gardens, laid out upon the embankments thrown up in the form

of terraces. They offer a lively contrast to the dreariness and wildness of the surrounding country. The whole establishment is fenced in with high palisades, not for protection against human enemies, but against the tigers, which haunt the jungles of the Sunderbund,—a name which applies to the entire Delta between the Hoogly, the Ganges proper, and the Burampooter. It is remarkable that in this now uninhabited district, undeniable traces are found of a high civilisation, and of a numerous population in ages long gone by. Occasional diggings along the shore bring to light coins, metal ornaments, and objects of glass and burnt clay in great number, mostly of an age prior to that of Alexander the Great, and according to a tradition, preserved among the Brahmins, the capital of a great Indian empire once flourished here. It was probably an irruption of the sea which, in an instant, destroyed the city with the whole population, and swept them from the tablets of history. It happened only five and twenty years ago, that a similar occurrence engulfed all the villages to the very gates of Calcutta, and buried thousands of human beings in the flood.

DIAMOND HARBOUR

Large, heavily-laden vessels, drawing a great depth of water, cannot reach Calcutta except at flood-tide, and they wait for this in Diamond Harbor, which is also the station of the steamers, employed as propellers. Vessels, of more than eight hundred tons burthen, are obliged to discharge [130] part of their cargoes into barks, which then follow them up the stream: a great inconvenience to trade, latterly however, in part, remedied by a rail-road, which has been laid from Hoogly Point to Calcutta. It is no longer necessary for larger vessels to proceed to Calcutta; they can take in their cargoes at the mouth of the Hoogly.

Approaching Diamond Harbor, the scenery of the river-banks gradually changes its desolate character. Cultivated lots of land become more frequent, and from the velvet-verdure of luxuriant rice-plantations, the humble dwellings of the Hindoos are seen peeping forth. Farther on, the tropical cocoa-nut-tree spreads out its fanlike leaves, at first singly and sparingly, by and by more numerous and in groups; the palms are joined by the pisang and other trees with their splendid foliage and fantastic

growth enlivening the bamboo-huts, now clustering together into villages. Thus onward, ascending the scale of culture step by step, the desert, occupied by wild beasts, is gradually transformed into the most enchanting landscape, where every thing breathes prosperity, peace, and cheerfulness ; where village succeeds to village, park to park, where the proud summer-palaces and mansions of the sons of Albion, the masters of the East, rival each other in splendor and magnificence.

At last, at a distance of ten American miles, gilded spires overtop a gray cloud of smoke, and the dense throng of ships and boats on the river, and that characteristic hum which proceeds from a crowded and busy population proclaim the immediate proximity of Calcutta.

The first building of the city that strikes the eye of a stranger, is the colossal green-house of the botanical garden ; a splendid establishment, worthy of British pride and sway, and unique in its kind. A double row of elegant dwellings, adorned with balconies and colonnades, connects this building with the city proper. The episcopal palace, in the gothic style, situated at some distance from the river, and shaded by palms and teak-trees, presents an admirable view, [131] one that deeply moves the Christian spectator, when he remembers, that, on this spot, scarcely a hundred years ago, Brahmin priests offered to their idols human victims.

Farther onward, the river bends almost at a right angle, and upon the tongue of land which it skirts, appear the extensive buildings of the dock yards of Kydpora. Here ships of a thousand tons burthen are built of the costly and almost indestructible teak-wood, and the yards will bear a comparison with the largest establishments of this kind in New York and Liverpool.—Now, that the steamer has rounded the neck of land, the traveller gets a glimpse of the city of Calcutta itself, which extends for three miles along the left bank of the Hoogly.

Calcutta offers from this point a vast and, grand aspect, though the general view is defective in beauty and elegance. It has something unwieldy, something oppressive to the spectator, as indeed is the case with every large city that is built in a plain. The towers, whose glittering spires, when seen at a distance, shone through the cloud of smoke, and so highly exalted the expectation, seem, when approached, to disappear ; they have

withdrawn into the depths of the chaotic mass, and would leave the prospect very naked, were not their place supplied, in some measure, by a forest of lofty masts with their fluttering streamers, rising from a thousand vessels moored in the river, which, with their unceasing stir and bustle, proclaim, that in the capital of the Indo-British empire no monarch but trade sits upon the throne. A strong citadel, Fort William, stands to the east of the city; yet to judge from the appearance of its environs, which are desolate and devoid of trees, the God of war plays here quite a subordinate part. The works of the fortress are considered impregnable.

The interior of Calcutta displays in some quarters of a late date the splendor of European architecture, in the old ones however, all the filth, and all the poverty of a closely crowded Indian population. The European portion extends from the fort a quarter of a league to the west. The centre is formed by the palace upon the esplanade, where the governor general of British-India keeps his [132] court with all the pomp of an oriental prince. With the royal colors waving on the top, it towers with an air of majesty above a row of palaces which adjoin it. All these noble buildings are erected in the Grecian style, and surrounded by shady groups of trees, giving to this part of the city a picturesque and imposing aspect. The quarter is inhabited by the Croesuses of the European population, and those high civil functionaries, that are entitled to appear at the levees of the viceroy. Their life combines European refinement with the luxury of the East. The streets and squares next to this aristocratic quarter are inhabited by Indians of rank, and by those Europeans, whose station and wealth are inadequate to entitle them to the honor of an invitation to the governor's soirees. The remaining portion of the city, and by far the largest, compose the Black city, as it is called, an ugly, narrow labyrinth of small houses of dried bricks painted red, of filthy pagodas, and wretched bamboo-huts, the primitive dwellings of the common Paria. In this part of Calcutta where the streets, seldom paved, are covered with a layer of thick mud, half a million of men are crowded together, while the more elegant quarters contain scarcely the tenth part of this number.

In 1752, the population of the city, including the nearest villages, amounted to 409,056 souls, inhabiting 51,133 houses. In

a pamphlet issued by the Calcutta school-union, I find for 1819, the number of inhabitants set down as being 750,000 ; later authorities vary in their estimates from 600,000 to a million. The truth, probably, lies between both ends. The movement of the population is exceedingly variable, and in times of great epidemics, which are very frequent and destructive in Calcutta, the Hindoos leave the city by thousands and disperse into the surrounding country.

ORIENTAL ETIQUETTE

Society in Calcutta divides. with the pedantry of oriental etiquette, into a long scale of classes, which have no social intercourse with each other, and of which each bears a peculiar stamp. The English society of rank occupies the first line. To this belong the civil functionaries [133] and lawyers (whose profession has a golden soil in Calcutta), the military officers, and merchants of note. Disposing freely of the treasures of European civilisation, and in the possession of large fortunes or incomes, either as salaries or as the product of their speculations, these circles miss none of the forms or pleasures of the refined society in European capitals. But a peculiar feature stamped upon the intercourse of these exclusives, is the endeavor of the functionaries as well as of the merchants to amass fortunes as quickly as possible, and large enough to enable them to spend the evening of their days in luxury and repose in Europe. No European settles here to spend his money, and if, at times, a merchant, seduced by an immoderate desire of gain, passes his whole life here, this is a rare exception, not the rule. The governor-general takes the lead of society. With royal air he keeps afar the less aristocratic and less wealthy Britons, by not inviting them to his soirees. These, thus neglected. unite in small coteries, or live by themselves, too proud to mingle with the Portuguese population (grocers, innkeepers &c.,) who stand a degree lower in rank, and form a third class. The numerous Mahometans, the former masters of the land, keep retired and isolated ; Hindoo society however divides into an endless scale of rank from the pensioned ex-king and Rajah, down to the despised Paria, the lowest of all.—Occasional European residents of note—Americans, Frenchmen and Germans,—attracted by the

interests of commerce or navigation, and staying for a longer or shorter period of time, associate with one of the two first-named classes, to which by their recommendations or introductions they can lay claim. As a general rule, foreigners do not meet with a very liberal reception. Another important part of the population deserves the more attention, as it is rapidly increasing in number and making decided progress in influence and civilization. It is the so called half-caste, a mingling of British and Indian blood, mostly of illegitimate origin. They are in general a handsome race, many of them possessing large fortunes, which, aided by the charms of the females, often lead to alliances with the highest classes. Intelligence, good [134] breeding and refinement are frequent acquisitions among these mulattoes, who monopolise many a profitable branch of the trade of Calcutta. That with the interior of the country and the coasts, is, almost exclusively, in their hands.—As a peculiar appendix of the population the European Miss claims some notice ; the member of the chivalric order of Love. A cargo or two of these young ladies of good families and small fortunes are shipped annually from England to India to be married and after some years to return as rich Nabobesses, who may glitter and shine in the routs and assemblies of the English metropolis ; a prospect which is frequently realized.

The influence, which the British sway exerts upon the higher circles of Hindoo society, and the gradual transformations which it is producing, is remarkable. It is true, Braminism contests obstinately every inch of its former territory against the intruding flood of western life ; but it is daily losing ground in the unequal strife, and retreats more and more into a narrower and lower sphere. All the weapons of European culture are here continually active against Braminism, and are laboring restlessly for its final remove. In more than a hundred free schools, on the Lancastrian plan, are the sluices of instruction opened to the Hindoo down to the lowest Paria ; twelve Bengalese newspapers and journals, two of which are distributed gratis, are strewing the seeds of European knowledge and thought in the guise of attractive entertainment, and the many institutions for the higher intellectual improvement of the natives, are zealously attended, now that the doors to office and dignity, both in the civil and military departments, are thrown open to the Hindoes of talent

and capacity. In the interior of the land, however, we scarce behold a sign of British influence. There the Indian bears the stamp of his primitive originality, as decidedly as he did three or four thousand years ago. His theocratic constitution is still an unconquered bulwark there; it protects him against every change, a strict and unalterable system of castes puts every man into his proper place, which he cannot overstep; his European masters stand opposite to him, as strangers and conquerors, and if he should pass beyond the [135] limits prescribed to him by custom, he would effect his own ruin.—It is otherwise in Calcutta. There the Native is daily exposed to the assaults of European civilisation. He is laying aside his prejudices; not at once, but by imperceptible degrees, and private interest is doing the rest. Already the father sees no longer in his son a genuine Hindoo, and his grandson will appear still less so. The arm of the Bramin, to the present day so powerful in the interior, is broken in the capital. Many Hindoos of rank have already publicly adopted the garb and manners of Europeans, and even their philosophers, laughing at the excommunications of their priests, explain in public schools the absurdity of the Bramin faith. One of the wealthiest men in Calcutta, Tagore, of the Bramin caste, gives balls, soirees, and dinners in his palace, which in splendor and taste rival those of the governor; and the European, invited on such occasions, beholds, with surprise, an assembly of Hindoos conversing upon politics, science, and philosophy with a freedom, adroitness, and soundness of judgment, that would do honor to the best society in Europe. Those Hindoos of distinction, however, who, by strict seclusion, endeavor to keep themselves free from European influence, are an indolent, degraded, effeminate race, who seek to hide their want of power and esteem under silly splendor and pompous show.—In such a manner is England working, unhindered, toward her object; this is avowedly, to form out of the better class of the Hindoo population in Calcutta a ripe and sound kernel of improvement, which, when grown to a tree, may at some future day, spread its branches over all India, and, to the benefit of civilization, take the place of rude Moslem ignorance, and of Braminism, which fetters the human mind in senseless stupidity.

As a commercial market, Calcutta holds the first rank in all Asia. It is the great emporium not only of the traffic of the

mother-country with her Indian empire, but also of the trade of both with other parts of the continent. It is also a warehouse for the importations and exportations of the Australian and African colonies. Its inland-trade is immense, chiefly by [136] the Ganges and its branches, which are navigable for a distance of 1500 miles. The introduction of steam-boat-navigation has greatly increased the means of communication with the provinces and during the last year forty one steamers plied upon the Ganges alone. The discovery of coal-beds on the banks of this river opens new prospects to industry and speculation, and the rail-roads now constructing to Bombay and Madras promise to unlock the southern and western provinces to the grand centre of business. The commerce of Calcutta gives employment, at present, to more than 800 vessels, and upwards of 20,000 river-boats keep up the trade with the interior. The commercial capital is estimated at 400,000,000 Doll. All the products of India and Asia figure in the list of exports from Calcutta and the European imports comprise, beside vast amounts of specie, most of the products of British manufactures.

Institutions, tending to promote the commercial interests and to advance science, as banks, insurance-companies, docks and bazars ; universities, colleges, observatory, botanical garden, and innumerable societies for artistical, scientific and charitable purposes are crowded in the metropolis of the British-Indian empire and Calcutta may have indeed some claims to the proud denomination of a Capital of Asia, bestowed on her by the last governor-general.

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CHRONOLOGY OF ACCOUNTS OF CALCUTTA

- 1803 Valentia (1-35)
- 1805 Roberdeau (36-85)
- 1810 Maria Graham (86-109)
- 1812 Lady Nugent (110-185)
- 1814 Anonymous (186-196)
- 1815 Danibegashvili (197-198)
- 1819 Anonymous (199-219)
- 1820 Hamilton (220-244)
- 1822 Fanny Parks (245-250)
- 1823 Fanny Parks (250-260), Wallace (300-334), Heber
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- 1824 Fanny Parks (260-271), Heber (375-410), Huggins
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- 1825 Fanny Parks (271-278)
- 1826 Fanny Parks (278-300)
- 1827 Naufragus (427-441), Mrs. Fenton (442-467),
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- 1828 Mrs. Fenton (467-477)
- 1829 Mundy (478-487), Jacquemont (488-511)
- 1830 Jacquemont (512-515), Archer (520-532), Bacon
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- 1831 Jacquemont (515-517)
- 1835 Oriental Annual (566-573), Emma Roberts (574-603)
- 1836 Fane (604-607), Emily Eden (650-693)
- 1837 Eden (693-722), Honoria Lawrence (608-618)
- 1838 Leigh (619-649)
- 1839 A Bengalee (757-774), Malcom (775-816)
- 1840 Eden (722-737)
- 1841 Eden (738-748)
- 1842 Eden (749-756)
- 1840-43 Johnson (817-854)
- 1843 Davidson (855-859), Orlich (860-906)
- 1848 London Missionary (907-951)
- 1854 Thornton (985-992)
- 1857 Martin (993-1005), Anonymous (1006-1014)
- 1858 Russell (952-978)

ERRATA

Page	Line	Read	for
48	25	head,	head.
49	5	Calcutta,	Calcutta.
60	38	by	my
64	4	Ducks	Docks
68	last	corps	crops
69	penultimate	positive	possitive
71	11	Ebony.	Ebony,
	28	than	then
81	38	in	is
83	note 15	Ives	lves
128	30	his	is
138	1	delete	
184	1	The	He
187, 189 & 191		Read the folio as	"Anonymous—Calcutta in 1814."
192	Transfer the note from page 193		
193	last	departed	depaated
196	6	follows :	folllws :
206	5	cheek	check
210	33	frequently	frequently
215	21	bane-	bale-
229	28	Through	Though
236	13	subornation	subordination
242	10	there	thert
253	14	hooks	books
264	25	them	then
	31	moonshee	monshee
324	3	war-horses	war-houses
372	4	the	they
458	19	tack	track

Page	Line	<i>Read</i>	for
555	folio	555	535
	16	sluggish	sluggist
	24	bed	bad
598	26	1802	1102
	27	cemetery	cementery
599	14	he	be
640	27	I	T
656	27	lives	livet
693	26	India	Inria
729	6	little	title
737	7	eighty-six	eight-six
740	19	cabins	capins
742	28	hurried	huried
743	28	Tuesday	Tuesdau
758	38	wrath."	wrath.
768	25	you	wou
878	13	gondola	gondoia
978	10	1858	1853
986	38	oriental	orienal
992	reference 10	1853	1985

Mr. P. THANKAPPAN NAIR (1933—)
fell in love with Calcutta the very day he
landed here on September 22, 1933.

Mr. Nair's love of Calcutta needs no
elaboration here as his numerous books
on this metropolis have filled up yawning
gaps in its history. His first job was to
rescue Job Charnock, Father of Calcutta,
from oblivion and trace the history of
Calcutta in the 17th century in an
authentic manner. He gave us an insight
into the history of Calcutta in the 18th
century through accounts of travellers.
His excursions into the City's social life,
civic services, streets and the Press have
been an acceptable service to Calcutta.
Calcutta's contributions to the Nation
through the Flag, Anthem, etc. have not
been overlooked by him. He is currently
engaged in the study of Calcutta in the
20th century.